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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. II.

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1844.

"No man, who has tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who not content with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they mag yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth; even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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Hereditary distinctions of tribes and classes appear to have prevailed in India from very remote times. The Hindus, with their usual fondness for all Brahminical ordinances, pretend that their four-fold division of castes was coëval with the creation. The pretension, ridiculous and futile as it is, proves, however, the antiquity of the institution; and as the classification corresponds to a considerable extent with the Egyptian mode of distributing offices and occupations, it is probable that an early intercourse existed between these two nations, especially since voyages by sea were not of yore forbidden to the Hindus. There is no extravagance in the supposition, that the route which the *Berenice*, the *Sesostris*, the *Cleopatra*, the *Victoria*, the *Akbar*, &c., are now taking every month with the overland mails from and to Bombay, had, centuries past, been marked by Hindu vessels trading on the Red Sea, and that these merchantmen had imported or exported many of the existing laws of castes and tribes.

Among the Hindus, as among the Egyptians, the priests occupied the *first* rank in society, and naturally commanded the veneration due to the guardians of religion and learning. The warriors and the merchants, who were entrusted with the preservation of the country and the supply of the comforts and necessities of life, enjoyed the *second* and *third* places in the commonwealth, while the Sudras, or *slaves*, destined for the

service of the others, filled the *fourth* and *last* grade. The first three orders were distinguished by the appellation of the *twice-born*, and were invested with the sacred cord as the badge of their *regeneration;* the last were doomed to occupy the same position in India that was allotted to the *slaves* in the Grecian republics.

Disparities of rank and station are inseparable from human society, and the Hindu legislators, in causing this quadruple division, acted upon the principle that was observed by statesmen all over the world. The satraps of the Magian and Sabian countries, the free-born citizens of the Grecian states, the priests and warriors of Egypt, the patricians and plebeians of Rome, and the peers, grandees, segniors, ameers, &c., in other quarters, are evidences of conventional distinctions maintained by all nations. Some have everywhere endeavoured to rise above others. Even the most democratical states have not been free from aristocratic distinctions and influences. The vast majority of the human species has always submitted to the authority of the few that have exalted themselves above the common level; and *these* have invariably improved every opportunity of self-aggrandisement. It was not Nimrod alone, though he was the first on record, that began to be *mighty on the earth.* Many have since followed the "mighty hunter's" example by struggling for superiority over their brethren.

These distinctions have, however, proved in India sad engines of corruption and human degradation. They have been considered, not as mere civil enactments intended for the well-being of society, and so capable of alteration and improvement, according to the mutations of times and circumstances, but as an integral portion of the Brahminical theology itself, alleged to have been ordained by God from the very beginning of the world, and therefore superior to modification and change. The different tribes are religiously enjoined to keep separate from one another, and to abstain on peril of their souls from intruding into each other's professions. In their anxiety to place their own dignity upon the firmest footing, the Hindu legislators did not stop to consider or deplore the magnitude of the evils they were preparing for their country, or the hardness of the yoke they were imposing on millions of their species. The noblest families might deteriorate, and the meanest tribe might ameliorate itself, in process of time. Hereditary priests, warriors, mechanics and menial labourers might, by the vicissitudes of life, be all incapacitated in the course of a few centuries for their respective occupations, and yet be adapted for other duties; and if the country could not reap

the benefit of their services in those departments, for which time and circumstances, though not their birth, had prepared them, the nation must be reduced to a stagnant state of semi-barbarism, and of imbecility both at home and abroad. And is not this sufficiently evidenced in the present degradation of this vast and magnificent empire? Has not the sad experience of hundreds of years imprinted, as with an iron pen, on the minds of all who have eyes to see, understandings to judge, yea, or even hearts to feel, the strongest conviction that this religious division into castes has, by detaching tribe from tribe and forcing important professions upon unwilling and perhaps unsuitable individuals, proved the real cause of India's internal misery and external humiliation? What other nation under the sun has continued under foreign dominion for centuries and centuries without ever exhibiting the least impatience, or making the smallest effort for liberty and independence?

Before we can properly introduce the subject prescribed for this article to the notice of our readers, a few preliminary observations on the ancient annals of Bengal will not be misplaced. Although at present a most important division of Hindustan, containing the metropolis of British India and the seat of her Supreme Council, and peculiarly adapted by position and soil for commerce and trade, Bengal does not seem to have enjoyed much consequence in this vast empire, before foreigners were attracted thither for mercantile purposes. The silence of the old Hindu writers would incline us to the belief that it is for the most part *alluvial* land, and that originally the lower provinces were, in a great measure, comprehended in the unfathomed recesses of the deep;—that the present metropolitan residence of the British viceroy in the East, was, at one time, the bed of the mighty ocean! Forest and marshes probably occupied the soil as the sea abandoned it, and human habitations were subsequently formed, where tigers had once prowled and fishes disported. Who the original inhabitants were, or when they settled, can at this distant age only be a question of conjecture. That the existing occupiers of the soil are all descended from the Aborigines, we are not willing to believe. That these are *all* colonists and emigrants we are also loath to admit. That the wild hill tribes on the frontiers are the only relics of the first inhabitants cannot be proved to anybody's satisfaction. The truth seems to lie between these varying propositions. The savage clans dwelling in the recesses of jungles and hills, are proper representatives of the people in their pristine condition. But of these, large numbers may have been humanized by amalgamation with more civilized emigrants.

The most timid or untractable had probably preferred a wild independence in the thickets of hills and mountain-fastnesses to the yoke of more powerful intruders, or to incorporation with foreigners whom they could not expel. In the then imperfect state of navigation, the foreign colonists had perhaps poured in by land from the teeming plains of Hindustan Proper. From them Bengal must have derived its Hinduism and the Sanscrit literature. The present language is, in all likelihood, a commixture of the original wild dialect with the polished vocabulary of the *Vedas* and *Purans*. Indeed this province appears, on the emigration of new colonists, to have undergone similar mutations in men and language with its insular mistress of the west, where the Saxons and Normans amalgamated with the Aboriginal savages, though they were the means of driving many a wild free-spirited horde into inaccessible mountains and forests.

But whatever be the probable truth of these suppositions, it is almost undoubted that Bengal did not rise into importance so early as the other divisions of Hindustan.* Whether the Brahminical theology was in any shape known and acknowledged from the very commencement of its population or not, certain it is that the study of Brahminical learning was not long carried on here with any celebrity or success. The Nuddea school, now so famous for its cultivation of the *Nyaya*, or Logic, is confessedly of modern institution. What the state of learning, philosophy, and theology, was, in this province, during or previous to its connection with the *Magadha* empire, does not clearly appear. The contempt with which it is still spoken of in the other divisions of India, and the absence of any traditionary or monumental proofs of its pristine glory, is a presumptive evidence of its primitive insignificance. Under the Buddhist family of the Pals, Brahminism must naturally have been on the wane, and little as the Shasters had before been studied, they must have been less so at this period. This is evident from the miserable condition to which the priests had been reduced under the Hindu kings that succeeded the Buddhists. In the reign of Adisur, the founder of the Sen or the medical dynasty, the ranks of Brahminism had not only been sadly desolated, probably owing to the persecution of his Buddhist predecessors, but the few that had escaped this catastrophe were found deplorably ignorant in their sacerdotal duties. Brahminism, it must be remembered, requires its

* The long list of Bengal kings contained in the *Ayeen Acbary* cannot be entirely correct. How could so many names be traditionally remembered?—or if the compiler made use of any documentary guides, where are they now?

religious ordinances to be celebrated in Sanscrit, the pretended language of the gods, not unlike Romanism which enjoins its services to be performed in Latin, the ecclesiastical language of the western fathers. In Adisur's reign, however, scarcely one Brahmin could read or understand the common services of their religion—to say nothing of the more solemn rites and ceremonies of the Vedas. Of *Sagnic* Brahmins, Bengal was wholly destitute. These priests were held in the highest veneration, because of their preserving, by daily offerings of fuel and clarified butter, the sacrificial fire lighted by their parents on the day of their nativity, and kept unextinguished for use in their funeral solemnities. Adisur was led to entertain a desire of celebrating a sacrificial feast, in order to avert the threatened consequences of a long and oppressive drought. *This* none but *Sagnic* Brahmins knew how to perform. The pious king felt not a little humbled to find that such characters were not procurable in his own dominions. In order to supply the deficiency, his eyes were naturally turned towards Upper India, the great theatre sanctified by the legendary acts of Krishna, and Rama,—where Vyas and Valmiki had tuned their poetic lyres—and which bore the same relation in point of learning and theological reputation to Bengal, that the continent did to England at and before the time of the Norman conquest. The king of Kanouj, the celebrated capital of Hindustan of classical fame, was applied to for a supply of *Sagnic* priests, who might perform the contemplated sacrifice, and by reviving the study of Sanscrit, restore the knowledge of Hinduism among their unlettered brethren of Bengal.

When the ambassadors from the court of Gour presented themselves before the king of Kanouj, five Sagnic Brahmins happened to be in attendance, who were induced, by the hope of improving their fortunes, to emigrate into Bengal. They were priests of a superior order, tracing their parentage to *Rishis*, of great reputation, and esteemed as members of the *Sándilya Káshyapa*, *Bharadwáj*, *Sávarna* and *Bátsya* Gotras or tribes. The utmost respect and attention were paid to them on their arrival at Gour with their families, servants, and followers. According to the king's wishes, they commenced without delay the solemn ceremony for which they had been invited. *Vedgarva*, *Sriharsa*, and *Chhander* chanted the *Rich*, *Yajus*, and *Saman* Vedas, while *Daksha* and *Narayan* officiated at the sacrifice. The innumerable princes and nobles that had been invited to witness the ceremony and partake of the banquet, wondered at the learning and ritual tactics of these Brahmins, whose reputation was hereby still more widely circulated.

They were regarded both for their ritualistic experience and their reputed sanctity, as the superiors of the priestly classes, and even the servile adventurers who had followed their fortunes were honoured, as the leaders of the *Sudra* caste. But the new comers did not enjoy these favours with the modesty and magnanimity which became their distinguished rank and dignity. They affected to treat the Aboriginal or old Bengalee Brahmins with scorn and contumely. Instead of labouring to raise the indigenous priests by amalgamating with them, and of thus forming an united and compact body of native hierarchy, they continued as a separate and isolated order, and sowed the seeds of much heart-burning and jealousy.

The descendants of the five priestly emigrants from Kanouj had multiplied rapidly and overrun the whole country, when Bullal Sen, one of the successors of Adisur, ascended the Bengal throne. This prince was held in such high estimation all over Bengal, that the most extravagant fancies have been indulged, and the wildest tales invented, in order to connect his memory with the marvellous and the sublime. Poets have invested him with the dignity of a divine original, and described his infantile precocity in the most glowing colours. He has been represented as the son of the *fluvial* god Brahmaputra, who had deceived his mother by assuming the form of her own husband. His nativity is said to have taken place in the solitude of a thick forest, where his mother had been banished a few months before her parturition through the jealousy and treachery of his father's two other wives. In these sylvan shades, and under the especial protection of Heaven, he passed his infantile days, undisturbed by the noise and distractions of towns and cities, and uncontaminated by the pleasures and irregularities of riotous society. His divine parent, "uxorius amnis," as Horace would perhaps call him, instructed him in the different branches of a Hindu's education, and in the tactics of war and diplomatic policy. While yet a boy, he is said to have exhibited extraordinary proofs of heroism and strength. He had discomfited, unassisted and alone, a whole host of disciplined troops, commanded by princes and veteran captains, and armed with all the weapons of native warfare.

As a king, Bullal appears to have been the friend and father of his people. The tranquillity which prevailed in his reign, enabled him to cultivate the arts of peace, and to reform the social institutions of his country. His affability and condescension were unexampled. But too much familiarity in such characters, unless balanced by more than ordinary wis-

dom, scarcely fails to associate itself with some evil consequences or other. It is truly amiable in a prince to reduce himself in society to the level of his subjects, and engage himself actively in regulating conventional rules and laws. A danger, however, there is, lest by too familiar and close contact with those whom he ought to command and protect, and by too busily officiating in matters on which he had better be indifferent, he may contract invidious prejudices and form partialities, calculated rather to expose the infirmities of the man than exhibit the majesty of the sovereign. Notwithstanding his other virtues, he betrayed himself occasionally into levities and partizanships unworthy of a crowned head. The petty squabbles into which he was involuntarily led with certain of his own subjects, and the unworthy arts he employed to depress the *Banker* caste, have entailed everlasting infamy upon his name. The tribe of which many of the *Seals*, *Mullicks*, *Dhurs*, *Deys*, *Dutts*, *Addys*, &c., of the present day are members, and which appears to have sprung in a pure or mixed way from the last of the three *twice-born* orders of ancient institution, owes its existing degradation in Hindu society to the ignoble vengeance of Bullal. This may probably be one reason for which the *Bankers* in a body subsequently embraced the doctrines inculcated by *Chaitanya*, and acknowledged the spiritual pupillage of the *Goshayees* as the lineal descendants of *Nityananda*. The system introduced by *Chaitanya* and the sectaries to which it gave birth, together with the lives and characters of its founders, would present very interesting subjects of speculation to Christian observers in the East.

Bullal Sen was not a little distressed to witness the jealousies and feuds, which distracted and disgraced the sacerdotal orders in his dominions. The descendants of the five colonists from Kanouj, many of whom had sadly degenerated from their fathers, boasted of their superior attraction, and behaved themselves with great haughtiness to the *Saptasati*,* or old Bengalee Brahmins, despising them as a vulgar and degraded race, and insinuating suspicions on the purity of their origin. To restrain the vain arrogance of the one and to raise the deserving members of the other, were necessary to secure peace and encourage virtue. To bring on a general reconciliation between parties so prejudiced against one another, was altogether hopeless. For extraordinary evils, extraordinary and almost ano-

* The old Brahmins of Bengal were not acknowledged to be pure descendants of the sacerdotal caste. They were reckoned into seven hundred families, and were therefore called the *Saptasati*.

malous remedies were necessary. The king accordingly formed the resolution of depressing the idle boasters of their genealogy by exalting the meritorious and the virtuous of their own body. There are always two ways of degrading men. They may either be actually reduced to a lower position and deprived of honours and privileges already in their possession; or others whom they have hitherto considered their peers may be exalted above their ranks, and then the upward motion of those that are promoted, must produce in those that are superseded an acute sense of an apparent motion downwards. The first way of degrading is ever an ungracious punishment, which worthlessness and mere negative vices do not always deserve;—the second is in truth nothing more than the reward of merit, though in its consequences it answers all the ends of moral discipline and government. Vain and unworthy boasters priding themselves on their *Gotras* must, when invidiously overlooked in a general distribution of favours, feel with all the keenness of a real humiliation, a kind of ignominous descent, on beholding their worthier compeers actually ascending above their level. The politic king of Bengal chose this latter mode of demeaning some by ennobling others. He knew that when the virtuous among the descendants of the Kanouj Brahmins were exalted, the vicious who could boast of nothing but their pedigree, would be necessarily depressed; while as the moral effect of this discrimination all would be stimulated to good and great efforts by the king's readiness to reward virtue.

Accordingly he selected, from among the descendants of the sacerdotal colonists, those who had distinguished themselves by learning and good manners, and conferred upon them the honourable appellation of *Kulins*. The rule by which, according to tradition, he made this selection, is like all other oriental maxims more charming to the ear, as recited by Ghataks, than striking to the eye as realized in life. Without derogating from the capacities of human nature, we must frankly declare that we do not believe a single Brahmin, thus exalted by Bullal, lived up to the pretended standard of Kulinism. *Good manners*, *humility*, *learning*, *reputation*, *pilgrimages*, *devotion*, *means of subsistence*, *self-mortification*, and *charity* are the nine-fold qualifications of a Kulin. We should certainly congratulate human nature if the good king could conscientiously predicate as much for any of his favoured Brahmins.

The Kulins thus created were like privileged families elsewhere of diverse orders and transmissible in hereditary succession. The institution was accordingly liable to all the abuses to which hereditary honours are perhaps always subject. That

these have their uses also, we do not deny. Respectable parentage is calculated to secure good manners, and to operate as an incentive to the practice of virtue. A nobleman naturally feels desirous of maintaining the dignity conventionally attached to his title, and of transmitting his escutcheon unsullied to his posterity. In the distinction to which he is exalted, society possesses a guarantee for his preservation of moral propriety and external decency. The forfeiture of his honour would render his name execrable, not only to the present generation, but to all his posterity for ages to come; and this fear must restrain him from violence and excess. And there is something enrapturing to the imagination in the thought of a noble family that has kept up its brilliancy for ages immemorial, and has passed unscathed the fiery trials of life, and escaped the desolating ravages of time. "It is a reverend thing," says the master philosopher of modern times, "to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time."* We are no Vandals, and can admire the monuments and relics of antiquity as in inanimate productions of nature, art, and genius, so also in living families of title and distinction. When we meet with the sons of Benjamin and Judah among the Jews, or those of Sandilya and Kashyapa among the Brahmins, we feel transported to the age of prophecy in the one case and of poetry in the other.

Notwithstanding, however, these uses and associations, hereditary honours are subject, as we have already declared, to many serious abuses. Nothing can be a more sorry spectacle than the sight of empty conceits of dignity unadorned with the gifts of nature and fortune, and unaccompanied by the recommendations of talent and virtue. It was a just reproach of idle boasters of family distinction, which John the Baptist, on the banks of the Jordan, levelled against the haughty Pharisees and Sadducees that solicited his baptism, when calling them a *generation of vipers*, he declared the vanity of their descent from Abraham. The experience of many ages and countries has convinced mankind, that idle boasters of noble genealogies generally depart from the virtuous career of their distinguished ancestors, from whom they derive their names and titles—as far, indeed, and as widely as the Pharisees and Sadducees of St. John the Baptist's time had degenerated from Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.

The Brahminical Kuls which Bullal instituted contained

* Bacon.

radically still more prolific seeds of evil than similar institutions in other countries. In England, hereditary titles are held by temporal lords, or the *laity* alone, and are transmissible under the restrictions of the law only to the eldest sons, or next in lineal descent. If some peerages are spiritual, these are attached merely as official adjuncts and honours to the select few whose piety and learning "the king delights to honour." As the guardians of religion and overseers of God's household, they are certainly entitled to some distinction. But the English Bishops are not an order of *hereditary* hierarchy pretending to so much importance on the score of *birth-right*. Even the feudal prelacies of the dark ages were exempt from this abuse. The bishops of old popish days, though at the same time both *pastors* and *warriors*, and perhaps more dexterous as sons of Mars than as sons of the Church, were *elected* officers and vassals of the crown. They were not a race of *hereditary* priests uniting the temporal and spiritual swords under the same grasp, or simultaneously admonishing and coercing their flocks and villeins—the one to cultivate the peaceful dispositions of the Christian, the other to arm for battle and slaughter.

The Kuls of which we are speaking, are, however, *temporal* honours attached to *hereditary* spiritual families, and although they are not connected with the military vassalage of the feudal bishops, yet since *villages* and *districts* were settled upon them, they contained the germs of every description of tyranny, which in a more warlike country and under a longer continuance of its political independence, might have grown into full maturity. Among the Brahmins of Bengal, again, a Kulinhood descends to all male children lawfully begotten, and as these worthies do not scruple to multiply their wives to any extent, the propagation of their ranks surpasses all calculation. The country has accordingly been overrun with these hungry dignitaries, and has groaned under the burden of supporting and maintaining them. Even at the present day some unbroken Kulins will hardly condescend to work for their livelihood. As Brahmins they consider themselves entitled to all the good things which the country can produce, and as *dignitaries* they fancy they have a right to fleece the *priests themselves*. The disastrous consequences of such freaks, originally encouraged by a crowned head, and always unopposed by the populace, need no illustration in detail.

Neither are the Kulinhoods subject to forfeiture for personal delinquencies. Even the spiritual baronies of the middle ages have sometimes been subject to deprivations and forfeitures. But no criminality can affect the family honours of the Kulin

Brahmins of Bengal; and this exemption naturally encourages vice and wickedness. Every new generation appears to depart further and further from the rule, which directed the original foundation of the order. We do indeed occasionally learn from tradition and doggrel ballad-mongers, of Kulin families being degraded for personal delinquencies. Such instances, however, even if these sources of information may be credited, were confined to the age of the Sen dynasty, who were the original founders and especial patrons of Kulinism. No discipline of the kind has ever been since exercised. *Raghunandan Tarkálankár*, one of the authors we have named above, proves by elaborate argumentation that such discipline is inadmissible in these days! The Brahmins themselves have never stirred a finger to uphold the purity of their order. It is, on the contrary, a favourite maxim with them that moral transgression cannot affect the dignity of one's birth. *The cow, they say, does not forfeit its superiority even if it take the most filthy food, nor can the swine partake of the cow's sanctity even if it feed on grass, herbs, and water.* The only sin which soils one's Kulinism in their estimation, is an unequal marriage; but of this we shall have to speak in the sequel.

The Kulins formed by Bullal Sen and afterwards enlarged by Lukhmun Sen, were of diverse *mels* or orders. Of these four were considered *primary*, and are still held in the highest veneration. They took their designation from the places where at their own request they were allowed to settle, and they are to this day distinguished by the names of *Fule*, *Khardah*, *Sarvánandi*, and *Bullavi** In these orders were comprehended the most meritorious of the descendants of the five colonists from Kanouj; that is, the most virtuous of the Banerjeas, the Chatterjeas, the Mookerjeas, the Ghosauls, and the Gangoolies. Of the family of Butt Narayen,† that is the Banerjea family, two persons were raised, Maheswer and Makarand; of the sons of Daksha, that is the Chatterjeas, Bahurup, and Arabind were honoured; Utsava was the only member of the Mookerjea family descended from Sriharsa that was distinguished; three of the Ghosauls or sons of Chhander, viz. Ingad, Govardhan, and Kanu, and two of the Gangoolies or descendants of Vedgarva, viz. Shisho and Rodhaker were likewise exalted. These were all the principal Kulins raised to dignity by king

* The author of the *Kula Sara Sindhu* says, that the distinction of *mels* was subsequent to the institution of the Kuls, and was occasioned by the disparity of qualifications exhibited by the various families that had already been exalted. He considers these divisions as marks of disgrace rather than of honour, and represents in detail the delinquency of each family as the cause of its specific surname.

† There is considerable difference of opinion between authors as to the names and number of the parties first created Kulins.

Bullal, and they were designated either after one or other of the four *mels* already named, or from the family to which they were respectively attached. The Ghosauls and the Gangoolies comprehended three other distinctive appellations after three of their sons of fame, viz. Putitandi, Kanjilaul and Kunda.

Lukhman Sen, the son and successor of Bullal, followed up and improved the heraldry instituted by his father, and enlarged the names and orders of the Kuls to an enormous length. The primary orders were left untouched. The inferior or secondary mels were spun out into nearly thirty subdivisions. By these intricate multiplications of high-sounding titles, the king may have rendered himself popular among his Brahmins, but he benefited neither his family, his country, nor any body else, except perhaps the Kulins themselves and the Ghataks.* His posterity were deserted by these very dignitaries on the approach of Mehomed Bukhtyar at the head of his victorious army flushed with the conquest of Behar. In his old age, the last prince of the Sen dynasty was obliged to surrender his crown into the hands of the Javans, and betake himself to an ignominious flight. His sceptre was wrenched from his hand by the followers of the impostor, and the land of the *Kulins* and *Shrotriyas* was deprived of its independence and shorn of its glory. The very reigns which had mustered such a dignified array of newly-created titles† numbered the days of freedom and liberty in Bengal, and introduced all the miseries of the iron age, which the old sages are said to have predicted with such piteous forebodings, and under which the country smarted for many a tedious century.

Besides these Kulins, another order of Brahmins was honoured in Bullal's time, who were called the *Shrotriyas*. The descendants of the five Kanouj Brahmins, though at first they had avoided all intercourse with the *Saptasati* or aboriginal Brahmins of Bengal, were subsequently induced to accept their daughters as wives. The offspring of these marriages were considered inferior to their fathers, but superior to their

* The *Ghataks* are the keepers of genealogical tables and judges of the relative dignity of families. When proposals of marriage are stipulated, their books and opinions are sought as a security against unequal or illegal contracts. Their verdicts are generally considered as final and decisive.

† The principal orders of Kulins we have already mentioned. We may as well name some of the inferior *mels* in this place :—Panditratny, Bangal, Surayee, Acharya Sekhary, Chatta Raghaby, Parihall, Dehata, Dasharath Ghataky, Shabharajkhany, Maladarkhany, Achambeta, Chandrabaty, Baly, Kakutsthy, Raghab Ghosaly, Bijoypandity, Sadanandakhany, Naria, Udharany, Chharyee. Whether these appellations be musical or not, they give in their Roman dress sufficient trial to our own guttural and palatial organs, and we are sure they will afford still better pastime to our readers.

mothers and maternal grand-sires. They had half the blood of Kanouj, and were therefore esteemed superior to the aboriginal priests, and they had half the blood of the *Saptasatis*, and so were held inferior to their fathers. The most meritorious of these persons the king honoured with the title of *Shrotriyas*. They had this privilege among others, that the *Kulins* might marry their daughters without prejudice to their ranks. They have accordingly proved a connecting link between the *Kulins* and the *Saptasatis*. Their houses are the authorized nurseries for breeding wives for the exalted Brahmins; and they take no small pride in reflecting on the importance which this honour imparts to their class. They are the appointed instruments of propagating the *Kulins*, of whom they are both fathers-in-law and maternal grandfathers.

What enhances the value of this privilege is, that the *Kulins* cannot marry women from any other families, not even from the subordinate *Kulins* themselves, without degrading their offspring. This brings us to the intricate laws of matrimony as they are binding upon the *Kulins*. A transgression against these laws is the only delinquency which can disable a titled family. The effects of the disqualification cannot, however, reach the delinquent himself, who continues in the full possession of his honours as long as he lives. It is his offspring who suffer from this discipline of Brahminical heraldry.

The *Kulins* are strictly forbidden, on pain of forfeiting their title, to receive wives from families that are inferior to themselves, with the exception of the *Shrotriyas* just mentioned. When this rule is transgressed, although the delinquent himself does not suffer personally, his *kul* is pronounced to be broken or dissolved. He himself dies, as he was born, in the enjoyment of his honour; but his offspring forfeit the title, and the glory of the family becomes tarnished. It is impossible to conceive the reason for which the Brahmins have rendered their *kuls* so invulnerable in other respects, and yet so easily dissoluble by a lawful, though *unfashionable*, union. Whatever be the philosophy of the law, it has produced beneficial effects. So exuberant are the Kuls, in consequence of their descending equally to all legitimate sons, begotten through multitudes of contemporaneous wives by the same fathers, that whatever tends to thin their ranks must be considered a blessing to the country. Such increasing swarms of lordly Brahmins could not fail to be a pest to the people.

This disqualifying law has not stood a dead letter in works on the Kuls. Occasions have often presented themselves for

its execution. Matrimonial alliance with the Kulins has always been an object of ambition with the Brahmins. Not only the Shrotriyas, who are privileged by their very institution to bid for titled sons-in-law, but the inferior orders too, are to this day continually hunting after *kuls* to exalt their daughters by an honourable union. The lordly Brahmins are naturally flattered by this quest of their alliance, and do not fail to improve the connubial market to their best advantage. Prices are set upon their compliance in proportion to the demand, and to the risk the bridegroom incurs of forfeiting his title for his posterity. A Shrotriya can, for instance, prevail upon a Kulin to accept of his daughter with a smaller fee than one of inferior connections. In either case fees must be given before a wife will be received. A *Kulin* would, however, prefer a *Shrotriya* to any other, because his title would in that case stand unsullied. But avarice frequently overpowers hereditary pride. Larger bribes will often purchase a son-in-law of the highest family for the most despised classes. On such occasions the *kul* is pronounced to be incapable of further descent; and these cases are so frequent, that unbroken *kuls* of the primary *mels* are now rarely to be met with in many places.

Although an unequal marriage dissolves a person's *kul*, his immediate descendants are not at once classed with the *Vansaj*, or common Brahmins. For four or five generations the recollections of their ancestral dignity secure for the sons of a broken *Kulin* great honour and distinction. They are treated like the younger sons of a privileged family in England, who, though they inherit not the title and the parliamentary seat, are in other respects not only addressed as *lords* or *honourables*, but also received in society as members of the nobility. The descendants of a *Kulin*, even after the disruption of his *kul*, are, for several generations, considered superiors in rank and dignity. The brightness and lustre of a noble family are supposed to be incapable of being tarnished at once and by a single act, though the days of its glory are then numbered, and nothing will restore it to its primitive greatness. The immediate offspring of such a family are designated the sons of a *Swakrita-bhanga*, or self-broken *Kulin*, and esteemed as a *second* grade or inferior by one step only to untainted orders. The next generation is esteemed as the *third* in rank, and inferior by *two* steps to the highest class. This gradual deterioration continues unto the *fourth* and *fifth* generations, after which the glory of the family is obscured, and it sinks to the level of the commonalty. So many families have now been thus shorn of their pretended glory, that it is often difficult to find out unbroken kuls of the

four primary *mels*. The present high Brahmins are chiefly those of broken families of the second and third generations. Many have already been induced to sacrifice their honours at the shrine of their avarice. It is strange that of the many *broken* kuls now in existence, though the cause has in every case been an improper marriage, scarcely one is known to have been compromised from feelings of *love*.* In other countries, when persons of distinction are induced to marry below their level, the motive generally is *personal attachment*. With the *Kulins* of Bengal the case is far different. Mammon, "the least erected spirit that fell," is the god at whose altar they sacrifice their titles.

The laws which regulate the marriage of Kulin females are cruelly stringent. These must not, on any account, be given to any but persons of an equal or superior grade. Neither the Shrotriyas, nor any inferior order, can aspire to the hand of a Kulin's daughter. An indelible disgrace would be affixed upon such a prostitution of a girl of birth and family. But her hereditary honour becomes her heaviest misfortune. The greatest difficulty is experienced in settling her in life. The only circles from which a husband may be selected are in quest everywhere and by everybody. To outbid the Shrotriyas and others in the purchase of a noble bridegroom would require larger funds than many a Kulin can command. The greatest misery and distress are accordingly occasioned. To suffer a young girl incapable of rational occupations and intellectual amusements to remain in celibacy, would be to expose her virtue to too severe an ordeal. An uncultivated mind, destitute of the restraints by which education balances the animal passions, aud unprotected by a husband's tender care, must be subject to temptations of no ordinary power. Unmarried females in Christian communities, with the godly influences of the Gospel to regulate their lives, and literary pursuits to occupy and ennoble their thoughts, have often proved ornaments to their sex. The case would be different in a heathen country, and with minds untaught, and ignorant and unrestrained by principles. No parent here dares to risk his daughter's virtue by allowing her to lead a single life. The institutions of Hinduism, too, denounce the fiercest anathemas against such conduct. The severest condemnation is passed upon a Brahmin that neglects to get his daughter married before she completes her *tenth* year. The most meritorious way of disposing her is to present her at the hymeneal altar when she is eight years old. The *second* best way is before her *ninth* year is terminated.

* We are of course not speaking of the *age* in which the *kuls* ware first instituted.

At all events, her wedding should not be delayed beyond her *tenth* year. Longer procrastination entails upon the delinquent the guilt and infamy of *infanticide*. The distress and perplexity of a poor Kulin when his daughter attains the marriageable age are therefore inexpressible. He cannot give her away to a less dignified person than himself for fear of a lasting disgrace. His equals and superiors will not receive her without a large *pan* or dowry. To postpone the ceremony would be to fall under the lash of the Shasters. In this difficulty, necessity forces him often to procrastinate; and he prefers the silent rebukes of Manu and Narada to the living reproaches of his contemporaries. His only resource at last is to entreat some old Kulin, who has already made several profitable bargains in his life, to commiserate the misfortunes of an indigent fellow dignitary, and by adding to his long list of monied wives another piteous girl, to save a titled family from impending ruin. Compassion to a suffering brother may induce the superannuated polygamist to extricate him from his deplorable plight, especially since, at such an age, there is little prospect of his making a more lucrative husbandry of himself. In this way the Kulin father may free himself from his difficulty by giving away his young daughter as an additional partner of a decrepit brother dignitary. Parents have also been known, in their distress and perplexity, to present their daughters, with all the solemnities of a religious ceremony, to persons on their deathbeds, in order to evade the Shastric condemnation of suffering female offspring to remain *asanscrita*, or *destitute of the matrimonial sacrament*, and to avert the odium of offering them to inferior orders.

Kulinism is thus the very hotbed of Hindu polygamy, and of all its attendant evils. Venality or pity towards distressed brethren incites these hungry nobles to multiply their wives without number. The female suffering hereby occasioned needs not be detailed. The Kulin bridegrooms can scarcely keep house with their numberless wives, who are therefore obliged to reside under the protection of their own paternal relations. The husbands fix their head-quarters where their fathers-in-law are rich enough to settle lands and houses upon them, and sometimes visit the others in rotation. The majority of their wives seldom chance to see them—never perhaps share in their affection. To be tied to a husband of so many wives must of itself be a sufficient infliction; scarcely ever to enjoy his society must be a still severer doom; and yet few Kulin girls are exempt from either misfortune. Many a Kulin's son cannot tell the exact number of his step-mothers and half-brothers!

That there are happy exceptions, we have the highest pleasure in recording; and this reflection is a great relief to the imagination. When a Kulin is well off in the world, and has with his title inherited an adequate fortune, he abstains for the most part from defiling himself by a disgraceful polygamy. It is impossible not to take delight in contemplating these cases. Such families are justly entitled to veneration for their ancient distinction. They remind us of old times without disgusting our feelings by unseemly and distressing spectacles. A *second* preservative against Kulin polygamy is witnessed when opulent Shrotriyas and others purchase a noble bridegroom at a good price, and then contrive to secure him from the temptation of multiplying his wives. In extreme cases they proceed to the length of obstructing the perpetration of such debasing acts by intimidation, and even more violent measures. Many families in Calcutta have in some such way procured monogamist husbands for their daughters. *Thirdly*, the Kuls, like other communities, have also sometimes presented extraordinary examples of virtuous men, who, from elevated principles and tender susceptibilities, have spared themselves the distraction, and their wives and children the misery, inseparable from multitudinous contemporaneous partners in life. Such instances are still more entitled to our respect and admiration. They exhibit the triumph of humanity over venality, and of conjugal affection over a tempting and legalized concubinage. With these exceptions, however, the Kuls are cruel engines of female misery and degradation. Neither age nor debility dissuades a person from contemplating new matrimonial contracts, and thereby sacrificing fresh victims to his avarice or waywardness. Death alone disables him from doing further mischief.

We cannot here help expressing our wonder at the readiness with which the Hindus of Bengal almost universally submit to this vicious institution, when the most orthodox and bigoted cannot plead any higher authority for its perpetuation than that of a mere temporal sovereign,—himself not a Brahmin. Where divine sanctions are pretended we may pity the ignorance, but cannot rudely assail the *motive*, however mistaken, or vilify the piety, however false. While, for instance, we can weep over the fanaticism and monstrous cruelty which exposed the infant or burnt the widow, we cannot severely vituperate the zeal which promoted it, though against knowledge. But the establishment of *kuls* is on all hands acknowledged to have been long posterior to the pretended age of Brahminical revelations. Neither Menu nor Vyas, neither the Shruti nor the Smriti have authorized the laws and rules of the *Kulins* and

the *Shrotriyas*.* A monarch of the medical tribe—itself a *Sanker* caste—legalized by his royal patent this degrading institution. And yet with the human knowledge of this human origin, the learned and unlearned, the educated and the uneducated, bend their necks without complaint or murmur to the galling yoke, and are content to undergo the suffering and misery with which it richly abounds. Neither the tender susceptibilities of the husband and the father, nor the ennobling principles of the scholar and the philosopher, are found sufficient for curing the evil. The heart-rending cries of female victims, and the soft suggestions of knowledge and education, yea, and the powerful voice of justice and humanity are silenced with equal ease by the charms of the almost talismanic instrument of Bullal's invention.

The kuls of which we have hitherto been speaking are of the *Rariya Brahmins*, so called from the locality where they settled, and distinguished by the favours which Bullal and his son had heaped upon them. But there is another class of Brahmins likewise descended from the five Kanouj emigrants, who have also similar distinctions among themselves. The *Sagnic* Brahmins, whom Adisur had naturalized in Bengal, were held in the highest estimation all over the country, and the superior sacrificial feast celebrated with so much pomp and grandeur at which this holy fraternity officiated, had attracted the notice, and almost excited the envy, of all surrounding princes. Birmallah,† in particular, the king of Barender, felt emulous of the glory which Adisur, his son-in-law, had acquired by his solemn festivities, and desired to impart a similar lustre to his own dominions by celebrating an equally splendid sacrifice himself. He accordingly applied to the king of Gour for five Brahmins of the Kanouj family, who might realize this object,

* The words *Kul* and *Shrotriya* occur in the Shasters, but there they mean *good family* and *familiarity with the Vedas*, in a general way. The establishment of the orders and the specific determination of the *mels* are universally acknowledged to be of modern invention.

† The traditions respecting the five Brahminical emigrants from Kanouj, and the sacrificial feast celebrated by Adisur, as well as Bullal's reputed parentage from him, involve several improbabilities and contradictions, which it is impossible to clear or explain. If Adisur procured only five priests from Kanouj for solemnizing his contemplated ceremony, how could he immediately upon its completion, that is, within a few months of their arrival, get five more of the same stock to spare for his father-in-law. And how could the descendants of these exotic priests multiply so rapidly in the course of one reign, if he was the reputed father and immediate predecessor of Bullal, in whose time, we are told, these Brahmins had filled the country. All this forces us to conclude that Bullal was one of his remote descendants, as the author of the *Raja balee* maintains, who calls him the son of Dhisen, and that Birmalla applied for the five sacerdotal grants at a much later period. Nor could this last named prince, if the Brahmins removed to Barender at his instance, have been the father-in-law of Adisur.

and naturalize themselves in his kingdom. Adisur acceded to his father-in-law's wishes, and presented him with five priestly grafts from his Kanouj stock. These Brahmins, thus separated from their brethren, received the designation of *Barenders* from the province where they settled, and gradually beeame entirely a distinct class. The deseendants of the first emigrants were thus divided into two braneheS,—the *Rariyas* and the *Barenders*, which eventually eonsidered themselves as separate races, and refused all manner of allianee and intercourse among themselves, either by marriage or the interehange of hospitality.

The royal patron of the Barenders did not fail to imitate the example of his friend of Gour in ereating Kulins and Shrotriyas among his Brahmins. Eight families were distinguished by the former honourable title, and eight by the latter. The *Moitras*, the *Bhims*, the *Rudras*, the *Sandels*, the *Lahurys*, the *Sdahobs*, the *Bhaders*, and the *Bhaduris*, were made Kulins: —the *Karanjans*, the *Nandabasis*, the *Nauris*, the *Atars*, the *Bhandashalis*, the *Kamdebs*, the *Champatis*, and the *Jhampatis*, were reckoned as Shrotriyas. This classification must have been made at a later period, when the five grafts had ramified into many families.

Bullal Sen was not satisfied with honouring the most deserving of his priests. He instituted Kulinships among the *Kayasthas* also. These were the descendants of the *third* twice-born order by females of the *servile* caste, and filled an intermediate grade between the *regenerated* and the *slaves*. Intermarriages among the several castes, though not eneouraged, were tolerated in the first ages of Hinduism. The superior orders were indeed prohibited from giving their *daughters* to their inferiors, but they were allowed to accept *wives* from their ranks. The offspring of these mixed marriages were called *Sankers*, or *half-castes*, who were considered a distinct race from their fathers and mothers. The mixed tribes thus produced had attracted notice as early as the days of Menu, who distinctly mentions them as separate orders, and legislates for them in his institutes. The *Sankarmálá*, a chapter in the *Paràshara Paddhati*, one of the works at the head of this article, expressly treats on this subject, describing the original, and defining the professions of these people.

The five priestly emigrants from Kanouj were accompanied by five servants or followers. Sriharsa was attended by Makaranda Ghose,—Chhander by Dasharatha Bose,—Daksha by Kalidas Mitter,—Narayen by Purushottam Dutt, and Ved-

garva by Dasharatha Guha.* These five servants were the progenitors of the most respectable Kayasthas of Bengal, known among Europeans, and described in the *Sankarmala* as the *writer* caste, *living by their pens*. The royal munificence of Bullal was not exhausted by the honours he distributed among the Brahmins. He proceeded to distinguish their followers too. But as the highest privilege of the *unregenerated* classes was to acknowledge vassalage to the *regenerate*, the king inquired of the Kayasthas whether they professed servitude to the Brahmins. Ghose, Bose and Mitter, made a plenary confession of their dependence on the *twice-born*, and declared themselves absolutely and unreservedly their servants and bondsmen. This abject submission was naturally gratifying to a monarch who fawned on the priests, and patents were immediately issued, conferring the title of *Kulins* on the Ghoses, the Boses, and the Mitters. Dutt was not equally compliant. He evinced an independent or refractory spirit, and refused to enroll himself in the list of vassals to the Brahmins. He professed only to have accompanied the *Sagnic* emigrants from Kanouj, but repudiated the idea of *villeinage* to any body. This sensitiveness was considered a sufficient reason for withholding the royal favour from him. His sentiments of personal independence, and his descent from the Kanouj stock, were, however, so far appreciated as to procure for him the privilege of intermarrying with his more fortunate brethren. The poor Guha proved the most unlucky. The very mention of his family appellation reminded the monarch of his name-sake, the king of the *Chandals* spoken of in the *Ramayana;* and this unhappy association prejudiced him most sadly in the estimation of the whole royal court. His origin was considered suspicious, and a degree was conferred upon him, rendering him *noble* only among the *Bangaj* or aboriginal *Kayasthas*.

In order to represent at one view the peculiar features of this privileged creature of Bullal's policy, forming the subject of the present article, we shall here fill up some of the preceding outlines, and make a faint exhibition of the *Kulin's* many-coloured life and character. The word *Kulin* suggests to an oriental mind, the idea of a high-caste and well-bred, though not necessarily a *wealthy* Brahmin,—born, probably, under the protection of his maternal relatives, and apparent

* The relative servitude of these Kayasthas is somewhat differently stated in the *Raja bali* of Mrityunjaya.—Sriharsa is there represented as the master of Kalidas Mitter, Chhander of Purushottam Dutt, Daksha of Dasharatha Bose, Bhutt Narayen of Makarand Ghose, and Vedgarva of Dasharatha Guha.

heir of moveables and immoveables, rather by right of his mother than of his father. We do not of course mean that he inherits his *Kulin escutcheon* from his mother, or *her* progenitors. But we may fairly suppose him to be more tenderly fondled by his *maternal* than his *paternal* uncles, and to contract greater intimacy with his cousins by the mother's than the father's side. If happily he comes into the world as the first-born of his father's *best*-loved wife, he fortunately enjoys a larger share of his affections than his step-brothers. But whether he chances to be his *father's* pet or not, he is sure to be his *mother's*. Her fondest hopes are concentrated in him. Her imagination kens nothing but scenes of brightness and lustre in his future auspicious career in the world. She will not be able to tell anybody what she expects him to be,—still less can her fancy chalk out the line or the profession she hopes he may successfully follow;—but she often dreams of the golden stars by which he will, perchance, adorn the escutcheon of the family—the splendour of wealth and reputation by which he may ornament the dignity of his birth. She feels herself already transformed from the wife of a heartless, and perhaps vagrant and beggarly polygamist, into the mother of an affectionate and illustrious son.

In common with all Hindu boys, our infant Kulin is religiously introduced at the age of five to a family tutor, and begins to handle the *Khari** under his direction. He has now to go over his alphabet regularly once every day, and to repeat his arithmetical tables after the dictating *guru*. This is, however, no heavier burden than all his little friends of the higher orders have to sustain. But the peculiar dignity of his parentage subjects him to the additional labour of mastering a dry† catalogue of jaw-crashing epithets, catechetically taught him, respecting the origin and distinction of his family. He is called upon to remember the names of his fathers for several generations: their *mel*, their *gotra*, the *venerable* founders of their family, and various other jargon, which he neither understands nor cares for, and to which his articulating organ can scarcely give utterance. About the age of nine or ten he is

* A species of chalk with which Hindu boys are made to form the letters of their alphabet.

† The catechism in which the young *Kulin* is orally instructed is a curious piece of fond tradition. The following are some of its questions and answers:—*Q.* How long have you and your ancestors been Brahmins? *A.* As long as the sun and the moon have been in existence. *Q.* Can you prove this? *A.* Yes—Yávat merusthite devá, yávat Gangá mahitale, chandrárko gagane yávat, tavat Vipra Kule vayam;—*—we are as ancient a family of Brahmins as the gods on Mount Meru—as the Ganges on the earth—as the sun and the moon in the sky.* *Q.* What are the qualifications of a *Kulin*? *A.* Good manners, &c., as given in a former page.

sacramentally invested with the holy string which marks the Brahmin, and which inducts him to his birthright privilege of receiving the homage and adoration of those around him. The self-complacent pride which this investiture produces is, however, associated with a smart operation which, in *his* age, he dislikes as much as he likes to be considered a god incarnate. At his consecration his ears must be bored through with sharp needles, and the holes kept open by the insertion of pins or ear-rings. His consecration renders him eligible for the other *Sanskar*, or *sacrament* of marriage. And now the eyes of *Ghatakas* are turned towards him. These are Brahmins who live, as has been described in a previous note, by procuring and promoting matrimonial contracts between different parties. A Kulin's connection is always in quest, especially while a bachelor; and these negotiators of marriage-treaties find a character of this kind a profitable instrument to work by. Neither do the relations of the bridegroom fail to make the most they can of the opportunity. Before he is perhaps full fourteen—often when still younger—the troth is made in his name, the treaty signed, the ceremony performed, and the boy of fourteen is tied to and made to sleep with a girl of eight! If the bride's friends be wealthy, and can secure his person in their own house, the boy is preserved from the further intrigues of *Ghatakas*, and from the toils of polygamy. If he continues to reside under his paternal, or rather maternal roof, he is constantly in danger of being ensnared into a second and third marriage. His own inclination or interest may also lead him, when of age, to add a few more names to his list of wives. The *Kulin* is seldom satisfied with one wife at a time; he generally owns a number. It is difficult, however, owing to no public registration of Hindoo marriages, to calculate an average of the number. We have authentic information of a person marrying, within the last century, no fewer than 180 wives, and we know persons that have had as many as twenty. We also know, and cheerfully confess, on the other hand, that several have repudiated altogether the privilege of multiplying their wives. We may, however, safely say, that polygamy is the rule among the *Kulins*, notwithstanding our inability to give an exact average number of their wives.

To feed many wives, or to keep a quiet house with so many jealous and sensitive rivals, is no easy work. The Kulin is therefore obliged to allow them to live in their paternal mansions, and selects the richest or the fairest to keep house with himself. The others he can only visit occasionally; and, when he does so, he finds the visitation not altogether unprofitable.

He seldom undertakes these journeys without substantial tokens of attachment from his wives' relations. If his general residence or head-quarters be fixed in or near the metropolis, he pursues some avocation for bettering his circumstances in life. The priestly profession—at least that branch of it which may be likened to the *curacies* in England, with *large* flocks but *scanty* subsistence, he seldom undertakes. The office of such humble parochial ministers is not held in high repute among the proud Brahmins of India. The *Sankarmálá*, which we have placed as one of the titles of this article, allots to it the *sixth* rank in society, below two of the lower and one *sankar* orders themselves. The Kulin aspires to the situation of a *gentleman* at large; and even if the title he inherits by his birth be a mere *empty* honour, and he be forced to subsist upon the bounty of his wife's relations, he never foregoes his ambition to retrieve his fortune, nor gives up his fond notions of self-dignity.

The *Kulin's* visits to most of his wives being *few and far between*, the moral influence of his absence from them has generally been supposed to be subversive of their conjugal fidelity. The supposition does not, perhaps, proceed from a wilful disregard of charity, but it is a certain sign of great ignorance, with reference to the domestic lives of the Hindus. Sexual impurity is, it is true, scarcely considered a sin in the *males;* but in *females* nothing is held more execrable or abominable. The unhappy inhabitants of houses of ill fame are looked upon as the most degraded of the human species. A Hindu, however dissipated himself, would sooner destroy than tolerate a wife of the least moral stain in his house. The women, too, except perhaps in the lowest ranks of society, consider matrimonial faithfulness as their first and paramount duty, notwithstanding the irregularities to which their husbands may be addicted. It is, in fact, the only virtue which they care to preserve, and to the unspotted maintenance of which their whole hearts are devoted. But this reflection, so honourable to the wife, renders the guilt of the wayward husband proportionably aggravated.

Though the sexual virtue of the Hindu female generally stands proof against temptation, the system which allots to her but *a share*, sometimes a very *inconsiderable* share, of her husband's affections, and which virtually decoys him away from her company, cannot be too indignantly reprobated. The *Kulin* polygamist, who wanders from one wife's house to another, can have no taste of domestic comfort, and is scarcely susceptible of the tender emotions of our nature. He can neither be a good husband nor a good father.

But in our anxiety to preserve uninterrupted the thread of our Kulin narrative, we are committing, perhaps, a more that venial trespass against the learned *Bhattacharyas*, whose works are superscribed at the head of this essay. The genealogical tables by *Dhrubananda Misra* are held in the greatest repute in Bengal. They contain the names of the different *kuls* and their members from the time of their settlement by Bullal, Lakhman and Devibara, and are considered as authorised judges of family pretensions. Those by *Vachaspati Misra*, though they are not before us at this moment, are also received as decisive authorities. But *Dhrubananda* and *Vachaspati*, like many other judges and doctors, are sometimes found to *disagree* among themselves. On such occasions, if all attempts to reconcile these authors prove ineffectual, *private* individuals are obliged to decide for themselves. But wherever the masters of heraldry are consentient, the Brahmins exclude *private judgment* with the same vehemence with which Romanists denounce individual opinions against their pretended catholicity. Those, however, who are *singly* subject to error and inaccuracy, may, in certain cases, be so *collectively* too, for a series of *fallibles* will not amount to a *constructive infallibility;* and where an exemption from mistakes and misapprehensions cannot be proved from higher evidences, one can scarcely be called self-opinionated in suspecting the correctness, either of the Indian Ghatakas or of the Popish saints, especially since both have been over zealous of exposing their fables and genealogies to the public gaze.

The *Kula-Sara-sindhu* is an able, though not an authorized work on the Kuls, containing a delineation of their laws, and giving the genealogy of the Banerjeas. The author disclaims all pretensions to the veneration claimed by the Ghatacks, or any desire of *superseding the professions and sharing in their fees.* He writes at the request of his personal friends, who had looked for a discursive treatise on the subject from his pen. The *Mukhuti-Kula-vernana* is a simple genealogy of the Mukerjeas, compiled by some private individual, and valuable to these families as a work for reference.

The *Historical Fragment* we have quoted, is a valuable and interesting composition. We have styled it a *Fragment*, both because it chronicles events only in a passing way, and as an introduction to a dry genealogy of the Kulins, and because we are at this moment in possession of a *fraction* alone of the work. It commences anonymously with a high eulogium on the dignity of the Brahminical caste. It is more meritorious, according to this author, to recount the virtues of the *twice-born* than the exploits of the gods themselves. *Sandilya*, *Kashyapa*, *Sa-*

varna, and others appear here in more brilliant colours than *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiva*. *Rama*, *Porusharama*, *Judhisthira*, *Vikramaditya*, and all other crowned heads had delighted to honour and worship the Brahmins, and endowed them with the sovereignty of the world under them. The age of Adisur is next described. The poetic author gives a somewhat different account of the occasion which introduced the priestly emigrants into Bengal, than what we have delivered in the preceding pages, and what is generally received in the present day. The king of Gour is represented as aspiring to the empire of the world, and despatches messengers to his brother of Benares to demand homage and tribute. A wordy demonstration of power, and a pretension of authority founded upon rhetoric, seldom prevail in turning an independent monarch into a tributary vassal;—nor would the sceptred lord of Shiva's own capital—the mansion of the gods, superior to Heaven itself—readily acknowledge fealty to the chief of a lower province, treated with solemn contempt in the ancient shasters, or recognised only as the unenviable haunt of savages and wild beasts. Even a British Governor-General of India, with all his guns and cannons, found it no smooth work, at a subsequent period, to mulct a Rajah of Benares. The feeling generated in the mind of Beer Sing, on the demand of tribute by Adisur, was accordingly unmingled pity at the infatuated ambition of an ignorant and upstart Bengalee. Even the priests in that *eternal* city knew the tactics of wars, and were masters of state policy. The Brahmins had been inured to the use of warlike implements as dexterously as their sacrificial grass and incense. The ambassador was put to the blush and returned to Gour. He portrayed in glowing colours the majesty and glory of the celestial city, the Brahmins whereof, unlike the pigmy priests of Bengal, proved impregnable bulwarks by the power of their superior sanctity and military skill. The king of Gour was struck by the report of his emissaries, and resolved to wipe away the disgrace of his country, and increase its strength and magnificence by procuring a supply of *Sagnic* priests from Benares. Five Brahmins were thus invited down to Bengal, whose names and gotras were the same as we have before related, and the king settled on them and their posterity five of the most pleasant districts in his dominions.

The Kulins of Bullal's creation are also differently numbered in the *Fragment* from the *Misra's* works. Of the sons of Bhutt Narayen (the Banerjeas) six are said to have been originally made Kulins and ten Shrotriyas; of Daksha's sons (the Chatterjeeas) four Kulins and eleven Shrotriyas; of Chhander's

(the Ghoosalls) six Kulins and four Shrotriyas; of Sriharasa's (the Mookerjeas) three Kulins and one Shrotriya; of Vedgarva's (the Gongoolys) three Kulins and eight Shrotriyas. Although contrary to the common belief, the narrations of the *Fragment* appear more probable than the generally received traditions. It is more consonant to reason that a king should be induced, from *political* motives, to invite and honour the exotic Brahmins aforesaid, than that he should disoblige his native priests, and set his heart upon the *Sagnics* for the purpose of a sacrificial banquet. Bullal, too, is herein mentioned only as *one* of the successors of Adisur, without being definitely represented as his own son or immediate successor. This harmonizes better than the popular legends with the supposition, that the descendants of the emigrant Brahmins had multiplied largely when the kuls were created. The *Fragment* also asserts, what no one dares contradict, that while the shasters speak of *Gotras* and other Brahminical distinctions, they do not uphold the system of the Kulins, which is entirely a fabrication of *Bullal's own head.* The *Sankarmala*, to which we have made reference at the head of these remarks, helps to establish this latter point beyond the possibility of a doubt. This is a little work attributed to *Bhriguram*, one of the incarnations of the Deity, and the peculiar patron of the Brahmins. It treats of the origin of the many castes into which Hindu society is now divided. Four races alone are recognised as coëval with the creation and of divine institution. All others are pronounced to be half-castes, or the offspring of mixed parents. This amounts to the depreciation of all Hindoo orders as *Sankars*, except the Brahmins and the *Kshetriyas;* for there is no distinct classes now extant of pure *Voishyas* and *Sudras.* We are hereby reminded of a remark which the Bengalee versifier, Ram Chunder, to whose production we shall presently turn, makes in his ballads. He hesitates, from a feeling of delicacy, to treat too minutely of the inferior and degraded Kulins. The *Gods*, says he, *are pleased when their rise is celebrated; men are offended when their originals are described.* The *Sankarmala* justifies this sensitiveness, if it exist anywhere. To depict the vast majority of a people as the illegitimate issue of a *quasi* spurious union, is an insult to the whole nation, if not to humanity itself. Strange, that the Hindus submit to this daring insolence of their haughty priesthood.

Our object, however, in quoting the *Sankarmala*, is to show that the order of Kulins is unknown and unrecognised in works of any antiquity. While all other orders and castes are minutely described, and their origin accounted for, no mention is made at all of the *kuls* of Bullal's institution.

The metrical composition in Bengalee, the last work which heads this article, treats of the history of Adisur and Bullal, with a full admixture of the marvellous and the romantic, and, what disgraces all Bengalee versifiers, of the indecent and the impure. Adisur is represented as originally a *Gandharva*, and his wife as a fairy attendant on the Goddess Doorga;—both condemned afterwards for an unlawful intimacy formed in Heaven to bear the burden of human existences as husband and wife under the sun. The banishment of the queen, a few months before her parturition, the nativity of Bullal in a forest, the emigration of the Brahmins, the solemnity of the sacrifice, the formation of the Kulins, are all described substantially, as we have already represented, but with the wild exuberances of an extravagant and unchastened fancy. Note, for instance, the following story:—The animal selected for the burnt offering gets loose and betakes itself to the forest, where the king's son passed his infancy solitary and unknown. Bullal takes a fancy for the beast and adopts it for domestication. The pursuers of the deer from the royal household are repulsed by the Sylvan infant. Servants after servants repair to the forest, but fail to redeem the beast from Bullal's custody. The exigences of the sacrifice required that identical animal, and a detachment is ordered under the command of officers and nobles,—but to no purpose. Bullal overthrows them all. The report of this Lilliputian hero fills the whole country with consternation. He is taken for a supernatural *asura* or *giant* incarnate, who must be hunted down for the security of the kingdom. The monarch, with all his royal guests, arms for the battle. Bullal overpowers them all and kills the king. The news of Adisur's death afflicts the banished queen, at whose intercession the king is miraculously restored to life. The father, mother, and son then recognise each other and return to Gour.

The preceding sketch of Kulinism sufficiently depicts its baneful effects on society. Polygamy is almost inseparable from its continuance. By contracting the circle from which to select husbands for the females of distinguished families, and by presenting over-powering temptations to the males to marry *ad infinitum* and beyond their own spheres it forces parents to bind several wives under the yoke of a common husband. This necessity becomes the sterner and the more pressing because of the positive prohibition of female celibacy in the Shasters. The rules of Kulinism are accordingly fairly chargeable with all the evils of a gross polygamy which it necessitates and fosters. So long as these rules are not revised or the institution itself disregarded, female degradation must be perpetuated;

and since the condition of the one sex exercises a sympathetic influence upon the other, no scheme of general social improvement in Bengal can take effect while this system continues. The males too of the *Vansaj* families are greatly inconvenienced by the institution of the kuls. So eager is every father to procure a noble son-in-law, that persons destitute of titles are held at a discount in the matrimonial market, and experience great difficulty in finding wives for themselves. They cannot of course aspire to the hands of Kulin girls; and those of their own ranks are often turned from them by the excessive demand for Kulin alliances. While therefore the daughters of distinguished families are not available for the *common* Brahmins, those of the latter are frequently offered to the former. The *Vansaj* are therefore almost invariably puzzled how to procure partners in life,—and are obliged to present pecuniary inducements, in order to divert their equals from their thoughts of forming Kulin connexions. The disastrous influence of Kulinism thus reaches beyond its own ranks, and turns *holy* matrimony into a profane question of premiums and discounts, even in the case of the *Vansaj* Brahmins.

That the system will ever be amended by its own friends it would be preposterous to hope. The leading Brahmins are too closely interested in its perpetuation to be supposed capable of wishing its abolition or even modification. For the removal of the disease, the mind naturally turns to the slow progress of Christianized sentiments now spreading rapidly, at least in the metropolis and large cities, by the dissemination of English education. The Hindus, even in their unconverted state, appear capable of appreciating the superior excellence of the evangelical maxims concerning marriage and divorce; nay, many have already begun to go the length of openly acknowledging the moral impropriety of owning more than one wife at the same time. The progress of such sentiments must gradually throw polygamy into disrepute, and concentrate the sympathies of the people in behalf of its unfortunate victims. This will sooner or later prove a mortal blow to the kuls, which must fall under the weight of their own enormities.

As Christian observers, however, we look forward to still happier days. It is when this magnificent empire shall, from the mountains in the north to the mighty ocean in the south, acknowledge and revere the truth as it is in Jesus, that its long and melancholy night of humiliation and affliction shall vanish before the Sun of Righteousness rising with healing on his wings. The gospel may be justly esteemed the true panacea for the sorest of human distempers. Not only the corrupt fabric of degenerate

Kulinism, but all systems of iniquity shall crumble to the dust under the divine ascendency of Christianity. From the most galling of all yokes, the *truth* has already set a vast portion of the human race free. The triumphs it has achieved in Europe it is also capable of achieving in Asia. The female deliverance it has caused elsewhere by driving polygamy from human society, and defining the relative duties of husband and wife, it may and shall bring about in India, in the same manner and by the same means. Yes, the day shall come when the voice of truth shall be carried with power into the hearts and conscience of the natives around us;—when the institutions of error shall fall like the walls of Jericho at the sound of the evangelical trumpet. The mind, now held captive by idolatry and superstition, shall then be reclaimed from its inglorious servitude, and false distinctions of human invention be dissipated by the breath of Catholic feeling and the generous sympathies of an enlarged benevolence. The Brahmin and the Chandala, Kulins, Sudras, and women shall then worship at the same altar, eat of the same bread,—drink of the same cup,—with one mind and soul, and in one holy communion as the members of one household, and the servants and followers of one God and Father.

But this in God's own time. Meanwhile Christians must labour, both clergy and laity, to hasten this consummation. The Government, too, must redeem their Christian character by adapting their measures to the moral improvement of their subjects. We do not ask them to declare a Crusade, like the Templar and other knights of old, against idolatry and unchristian systems. The Gospel repudiates the use of the temporal sword in coercing a visible reception of its ordinances. The over-heated zeal of an apostle himself was rebuked by its own founder, for wielding such weapons in his cause. No,—let slaughtering instruments be confined to the ecclesiastical armoury of those who pretend to be successors of St. Peter—but represent his infirmities only, and are real imitators of the peculiar mode of his attack on the high priest's servant. But there are other ways in which the civil power can forward the progress of truth. It can throw its *moral* influence into the scale. It can manifest a higher respect than it has yet done for *intellectual* AND *spiritual* qualifications in its selection of educational agents. It can pronounce *open infidelity in any shape or form* to be a disabling character in aspirants after its tutorships and professorships. It can unlock for the rational contemplation of its students the rich stores of sacred literature and apologetic divinity which adorn the Englishman's library. It

can relieve some of the best and holiest productions of European authorship from the odium of its *index expurgatorius*, and proclaim liberty to such ornaments of the English language as Paley, Butler, Stillingfleet, Bp. Newton, Barrow, Tillotson, Sherlock, Hartwell, Horne, Keith, Campbell, Chalmers, and a host of others, now held tongue-tied in an iniquitous captivity in its colleges and schools. It can thankfully acknowledge and gratefully declare before its ignorant subjects, by means of its public instructors, the wonderful effects of Christianity in the west, to which itself is indebted for the power and supremacy in the east.

We shall in conclusion revert to the subject which constitutes the title of this article, and state what we believe to be the duty of Government with reference to the evils of this system. We do not mean to suggest the propriety of abolishing, by a single act an order which a crowned head had as summarily founded some centuries ago. Bullal's endowment of the kuls will not justify his English successors in forcibly sequestering their properties. We do not wish the Kulins to be pursued with fire and sword like the knights-templars of old. But the supreme government can surely restrain their polygamy by defining it to be a punishable crime, as well in the native as in the British subject. Lord William Bentinck's administration was signalized by the deliverance of the Suttee from the flames of a violent self-immolation. Sir Henry Hardinge's vice-royalty may also have an auspicious commencement by female relief from the unhappiness of sharing a husband with a multitude of co-partners. The institutions of Hinduism do not enjoin polygamy as a positive duty. They merely tolerate it, as they tolerate many other evils. The prohibition of what they do not command cannot amount to an interference with the Brahminical religion. The abolition of *Suttee*, which the Shasters encouraged and recommended, though not imperatively required, has been judicially defined by the king in council to be no violent contravention of the Hindu religion. The commission of perjury occasionally allowed by the Hindu sages, is also held justly punishable in the Company's Courts. Why should Bigamy and Polygamy be entitled to a franchise? Bigamy is criminal in a European;—why should a native be privileged to commit it with impunity? His abstinence from it cannot affect his religion;—why then should he be licensed to sacrifice the happiness and comforts of the female sex? If the system of Kulinism suffer from its prohibition, that will be no more than a restraint upon a degenerate order, which every one acknowledges to be an earthly and human fabrication.

The tolerant character of the British Government cannot thereby be compromised. The present holders of the Indian sceptre have never pledged themselves to keep up the efficiency of *all* their Hindu predecessors' enactments,—they are certainly not bound to respect the institutions of Bullal Sen, represented by the Hindus themselves as a prince of a *Sanker* caste. The natives themselves will hail in a body an act of legislation, by which their daughters will be saved from the misery and wretchedness of commanding a portion only of their husband's affections. For humanity's sake, then, let poligamy be proscribed. The wife has a right to the undivided possession of the husband; and since Hinduism does not oppose, and the people are disposed to be friendly, let her cry for justice be listened to in the Council Chamber and redress afforded by a legislative act of the Supreme Government.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Although, for obvious reasons, it is no part of our design either to name or in any way, directly or indirectly, to indicate the writers of the several articles in our Review, we cannot on the present occasion deny ourselves the pleasure of stating that the foregoing article was written, as it now stands, by a native of India, once a Kulin Brahmin, and now a minister of the Church of England. We mention this, not for the purpose of stamping the article with an undoubted authenticity, though the fact of its being the work of one who was himself a member of the Kulin brotherhood, must greatly enhance its absolute value; but with the object of affording, more especially to the reader in England, a noble illustrative proof—worth a score of elaborate reports—of the effect which may be wrought by EDUCATION upon the Hindu mind. Viewed as the unaided work of a native of Bengal, the article, apart from its intriusic merits as the best and most elaborate essay yet written on a subject of deep interest to the friends of humanity, will be considered not only a literary curiosity (better composition have we rarely seen, out of a writer's own vernacular), but a chcering evidence of good work actually done and a proof of what may be done—what, we hope, in good time will be done —by well-directed educational efforts, to change the nature of the people among whom we are permitted by Providence to dwell. We do not wish it to be understood that this article is an average sample of the produce of English education in the East—*O si sic omnia!* We merely state that it is the unaided work of one who was, not many years ago, a Kulin Brahmin; and we desire our readers to accept it as an illustration, not so much of what has been done, but of what under certain favourable circumstances of head and heart may be done, by that great remedial agent to which we must look for the cure of all the evils which have for centuries desolated Hindustan. To the discussion of this vast subject of Education we shall ere long address ourselves, endeavouring to show in the first place what has actually been done, and we think ourselves fortunate in being able, before entering upon the subject, to show, not by any speculations of our own, but by an exhibition of the ripest fruits of Education, what may be done by the labours of the husbandman on this most luxuriant soil.

ART. II.—1. *The Science of National Defence, with reference to India, accompanied by a Map, &c. &c.—by Frederick Corbyn. Calcutta: Thacker and Co.*

2. *The East India Register, for* 1844. *London, Allen and Co.*

3. *Allen's Map of India, from the latest surveys. London,* 1844.

In many learned volumes, more or less empirical, we have an infinite variety of "sure means of preserving health." New remedies for all the abundant evils to which frail flesh is heir start into being every day, and doctors and disciples are so numerous in their diversities, and so strong in their convictions, that the marvel is, with so many infallible specifics, there is still so much human woe. The health which we are thus taught to preserve, after a variety of fashions so endless that it is difficult to escape following some one of them by chance, is the health of man as an individual unit; the health of man, in those thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands which constitute nations, is not so tenderly cared for; nor so assiduously watched; nor are such varied efforts made to preserve it. Still, ever and anon national remedies, for the cure of national diseases, are exhibited with an amount of confidence which we may call dogmatism; and whilst the wise men are quarrelling over their theories, the world is left very much to itself to suffer, uncared for and unrelieved. With the endless catalogue of ailments, which afflict a nation, as an individual, we have, in this place, nothing to do. In imitation of the medical writers of the present day, who now, for the most part, consider one organ and one disease, sufficient matter for an elaborate treatise, we direct our attention to one especial item of the great catalogue of national calamities. Peace is not in itself national health; but without it there can be no national health; and who will deny that the sage, who should write a treatise on the "true means of preserving peace,"—really exhibiting what it professes to exhibit—would entitle himself to a statue of gold in every city of the universe. There is no prospect, we fear, of such a consummation; but we have rival political schools, each propounding with an air of more or less infallibility its own profound dogmata; and often looking on with marvellous unconcern, whilst great battles are fought, and countries desolated in spite of their never-failing specifics. The two great schools may be described as the *irritative* and *sedative* schools. The former, proceeding upon the broad principle of the homœopathists, that *similia similibus curantur*, contend that war can only be cured by war—that it is necessary to make

war in order to preserve peace. The other lays down, with no more misgivings than its antagonist, the more desirable and encouraging doctrine, that war does not check, but generate war; that peace ever engenders peace; that there is no security so certain as that which we purchase for ourselves, by creating a sense of security in the breasts of our neighbours.

We do not now purpose to examine these antagonist doctrines. On whichsoever side worldly experience may range itself, there is no disinclination on the part of either to appeal to it as the standard whereby the question shall be settled. There is a better method of settlement; but it admits not of a conflict on equal ground, for one party is more inclined to that mode of adjustment than the other, whilst both are willing to appeal to human experience. The irritatives contend that there is no security without constant demonstrations of strength; that to be placid is to invite aggression; that to be ready to offend is the only way to escape being offended; that the birds of the air and the beasts of the field daily teach us this lesson; that we are instructed in it from our earliest youth, during which we learn by hard experience that we must fight our way up the schoolboy ladder to peace, and thus alone avoid molestation; that this same principle is at work in the larger school of nations, and that the history of the world declares the fact, that if we would escape the injuries and insults of our neighbours we must show, by a few practical exhibitions of our strength, not only our readiness but our ability to resent them. The sedatives, on the other hand, declare that to be tranquil and inoffensive is the surest means of inviting confidence, and thus of stifling the inclination to injure us; that the fear of being injured tempts to the commission of injury; and that, the converse of this being equally true, it follows that there is the utmost protectiveness in a peaceful and inoffensive character; and that so long as our neighbours consider themselves secure from ours, we shall be secure from *their* aggressions. Experience is said to demonstrate this; the man of peace is rarely insulted; the unarmed traveller walks more safely in the neighbourhood of the roving bandit, than he who goes armed to the teeth; that in troubled times, the man of peace, and he alone, escapes the perils of popular commotions; that with states, as with individuals, the one which never arms itself—which never prepares itself for aggression, or the resistance of aggression—is ever the last to be assailed; that, as soon as there is a falling off from such practical proofs of a firm reliance on Providence, the protection is at once withdrawn, and we take up arms to have them turned against us. Such are the arguments derived

from human experience—we are not at present to decide the contest.

Indeed, with regard to the matter now before us, it is not necessary that we should decide it. A resort to abstract speculation, however inviting, is no part of our career of duty, and we would rather, avoiding all controversies, build up our present structure on common admitted grounds. Our empire in the East is of so peculiar a nature, that we can scarcely make a just application of the principles of either one party or the other. It matters little what course would have been the best; we cannot now begin our work anew; or betake ourselves to new principles of action. We have reached an epoch at which it would appear to be our only course to make a compromise between the irritative and the sedative systems—or rather we should say, an epoch at which it becomes our duty to allow the former to merge into the latter. The irritative system has been tried—has been carried out to its full extent. It has been our practice now for nearly a century; and it would seem that we had attained to that eminence, which has been compared to the status of the school boy, who has fought his way to the very summit of pugilistic renown. If it be necessary for a nation to preserve itself from injury and insult by demonstrating its power, surely the British in the East have done so in the most unmistakeable manner. There is little call for fresh demonstrations; for the weight of our arm is still acknowledged, and many are yet reeling under the blows which it has dealt out. We can now, therefore, afford to be pacific—but we cannot afford to be weak. We have no occasion to put forth our strength; but we must not suffer ourselves to waste it We must keep ourselves up to the athletic standard; and as we have made our election we must abide by it—as we have fought our way to power, we must show ourselves capable of retaining the lofty position we have assumed. The time may come when we shall find our best safeguard in the hearts of a grateful people—but that time has not *yet* come, nor is there a near prospect of its advent. The sword, whether in the hand or in the scabbard, has yet its work to do; and the philanthropist may labour to some good purpose, in endeavouring to show in what manner it may best be shaped, for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of that dominion, which we are justified in regarding as a means, under Providence, of advancing the happiness of the people, who are compelled now to bear our yoke.

At first sight, bayonets and red coats do not appear to be precisely the instruments of Government which a philanthropist

would advocate; but we belie or deceive ourselves, when we declare or fancy that our Government is maintained otherwise than by the sword. And, in pronouncing it to be so, we are far from admitting that it must therefore be one of oppression. The land that has for nearly a thousand years been held by the sword, and that has as often changed hands as that sword has been blunted, or the grasp that held it relaxed; the land that knows no principality of longer standing than our own;* that in its length and breadth, within the last fifty years, has seen Moguls, Patans, Mahrattahs, Pindarees, and mixed miscreants of every caste and clan, rooting up the old families, and settling themselves in their places—how could any Government, however beneficent, subsist for a day, simply by its civil policy, on the ruins of such a tempest-tossed land? How in a day convert tribes, who have lived only by war, to habits of peace? how make cultivators, who for centuries have never paid a rupee but under fear of the sword or the scourge?—how induce them to pay their dues, unless they know that the civil officer has the power of calling in the military, and that the latter is prompt and bold? It has been the fashion to exalt the Mahomedan conquerors at the expense of the British Government; and some of those who have most benefited by the latter, and possibly have in their sphere oppressed the subject, against the views, opinions, and orders of their masters, have been loudest in vituperation of them; but let any impartial person turn over the pages of Dow—a violent hater of the system of his day, and we fear with too much reason—and see how little cause there is for singing the praises of the Moslem rule beyond that of the Christian. War, eternal war, was then the sole business of royalty. Akbar made some laws for the protection of the people, but he is almost a solitary exception; and having spent the half-century of his reign in eternal battles and ceaseless marches, he could have had but little time to look to the improvement and cultivation of his empire. In the early days of his reign, every province was in rebellion, and with him, as with his predecessors and successors, while Guzerat was being subdued, Cashmere or Bengal would be in arms; and while the royal troops were employed against those states or in the Deccan, the Punjab or Delhi itself would be in revolt. A freak or favour to an individual would for a time remove the Hindu capitation tax; while, once in a century, a

* It is a curious fact, that not only has the power of the Nizam, the kingdom of Oude and all the Mahratta States risen within the last century, but that the families of the three bordering states, Burmah, Nepal, and Lahore, have been established within that period.

tyrannical Governor would be trodden under the feet of the imperial elephants. Seldom was the honest Minister or Governor (when such rare creatures appeared) rewarded, whilst the bold and the unprincipled amassed treasure, and bequeathed it to their children. Mark the fate of Akbar's great minister, Byram—the man to whom he owed his throne; whilst the Saadut Allys and Nizams have left kingdoms to their descendants. Our only wonder is, when reading the Moslem annals, that such men as Asoph Jah, and his father, and Mohabat Khan, should have lived (generally) prosperously, and died in their beds.

Utter selfishness was the Moslem motive: the high roads, the seraes, the plantations—were they for the people? Not at all, but for the royal progresses to Cashmere. The expense of one Badshahe serae would have built a dozen for the people. Throughout the country it was the same. In the direction the king was likely to travel, there would be roads and conveniences; but elsewhere the people might sigh in vain for paths, for water, or for shelter. The Newabs of Oude, and Kings of Juanpore and of the Deccan, did the same. They beautified the neighbourhood of their own favourite residences, made roads to their country-seats, built bridges over the rivers in their way, sunk splendid wells, and planted lines of trees. Some of our own magistrates, in the times of the good old close-borough system, did the same; and to this day European convenience is more regarded than native wants, the collector and magistrate being often considered more sacred than the thousands of poor around him.

Despotism—unchecked power, in whatever hands and in whatever quarter, produces the same fruit; and we would divest our minds of all clanish feeling in discussing its merits. Wars, and their train of ills, were not confined to the Mahommedan times or states in India. A glance at the old Hindu annals will show, that if the country so suffered in Moslem times, it was not more free from such distractions in what are called the bright days of Hindu supremacy. Everywhere we see that the present occupants of the soil are not the aboriginals; and almost every district in India has its particular legend, how a Rajput, or other band, drove out or enslaved the original holders; while another tale will perhaps tell of how the late conquerors were themselves overwhelmed, and how they eventually merged into another and a bolder race. We doubt whether India was ever under an universal monarch; and the kings of the Hindu states of Oude, Kanouge, Muttra, Hustunapore (Delhi), &c. &c. played but the game that warriors of

every age and every clime have ever played. They prospered or sank; they conquered, or were themselves led captive; and then, as in later days, independent kingdoms disappeared, and small states rose into great ones. Not content with the usual and tolerably sufficient grounds for war, we read that Prithora the brave, the hero of a hundred fights, amused himself with carrying off the brides of the several kings, of whose intended marriage he had information. He thus brought on himself many wars, and eventually thereby lost his throne; but he lost no credit, and is to this day the hero of Rajput romance. It would seem, indeed, to be mere idleness to write and talk of the happiness and purity of a people who deified the perpetrators of every crime, and whose very worship sanctioned every abomination. When we read of the hundreds of thousands that took the field with the Persian kings and with the Moguls, and consider that they had no commissariat, we may imagine the frightful famines that such armies themselves experienced, and the more frightful afflictions they caused to the countries through which they passed. Dow, in his preliminary dissertation to Ferishta, writes of bazaars, &c. in camp; but nowhere do we find that there were any regular establishments of the kind. Brinjaries (themselves plunderers of the worst description) carrying grain, followed the camp or did not, according to the individual genius and forethought of the monarch or general of the day; but when Dow goes on to tell us that each horseman received from sixty to two hundred rupees* per month, we can understand the value of his several dissertations. We doubt whether, under any native ruler in any age, Hindustani horsemen received all their pay in cash; or if our present rate of twenty rupees per month to Irregular Horse was ever materially and continuedly exceeded. And whatever was paid was in assignments on distant lands, or in at least half grain and food as rations for man and beast, and the small balance only in cash. Dow goes on to say (page xviii. preface), that on such high pay the soldiery could afford to encourage the grain-dealers, &c., who flocked in from neighbouring towns and villages as armies advanced; but the traveller Bernier, with much more apparent truth, tells us that there were no towns worth mentioning between Delhi and Agra, and that the banks of the Jumna, above Delhi, being the line of the imperial progress towards Lahore and Cashmere, were extensive hunting-grounds; that the imperial cortége usually left the high-road, and sported through these Shikargahs, while the troops moved more directly forward.

* Page xviii. Preface to Dow's Hindustan.

We know that everywhere in the east, the track of an army is marked by desolation—that villages and towns are abandoned even at the intelligence of a coming hostile force. In the south of India, as the historian Wilkes, tells us, such flights are called *wulza,* the people burying their valuables, and carrying with them a few days' grain—flying to the hills or the nearest fortress, and when the enemy remained longer than their supplies lasted, famine and death ensuing.

While we should all endeavour, abstaining from idle self-congratulations, to soften the rigour of the British yoke, it is only fair to our country to show that the English in India are not the monsters they are sometimes represented; and that although much remains to be done; many improvements to be made; many legislative enactments to be set forth, and *acted on;* much to be done, much to be *undone*—much for us to do, more for us to let alone; we have less to learn than is generally thought from either our Mahomedan or Hindu predecessors.

Lord Valentia fifty years ago travelled in a palankeen to Lucknow, and wrote a book, in which he stated that the Moguls had roads or causeways from one end of their dominions to the other. Mr. Buckingham, a quarter of a century afterwards declared, and in his time not untruly, that there was not a good road in India above Barrackpore—and still more recently we have heard a somewhat similar declaration made at a great public meeting in Calcutta. But let the period of our rule be counted, and let it be considered that it does not materially exceed the united length of the reigns of Aurungzebe and Akbar, and then let it be remembered that we have a trunk road from Calcutta to Delhi; a better road than the Moguls or the Romans ever had; and that not a district in India but has its branch roads, all doubtless more or less defective, wanting more or less bridges, ghats, seraes, wells, &c.; but still shewing that some attention is now being paid to the important subject. Let any impartial person visit the Punjab, where he will scarcely see such a vehicle as a hackery, or throughout the country alight upon a road; let him then travel to Oude, where his experiences will be similar, and then let him cross the Gogra and enter the Gorruckpoor district, not half a century in our hands. At once he will find himself in a country abounding with good roads, many of them bridged—and every year the number of bridges and other improvements are increasing. In this one district alone we doubt whether there are less than a thousand miles of road. We say, let these comparisons be fairly made, and then let England be exempted from the vituperations and unfair comparisons with which she is sometimes assailed;

and rather let those who would so assail her, honestly do their own work; and however humble be an individual's sphere, no one of us but has the opportunity, if not of making a road, building a bridge, or a serai; at least of planting a tree, or of preserving one that is planted. But if even this small means is denied us, no poverty can prevent us from setting a good example to those around us, by shewing all that come within our influence, that a Christian is not to be recognised only by wearing a hat and coat, and by attending neither at the mosque nor the temple: but by purity of life and honesty of conduct.

But though compelled, in candour, to admit that without sword-government the British in India could not maintain their position, we feel strong in our hearts the conviction that one good magistrate may be better than a regiment: one sound law, well administered, better than a brigade; that civilians must co-operate with the military; that neither unaided could maintain our empire, but that a happy admixture of a just civil administration with the strong hand will retain the country in peace and happiness as long as it is good that we should hold it; and it is not by believing either ourselves or our laws all purity, or all corruption, that we are likely to come to a right understanding of what is best for India, but by a close study of its past history; of the mistakes, and the injustice of former rules, Hindu, Mahommedan and European; and then by setting ourselves down, each in his own sphere, and honestly working out the details of a code, honestly and ably prepared; not shifting and changing from day to day, but founded on experience; and suitable to a rude and simple people, who, like all people under the sun, prefer justice to law, and the speedy obtainment of their ends to eternal dangling about the precincts of dilatory courts.

But it behoves us, under every view of the case, to keep up our strength. Debility, the result of apathy and negligence, would be nothing short of a state of crime. There are few national, as there are few bodily ailments, which have not their seat in debility; and any very apparent symptoms of weakness in the dominant power would, under the present combination of circumstances, plunge the country into a state of terrible disorder, and gird about with desolation every province in Hindostan.

Let us see then what is our military strength—what are our means of national defence. Glance at the map,* and see the

* We may avail ourselves of this opportunity strongly to recommend the map which we have named at the head of this article. It is distinguished by accuracy of detail and great typographical excellence; and is, on the whole, the best and most convenient of all the maps of India which have been published.

enormous expanse which the Indian Army is employed to protect—from Cape Comorin to the Sutlej; from Kurachee to the Gulf of Martaban—a tract of country containing, according to the calculations of the Surveyor-General's department, a gross area of 1,076,590 square miles, to which must be added some 25,000 on account of our recent acquisitions on the banks of the Indus. Our army has not only to protect from foreign aggression this immense territory; but also to coerce a population of not less than a hundred millions—many of them men of strong military, and others of stronger predatory habits—twenty millions of them Mussulmans—all feeling that they are under the yoke of the stranger. And however lightly that yoke be imposed, we must know that, differing in colour, caste, language, habits—everything; having, indeed, nothing in common with our subjects, our rule can scarcely be a loved one. It has been declared, in prophetic language, that "Japhet shall live in the tents of Shem;" but may we not attach to the figure more of a military than of a pastoral character?

But what is this Indian army, called upon thus to defend this wide expanse of conquered territory? It consists of 159 regiments of Regular Infantry; 21 of Cavalry; 5 brigades of Horse Artillery; 14 battalions of Foot Artillery; and 3 regiments of Sappers and Miners. To these must be added about 40 Irregular corps of Cavalry and Infantry, officered from the line, to the extent of a commandant, a second-in-command, and an adjutant—the commanders of troops and companies being Russaldars and Soobadars. In round numbers, we may say that our Indian army is somewhat very near the following:—

Regular Infantry (European)	5,600	
——— (Native)	184,000	
Cavalry (Native)	10,200	
Artillery (European)	5,600	exclusive of Lascars.
——— (Native)	4,600	
Sappers and Miners (Native)	2,500	
Irregular corps*	30,000	
Total	242,500	

To these regiments are attached, according to the latest Army Lists of the several Presidencies, 5850 European officers. Such, with some approach to accuracy, for perfect accuracy is

* This rough estimate does not include all the several components of the Nizam's force, the Gwalior Contingent, and the Police Battalions.

not easily attainable, is the extent of the Indian army. By this we must be understood to signify only the troops of the East India Company—but in calculating our means of national defence we must consider, in addition to these forces, the very important item of some 20 or 30 regiments of European Infantry and Cavalry, belonging to the army of Great Britain. The number of regiments thus employed in India varies according to the exigency of the times; at present there are in the three Presidencies, under the Company's rule, 29 regiments of Cavalry and of Infantry, detached from the army of the Crown.

But the strength of an army does not depend upon its numbers, but on its efficiency: and the matter now to be considered is, the means of turning the troops at our disposal to the best possible account. Let us show, after some rough fashion of our own—suggesting rather than elaborating—how this is to be done.

Our Engineer Corps can scarcely be so called. It is a regiment of officers, perhaps not surpassed in ability by any equal number of officers in the world; but they are too much employed as Civil Engineers; too little engaged during peace in the functions that would best prepare them for war; and still less so their few subordinates. Barrack-building and repairing, and account-keeping, are not the best preparatives for a campaign; and we know no inducement that the sappers (all natives, except four serjeants to each company), have for exertion, for the enlargement of their minds, or the study of engineering. The trigonometrical survey of Ireland was almost entirely conducted by the Royal Sappers; Non-Commissioned officers and privates doing all parts of the work. An engineer officer used the Theodolite, but it was as often used by common sappers, as was the microscope on the base operations; and much of the mapping was done by them. We do not mean to say that every sapper was a Colby or an Everest; but that many, nay the majority, could read, and use all the instruments, and understood the construction of maps. Why should it not be so with us? and why should not at least every serjeant and every native Non-Commissioned officer in our sappers be able to do as much? Our trigonometrical and our revenue surveys shew how easily natives are to be taught surveying, and if looked after how well they can survey. Why then should not our sappers be employed on the surveys, on the canals, on the roads, not as coolies but as *workmen*, until qualified as supervisors; and then, as such, in positions graduated to their conduct and abilities? A company or more could be employed in the same neighbourhood, so that at a day's notice, they could

be ready for field service—how much more easily when already in the field, than when summoned from Delhi; and how much better qualified would officers and men be for any duties that they might be called on to perform, than as now when coming from perfect idleness or from mere bricklayer's work. Not that these labours in the Barrack-master's department are without their uses; or that we object to sapper companies taking their turn in cantonments; but we do contend that field-work, surveys, laying-out of canals and roads, especially in hilly countries, draining of lands and so forth, are the employments to call out the powers of engineers, and to habituate them to do readily and quickly what, on vital occasions, may be required of them in the field. Every engineer should not only be able to make an accurate map, but should be also accustomed to rapid sketching, and practised to take in the features of a country; so that at a glance he can comprehend the strong and weak points of position, the distances of points and their bearings on the one he occupies, or that the army is to take up. His subordinates of every grade should be qualified for some work or other, beyond that of the shovel, and while none should be ashamed to employ himself in throwing up the trench or the battery, many should be able to trace them out and superintend their construction.*

We would double, nay treble or quadruple, the sappers, and we would attach every engineer officer to them: not simply as at present a captain and a few of the youngest subalterns. We should then, with the instruction and employment above suggested, have a most valuable staff corps; most useful in peace, invaluable in war; and when we think how little is yet known of India, how few the roads that are passable throughout the year; that are laid out on scientific principles, or kept in order on any plan; how few the canals; and how much those in use pay in revenue, as well as what a blessing they are to the lands through which they pass—when we consider what is wanted for the commerce and for the military purposes of the country, in roads and bridges, we shall find profitable work for many corps of sappers. In short we may make their peace employments as useful to the Government and to the country as to themselves.

While on this subject, we may incidentally observe that two years ago Lord Ellenborough promised us a military road from

* We need not point out to those who have much *worked* with natives, how peculiarly their talents fit them for all such duties as we have mentioned; the trace of the road from Serinugger (in Gurhwal) to Kedarnauth marked out by a native under Mr. Traill's eye would do credit to any engineer; and it is our opinion that if their moral qualifications were equal to their intellectual, there are native cléves of the trigonometrical survey fully competent to complete the work.

Simla to Mussourie; and the result has been that a single engineer officer took a glance at the line, and no more has been heard of the project. A road such as was projected would possibly have been impracticable—that is, its expense would have far exceeded its advantages; but still there is no possible reason why there should not be a military road from Kumaon to the Sutlej, passable for guns on mules and elephants—why the intervening streams should not be bridged, instead of, as at present, that the only good bridge nominally, on the line (that over the Jumna), should be really not on the line at all, but several miles off—so placed as we are credibly informed, because the bank at that place offered a better abutment. When we have good roads through and up to our Hills, we shall find the value of them for our European soldiery—but on this subject we shall presently enlarge.

Our artillery officers receive much the same education as the engineers; though their course of study is a less extensive one. They receive, however, sufficient preparation in England to enable them at Dum Dum to become excellent artillerists, which many of them are; and we owe it to their early education, and perhaps to their having no loaves ready baked for them—to their being obliged to work their own way to anything beyond a subaltern's berth with a company for eighteen years, and then the command of a foot battery, that we see more names among the artillery as Persian and Hindustani scholars than in any other branch of the service.

The men are, as material—as machines, excellent; but few are much more. Some few good laboratory men are to be found among them—perhaps three or four in a company. Thirty or forty per cent. can read and write; but not one in a hundred studies his duty scientifically; and the obvious reason is that he has not the shadow of a motive for so doing. If he can read and write and is decently sober, he is sure to become a serjeant. If he is smart at drill and well behaved, and not too independent, he may rise to be a serjeant-major. Or if his liver is sound, he may live to be a conductor, or even, at the age of seventy, a deputy-commissary of ordnance. And so in the Golundauze; if he has taken care of himself and not expended his vital energies as a young man, he will live to be an old one; and when physically and mentally disqualified, he will become a soobadar, or even a soobadar bahadoor; and all this even though he may be very little deserving of such promotion. He has the negative merit of having outlived the companions of his youth, who possibly got maimed, or killed, or lost their health, when he who gained the palm was absent from his post or

shirking at it; but we are strongly of opinion that old age is *but* a negative virtue, and should not, without positive merit, be rewarded in soldiers; but that the young man should have some motive to emulate the veteran.

There is little objectionable in the artillery system, except its locations, its system of patronage, and its utter sacrifice of the interests and usefulness of the foot artillery to those of the mounted branch. Native artillery are stationed at Almorah in the hills; they dislike it, and are out of their element there. They should be replaced by Europeans. Large bodies of Golundauze should not be kept at Dum Dum and at Cawnpore, serving as Infantry, without guns and without officers.—*At least* half the European artillery should be located in hill stations; and the weakly and sick men of the other half should be with them. Cherra-Poonjee, Dargeling, Kumaon, Mussourie, Sobathoo, Kussoulie, and the immediate neighbourhood of those places would amply accommodate them all.

To each company of Golundauze should be attached three European serjeants and three corporals; and to every company, European and native, there should not be less than two officers when in cantonments, and three in the field. At present, while a single troop of Horse Artillery has three or four officers, and they remain with it for years, a company is lucky if it possesses one; and that one is sometimes changed two or three times within a year. We have often and often seen lads of a year's or two years' standing, going on service with two or four guns, and even with a company. Indeed the exception to the rule is, when a company of artillery proceeds on service under a captain, and then the chances are ten to one that he has been taken from the staff, or suddenly drawn from another end of the country to command men, on perhaps an emergency, that he never saw before; to take charge of stores and guns that he has not a day to inspect; and where, as a stranger, he knows not the good from the bad men, and has not only to do his own duty, but to be the laboratory man and everything else for a time himself. The consequence of all this is, that our Foot Artillery is not at all what it might be, and that the Foot Artillery officers, though harder worked and worse paid, are often better artillerists, more practical, rough-and-ready men than their Horse Artillery brethren. But the reward they look to, for making a bad company a good one, for redeeming drunkards into respectability, slovens into smart soldiers, is to be removed from the company into a troop; and to throw back the poor fellows who have learned to appreciate their exertions, to the tender mercies of an old officer who cares not for them,

or to a young hand who is learning his own duty, and each of whom will possibly have gone his way before the year has expired. Such a system is cruel in the extreme to the men themselves, and most injurious to the service.* The men, as material, are much the same in both branches; the officers are the same; but whether it be the Golundauze and the Native Horse Artillery, or the European Horse and Foot Artillery, there is a woeful difference between the two branches, entirely owing to the different footing on which the two are placed, the standing they occupy, and the way they are officered. It is a dogma, very staunchly upheld by some Horse Artillery officers —generally not the wisest of them—that their branch should be a close borough. We have heard some captains, who spent most of their subaltern days in the Foot, forgetful of this fact, uphold the absurdity. We, as dispassionate observers, always thought that if the Horse Artillery were to be a matter of patronage and profit, it should be given to the best artillery officers—to those who were best acquainted with, and best performed their duty; who could ride, who could see, and who could hear. But too frequently we have seen all these requisites neglected, and very bad officers appointed, simply through local interest; and as this is likely to continue the case as long as man is man, we should be glad to see the Foot Artillery on a full equality with the Horse, as to all emoluments, equipment, and officering. It would be materially to the benefit of the service, and to the advantage of the artillery regiment at large. All artillery officers should have Horse allowance and Cavalry pay, after they have joined batteries, and as long as present with them. All batteries should be horsed; the additional expense to be covered by reducing two guns from each of the Horse Artillery troops. Three 6-pounders and a 12-pounder howitzer well horsed—as at present—a double set of horses, all picked ones, no roarers and man-eaters to stop the team and vitiate the powers of the other five, but all steady first-rate cattle, accustomed to work with cavalry on all sorts of ground; with every horse willing to work either as leader or in the shafts. Such batteries on the out-rider system would, on a long campaign, tell more effectually than the six guns under the present

* We cannot too strenuously insist on this point. We have known companies of Foot Artillery to be, in the course of three or four months, commanded by as many officers. We have known subalterns to command one after the other—or perhaps two at a time—all the four companies of a battalion within six months; and we have known a battalion to be so destitute of officers, that the four (now five) companies have fallen to the command of the adjutant. It is impossible that, under such a system, the officers can take any interest in their men; or that the men should place any confidence in their officers, who necessarily trust every thing—even the promotions—to the pay-sergeant, who really commands the company.

system; and it is not the least merit of the plan we propose, that it would put at the head of troops the young and active captains, or at least men, who did not seek such commands simply for the extra pay.

Our Foot Artillery batteries would then be on their proper footing; they would be well horsed, with slow but stout cattle; they would be as well officered as the Horse Artillery; the officers would have no motive for change, and their men would soon feel and appreciate the difference, and be as smart and efficient as are now their mounted brethren. Our 9-pounder batteries, instead of, as at present, being considered incumbrances, would always be put in action with the Infantry; and would perform all the service they are capable of, but which they are now seldom permitted to do. It is at any rate a sheer waste of money, to keep the whole Foot Artillery of India inefficient; it is waste of *money* now, we say; for we look on two well-equipped guns as more to the purpose than six ill found ones. But what is waste and folly now may, if not rectified, cost life and treasure hereafter; nay, may cost us India; and most absurd does it seem that the one arm which our enemies all dread; which alone, from the days of Hyder Ally to those of Akbar Khan, they all acknowledge they cannot match—the arm which our own sepoys look to and rely on—is the one we most neglect; the one that is, in fact, left to Providence. We could point out innumerable instances; we will satisfy ourselves with one—the state of the single battery at Ferozepore, when the Cabul outbreak took place. For the two previous years we all know how many reports there had been of Sikh inroads and invasions; and yet, in November 1841, when half that battery was ordered to Peshawur, it had to borrow bullocks from the commissariat, and was sent under an officer not three years in the service. The battery was then under one of its many transitions; it had twice had horses and once camels, and we believe twice bullocks within two years; and, of course, when wanted for the field, had no cattle at all; and the young officer who went with the detachment had not joined the company a month. The sooner such matters are mended the better: we should at least know by this time whether camels, bullocks, elephants, or horses, are best for draught; and at any rate, if experiments are to be tried, our exposed frontier stations are not the ones to dismantle, while the periodical mutations are in progress.*

* We are glad to hear that a mountain train is again likely to be equipped, and should be glad to see an elephant battery of six pounders added to a strong one of three, all placed with a couple of companies of Europeans at a hill station.

We are amused to hear that it has been determined to add a captain to each Infantry regiment, but not to the Cavalry. If any branches of the service require officers, and good ones, they are the native cavalry and native artillery. Either is almost useless without officers; and yet the latter has only half the number that the European branch has; whilst the former is not thought to require as many as the infantry. Had we our will, there should be, in addition to a full complement of officers, half a dozen or more Europeans in every troop of native cavalry; say three serjeants and three corporals; men promoted for smartness and gallantry from the Dragoons and Horse Artillery. Such men, with two officers to every troop, would bring up a cavalry corps to the charge in the style in which it should be done. We should have no pausing to count the enemy; nor would the few European officers have to be casting in their minds whether their men would follow them; nor when the critical moment came would they have a doubt that, wherever they led, the corps would be at their heels.

But our infantry must ever be our main stay; if it is indifferent, the utmost efficiency in other branches will little avail. We are inclined to advocate the presence of two European officers with each company of every regular sepoy corps; but we would divide the native infantry into three classes, have a fourth of the army on the footing of the Khelat-i-giljee corps, and say an eighth forming a third class somewhat similar to the Khelat-i-giljees and the several contingents, but the officers commanding companies being solely natives; and from them should be selected commandants, seconds in command, and adjutants, for the corps formed and commanded by natives, one of which should be in every brigade to cause emulation and prevent suspicion, and by a mixture of interests interfere with combinations. We will presently offer a scheme for doing away with native officers in the regular corps, but would desire that all promotions to command of companies in the corps of the second and third class should be made from the infantry at large.

Native officers have long since been voted useless. They are great encumbrances in war; they are nonentities in peace. Occasionally a lion-hearted old fellow of seventy will keep up with his company on a charge or on a forced march; but he forthwith dies of exhaustion, after having, perhaps for a year or more during the campaign, put the commissariat to the expense of carrying grain for him, three or four servants, a pony, and half or a whole camel. In quarters they have nothing to do but to brood over their positions; to feel that they are nominally

officers, and yet that the serjeant-major is liable to command them, and that beardless boys are every day put over them. At Vellore and elsewhere they did not prevent or give warning of intended massacre and insurrection; nor have they, in the late cases of the 60th, 34th, 64th, and of the cavalry and artillery, either given a clue to their officers of what was the real motive of discontent, or do they appear to have striven to prevent insubordination.

We conceive that the motive of Government in having three native officers attached to each company and troop, who have nothing to do, and whose ages may be said to average sixty-two, must be their supposed moral influence with the sepoys, and the encouragement given to the latter by placing before their eyes their kinsmen promoted to such grades, and living comfortably and in honour among them. If such be the reason, how much more potent would this moral influence be, if the old men were comfortably seated under their own neem or mangoe trees, talking to their grandchildren and to the wondering villagers gathered around them, of the beneficence of the Honourable Company—instead of toiling in the hot winds on treasure parties, or vexing themselves under young European officers in petty and discomforting duties unsuitable to their age, in which, though they are present in person, they can scarcely be called performers.

We would fain see every soldier, European and Native, and every native officer, appear before a Committee at fifty years of age, and be at once sent to the invalids, or remanded for five years' further duty, according to his health, after which time—that is at latest after fifty-five years of age—no man should be allowed to remain with a regiment. European officers are less exposed than their men; the waste of vital energy is not so great—but we are not sure that our commissioned ranks might not benefit by some such weeding.

Allahabad, Chunar, and other fortresses, as well as all treasuries and magazines—both of which should *invariably* be within forts, or redoubts of some kind or other—should be garrisoned by invalids, supported by small detachments of regulars for night and exposed duties. Invalids should be sent to their homes at sixty years of age *at latest;* or, as at present, earlier periods, when disabled by sickness or wounds.

No sepoy, not considered qualified to rise to be a Soobadar, should be promoted beyond the rank of Naick. Havildars should be promoted in their turn to the rank of Jemadar, and if considered unfit for the active duties of a lieutenant (Jemadar) of a company or troop, to be transferred to the garrison

or Home Invalids, according to age and strength. Jemadars should rise by seniority to the rank of Soobadar; but no native officer should be promoted to second in command, but for distinguished conduct. Seconds should rise to commandants by seniority, subject of course to proof of continued good conduct. The Adjutants of these native corps might be promoted at once from the rank of Naick and Havildar; and as Jemadars rise in their turn to command, naicks being steady soldiers, but passed over as not being sufficiently smart for native officers, might be invalided (when worn out or beyond age) as Havildars.

The Garrison Invalid corps should in all respects be paid as troops of the Line; the home invalids as at present; and all ranks and orders should understand that rates of pay will not be altered, that invalids will not be remanded (as has been the case) to Regimental duty; and the rates of pay, rations, foreign allowance, &c. &c. should be as distinctly and fully laid down as possible; so that no excuse could be given for error or miscalculation on the subject.

We should then have three descriptions of Native Infantry; the first class, regular infantry, officered by a full complement of Europeans; the second class, partially so officered; the third class, commanded and officered entirely by natives—but the two last always employed in brigade or at least in concert with the regular corps.

The native officers would then have definite duties and not be too old to perform them. The old and worn-out veterans would be comfortably located in quarters, or enjoying themselves quietly at home. There would be less clashing of interests, more contentment, and greater efficiency at perhaps a less expense than at present; for a much less number than seventy regular Infantry Regiments would suffice for Bengal, if we were to establish an increased number of such as form the Gwalior Contingent; supported again by a few commanded by such soldiers as old Mahommed Issoof.* Let us not be met with an outcry about the attendant decrease of European officers. We know their value very well; but we know that there are many bad as well as many good ones; and we know that although, where sepoys have been taught to follow only Europeans, there should always be enough of the latter to ensure vacancies being filled up in action, as leaders fall; yet where

* The reader of Indian history will remember the commandant of the English sepoys, the famous Mahommed Issoof, who in the worst times of the Carnatic wars under Lawrence, was the only person who could safely conduct our convoys through the enemy's country. We recommend his history, as narrated by Wilkes, to our readers, and especially the detail (page 326, vol. i.) of the effect of injurious treatment and unjust suspicions on the conduct of this fine old native soldier.

men have not been so habituated, we see not why our sepoys should not be permitted to use the senses and the courage they possess, without on every occasion relying on the leading and the life of an individual. Shah Soojah's Regiments behaved admirably in Affghanistan; and the discipline of Capt. Mitchell's Regiment of the old Gwalior contingent was the admiration of beholders. Clive's, Lawrence's, and Coote's battalions had seldom with them more than three or four officers; and yet the deeds of those days are not surpassed by those of the present.

Our regular issue of pay and our pension establishment are the foundation-stones of our rule; and there cannot be a doubt that for the lower orders our service is a splendid one. But it offers no inducement to superior intellects, or more stirring spirits. Men so endowed, knowing they can always gain their bread in any quarter, leave us in disgust and rise to rank in foreign services. Did the times avail, they would raise standards of their own; and turn against us the discipline they learnt in our ranks. Rank and competence in our service would bind such men to our interests. It is a straw that turns the current. Such men as Nadir Shah and Hyder Ally did not at the outside aim at sovereignty; their ambition increased with their success, and what early in life would have contented them was at a later day despised.

There are many commandants in the Mahrattah and Seikh service who were privates in our Army. General Dhokul Singh, now at Lahore, was a Drill Naick in one of our sepoy corps; and Rajah Buktawar Singh, one of the richest and most powerful men in Oude, was a Havildar in our Cavalry. But is it not absurd that the rank of Soobadar and Russaldar Major is the highest that a native can attain in a native army of nearly three hundred thousand men, in a land too that above all others has been accustomed to see military merit rewarded, and to witness the successive rise of families from the lowest conditions, owing to gallantry in the field?

There is always danger in handling edge tools, but justice and liberality forge a stronger chain than suspicious and niggardly policy. We hold that no place or office should be absolutely barred to the native soldier, although the promotion of every individual should be grounded on his individual merits, and the requisite caution be taken that he should not be tempted beyond his strength. The grandsons of the Gauls who opposed Cæsar were senators of Rome; and the Jye Singhs and Jeswunt Singhs led the Mogul armies—but it cannot be said that it was to any such liberality the empire of either Rome or Delhi owed its fall.

Whenever Sepoys and Europeans know and understand each other, the utmost harmony exists between them; witness the 35th B. N. I. and H. M. 13th at Julalabad, and we remember many such cases of old. Indeed it was only the other day that we heard a Sepoy of the 26th N. I. say, "if we go on service, send with us Number nine" (H. M. 9th, with which they were Brigaded in Affganistan). Such a spirit should be encouraged, and it would be well to attach permanently to each European Regiment, while in India, a couple of companies or more of picked men, chiefly Mussulmans, and the lower tribes of military Hindus—these companies to act as the Auxiliaries and Velites did with the Romans. Let them be Light Infantry, and as picked and honoured troops receive some additional pay. We know that Europeans cannot march in India without a detachment of natives accompanying them, and that such duty, as at present performed, is much disliked. But placed on some such footing as above proposed, the service might be made a duty of honour, and the sepoys of such companies, working well with Europeans, would be almost equal in value to the latter. The system has been found to work well with the gun lascars attached to the European Artillery, even though they have not been cared for and made much of, as we would propose all natives so employed should be.

And now a few words on the subject of enlistment.—Our sepoys come too much from the same parts of the country; Oude, the lower Dooab and upper Behar. There is too much of clanship among them, and the evil should be remedied by enlisting in the Saharunpoor and Delhi districts, in the hill regions, and in the Malay and Burmah states. We laugh at our hill men, but they are much the same class as form Rajah Golab Singh's formidable Jumboos. But what inducement do we offer to any but coolies to enter into the Simoor or Nussuree battalions, when we give the men only five rupees per month, proportionably pay Native officers, and calling the corps local battalions, post them one day at Bhurtpoor, the next at Ferozepoor? Such policy is very bad; and we should rather encourage the military classes in the hills to enter all our corps. We would have, too, some Companies or Regiments of Malays; of China-men; of Mhugs and Burmese; and mix them up at large stations with our sepoy corps. We would go further, and would encourage the now despised Eurasians to enter our ranks, either into sepoy corps, where one or two here and there would be useful, or as detached companies or corps. We are aware that they are not considered a warlike race. We might make them so, and we

doubt not, with good officers, could do so. Courage goes much by opinion; and many a man behaves as a hero or a coward, according as he considers he is expected to behave. Once two Roman Legions held Britain; now as many Britons might hold Italy.

There is no doubt that whatever danger may threaten us in India, the greatest is from our own troops. We should, therefore, while giving no cause of discontent; while paying them well and regularly providing for them in their old age; while opening a wide field for legitimate ambition; and rewarding. with promotion, medals, jagheers, gallantry and devotion; abstain from indiscriminately heaping such rewards upon men undeserving of them; and we should at all times carefully avoid giving any thing or doing any thing, under an appearance of coercion, on the demands of the soldiery. The corps that under General Pollock misbehaved at Peshawur, should at least have been denied medals. Had they been so, possibly we should have been spared late events on the N. W. Frontier and in Scinde; and we should remember that every officer is not fitted for command, much less to command soldiers of a different religion and country; and that where, as has repeatedly of late years been shown, regiments were found to be going wrong through the weakness or the tyranny of their commanders —it matters not whether from too much strictness or too little —full inquiry should at once be made and remedial measures instituted. If commanders cannot manage their regiments they should be removed from them, and that quickly, before their corps are irremediably destroyed. How much better would it be to pension, and to send to England such men as we have in command of some corps, than to allow them to remain a day at the head of a regiment to set a bad example to their men. We could, at this moment, point out more than one commander answering our description; and we would seriously call the attention of those in high places to the injury that even one such officer may commit. He may drive a thousand men into discontent and that thousand may corrupt many thousands—and all this may be done by a man without any positive evil in him; but simply because he is not a soldier, has not the feelings of a soldier; frets the men one day, neglects them the next; and is known by them all to care for nothing beyond his personal interests and his own hisab-kitab.

Before leaving this subject of the Native Army, we must devote a few sentences to one of its most important components, of which we have made no specific mention.—The Irregular Cavalry is a most useful branch of the service,

doubly so as providing for military classes that do not fancy our regular service. But we much doubt whether we adopt the best method of keeping up the efficiency of the Irregulars, which are our light horse; but which we encumber as we do all other branches with officers and even privates of sixty and even seventy years of age. We are not sure that we could not point out many native officers very much above seventy; and we once heard a commandant of one of these corps say his old men were his smartest—no great compliment to the quality of his young ones. But the fact is, that the purwustee system is more injuriously employed in the Irregular Horse than in any other branch of the army; though generally from kind and good motives. In times of peace these corps are little thought of, have nothing to do, are on small outpost duty, or, where collected are entirely under their Commander's authority and eye; but in service they are cruelly and often recklessly knocked about and exposed; no one has pity on them, and their own officers have therefore need the more to care for them. Mostly Patans or Rajpoots and Mahommedans of family, they are men of expensive habits, are almost all involved, and, from a system that has gradually crept in, they do not (generally) receive the pay allowed them by Government; that is to say, every man entering, in (we believe) seven out of the nine corps, has not only to purchase his horse and equipments, but to pay one hundred and fifty Rupees or thereabouts to the estate or family of the man whose decease or invaliding created the vacancy. Such donation of course throws the recruit at once into the money-lender's hands, and often leaves him for life a debtor. If the man again has not the cash to purchase a horse, he rides one belonging to a Native officer or to some privileged person, and becomes what is called his bargeer—the soldier receiving only seven or eight rupees a month, and the owner of the horse the balance of the twenty allowed by Government.

There is much in all this, and in the Kutchery and Banking system, prevalent in almost every corps (and without which, so deep-rooted is the evil, few irregular Regiments could now take the field) that requires gradual amendment, for while Government pays twenty rupees a month to each man, it is calculated, one with another, that the men do not receive above sixteen; and consequently, as far as efficiency is concerned, they are as if they received only that much pay; and when called on for service, instead of having a stock to draw on to render them efficient, they have to call on their banker; and enter more deeply into his books.

We have heard officers say that but for these bankers they did not know how they could have taken their corps on service; and we know how much trouble, vexation, and expense, has often been incurred by commanders, to render their Regiments efficient. But whatever be the motive—and we believe that in the Irregular Horse it is a very good one—that makes close boroughs of corps, bringing into them only the sons and nephews of those already enlisted, when better men are candidates, the result is bad: and it is worse still, that such fines should be paid at starting as tend to shackle the troopers for life. So great is the evil, that we consider that Government would do well to redeem all debts as they now stand, and forbid the system for the future; and peremptorily order the service to be thrown open to candidates out of the several Regiments, being men of respectability and bringing their own horses, or able to purchase that of the man who created the vacancy. The fine we have mentioned is in some corps put on the price of the horse, so that the recruit, instead of one hundred and twenty-five rupees, has to pay two hundred and seventy for his charger.

The consequence of all this is that we have not the horses, and often not the men in the Irregular Cavalry, that we might have for the twenty rupees per month paid by Government. It is only justice to the Irregulars to say that it is wonderful what they have done on service, in spite of their old men and their small poor horses; but having done well with little means, they would assuredly do better under a more encouraging system. The Poona Horse, we understand, receive thirty rupees per month, and they are a most efficient body. The matter of pay and equipment of the Irregulars requires serious attention; bad Cavalry are worth little, and we would prefer five regiments of first-rate, to ten of indifferent quality.

As our army is constituted, the Irregular Horse is the only outlet for the Native gentry. Every day it becomes less so, while recruiting is restricted to dependants of those already in the service. Lord Ellenborough's project of adding a portion of Irregulars, on increased pay, to the Body-guard, was a wise measure; and we should be glad to see still further encouragement held out to gallantry and devotion. A Rassalah in each regiment might be formed from men who had distinguished themselves, each man of such troop receiving four or five rupees additional monthly pay. We would also give the command of half the Irregular corps to Native officers; such commanders, with their seconds and adjutants, to be selected for gallantry and good conduct; two Brigades, each of two

such corps, might be formed in the Bengal presidency; one stationed at Umbala, the other at Cawnpore; to be commanded by a Brigadier under the Native title of Bukshee, with a Brigade-Major under the designation of Naib—these two (European) Officers not interfering in regimental details, further than paying the men and sanctioning promotions—the Bukshees and Naibs to be officers selected from present commandants. The system, we are convinced, would work well, as giving objects of ambition to the more adventurous spirits. And having two good European officers with them, there would always be a check on the conduct of the Native commanders, who, we believe, would feel pride in keeping their corps in as efficient a state as those commanded by European officers.

But after all, what could we do without the European portion of the army—useless of course by itself, but without which all else would soon pass from our hands. And yet how do we repay the gallant hearts that daily bleed for us—that daily sink and expire in a foreign land, uncared for and unpitied. We chiefly allude to the Company's European troops, but much will apply to her Majesty's. How little is done, or at least how much more might be done, for the comfort and happiness of the men, and by the saving of their lives, for the pockets of Government.

In the first place, we consider that Fort William is about the worst station in India for Europeans, especially for new comers. We would therefore see H. M. Regiments at once proceed up the country; and throughout India would have the Europeans, as far as possible, on the hills, not keeping a man more than absolutely necessary on the plains. Three-fourths of the European Infantry and Foot Artillery, and one-half of the Dragoons and Horse Artillery, might easily be established on the hills; and of the corps at Fort William, Madras, and Bombay, all the weakly men should be at Cherrah Poonjee or Darjeeling, or at the Sanataria of the other Presidencies. Nature has given us chains of hills in all directions, not only east and west, but through Central India, that would enable us to have moderately cool stations in every quarter; and when the expense in life and in death of Europeans, on the present system, is considered—when it is remembered that every recruit costs the Government one thousand rupees, or 100*l.*—that barracks, with tatties, and establishments, and hospitals, must be kept up at great expense—and that, with all appliances, the life of an European is most miserable,—how clear it is that we should alter the old system, and, following the laws of nature, avail

ourselves of the means and localities at our disposal, that enable us, at a much less expense, to keep up our Europeans in double their present efficiency in the hills; entailing, it is true, a certain first outlay, but which would be soon covered by the saving of life, and the reduction in establishments, rations, &c. If Lord Ellenborough had done nothing else in India, he would deserve well of his country for establishing three European stations on the hills. Three more may easily be so placed on the Bengal Presidency, and the proportion of Artillery and Cavalry we have mentioned be posted there. But we must have good roads, and ample means of conveyance, on all the routes and rivers leading to such locations; we must have a certain proportion of carriage kept up, and have our rivers covered with boats, and among them many steamers.

We would advocate the employment, or permission to employ themselves, of half the Europeans on the hills as handicrafts, in agriculture, trade, &c. A large proportion of the household troops are so employed in London, and yet the Guards of England have never been found wanting. Rations, establishments, and barracks in half quantities would thus only be required; and perhaps a portion of the pay of men so employed would in time be saved. Small grants of land, too, might be given on the hills, or in the Dhoon, to European invalids of good character, on terms of military service within a certain distance; or on terms of supplying a recruit, for seven or ten years, to a European corps.

Three-fourths of the European children who now die in the barracks on the plains, would live on the hills, and would recruit our corps with stout healthy lads, such as may be seen in Mr. Mackinnon's school at Mussourie, instead of the poor miserable parboiled creatures that we see as drummer-boys throughout the service.

The Chunar establishment bodily moved to the Mussourie neighbourhood, would be an incalculable benefit and blessing. Indeed, it is marvellous that the cruelty of such a location as Chunar for European invalids has not been oftener brought to notice, and that the hottest rock in India has been permitted to continue to this day as a station for European invalids.

All that we have mentioned is not only feasible, but easy; and we doubt not that all the expense which would be incurred by the change of locations, and abandonment of barracks, would be cleared by the several savings within seven years. We must walk before we can run; and we therefore only advocate roads—*metalled* roads—to each hill station; but we hope and expect soon to see railroads established on each line, so

that in twelve hours the corps from Kussowlee, Sobathoo, and Mussourie could be concentrated at Delhi. Great as would be the first outlay on such rails, we are well satisfied that they would pay; and who can calculate the benefit of being at once able to keep our Europeans in a good climate, and, at the rate of twenty or thirty miles an hour, to bring them to bear upon any point. We should then realise Hyder Ally's notion, and really keep our Europeans in cages, ready to let slip on occasions of necessity.

Every inducement should be held out to our European soldiers to conduct themselves as respectable men and good Christians. Reading-rooms and books in abundance should be provided; all sorts of harmless games encouraged; the children of all on the plains be sent to the hills, and placed in large training establishments, where boys and girls might (separately) be instructed in what would make them useful and respectable in their sphere of life, and be taught from the beginning to stir themselves like Europeans, and not with the listlessness (as is usual, in the barracks) of Asiatics.

We cannot write too emphatically on this most important branch of our subject. The morality of our European army in India is a matter which should engage the anxious attention not only of the military inquirer, but of every Christian man —every friend of humanity in the country. It is not simply a question of the means of making good soldiers; but of the means of making good men, and *therefore* good soldiers. We do not judge the European soldier harshly, when we say that the average standard of barrack morality is very low, for we cheerfully admit, at the same time, that the temptations to excess are great—the inducements to good conduct small—the checks wholly insufficient. It would be a wonder of wonders if, neglected as he is, the European soldier were to occupy a higher place in the scale of Christian morality; but whatever he may have to answer for, it is almost beyond denial that the responsibilities of the officer are far greater than his own. The soldier's sins of commission are not so heavy as the officer's sins of omission, from which they are the direct emanations. The moral character of a regiment, be it good or bad, fairly reflects the amount of interest taken by the officers in the well-being of their men. The soldier wanders out of garrison or cantonment and commits excesses abroad, because he has no inducements to remain within the precincts of the barrack square. He goes abroad in search of amusement, and he finds not amusement but excitement: he makes his way to the village toddy-shop, or to the punch-house: he seeks other haunts

of vice; and when both money and credit are gone, perhaps he takes to the high-road. This would not happen if regimental officers really did their duty to their men.* It is not merely the duty of an officer to attend parade, to manœuvre a company or regiment, to mount guard, to sanction promotions, to see the pay issued, to sign monthly returns, and to wear a coat with a standing collar. The officer has higher duties to perform—a duty to his sovereign, a duty to his neighbour, a duty to his God—not to be discharged by the simple observance of these military formalities. He stands *in loco parentis:* he is the father of his men; his treatment of them should be such as to call forth their reverence and affection, and incite in them a strong feeling of shame on being detected by him in the commission of unworthy actions. It is his duty to study their characters; to interest himself in their pursuits; to enhance their comforts; to assist and to encourage, with counsel and with praise, every good effort; to extend his sympathy to them in distress; to console them in affliction; to show by every means in his power, that though exiles from home, and aliens from their kindred, they have yet a friend upon earth who will not desert them. These are the duties of the officer—and duties too which cannot be performed without an abundant recompense. There are many idle, good-hearted, do-nothing officers, who find the day too long, complain of the country and the climate, are devoured with ennui, and living between excitement and reaction, perhaps in time sink into hypochondriasis—but who would, if they were to follow our advice, tendered not arrogantly but affectionately, find that they had discovered a new pleasure, that a glory had sprung up in a shady place, that the day was never too long, the climate never too oppressive: that at their up-rising and their down-sitting, serenity and cheerfulness were ever present; that in short they had begun a new life, as different from that out of which they had emerged, as the sunshine on the hill-top from the gloom in the abyss. Some may smile, some may sneer, some may acknowledge the truth dimly and forget it. To all we have one answer to give, couched in two very short words—*Try it.*

We need scarcely enter into minute details to show the manner in which this is to be done. Every officer knows, if he will know, *how* it is to be done. The youth of a month's standing in the army, endowed with ordinary powers of observation, must perceive that there are fifty ways open to his seniors, by

* The wives of the officers have also a duty to perform, and the moral influence which they might exercise is great. Some ladies are willing to acknowledge this, not merely in word, but in deed: to all would we say, "*Go and do likewise.*" It is possible that in a future article we may enlarge upon this subject.

which they may advance the well-being and happiness of the inmates of the barracks. Let them see, think, and act, as men endowed with faculties and understandings; and we shall hear no more of that intense longing after transportation to a penal settlement, which has of late possessed many of our soldiers, and urged them to the commission of capital offences. Does not this one fact declare trumpet-tongued the misery of a barrack life in India? Does it not pronounce the strongest condemnation on those who make no effort to shed a cheering light upon the gloomy path of the exiled soldier?

But we must do something more than alleviate the sufferings of the present—we must render him hopeful of the future; we must brighten up his prospects; animate him with a new-born courage; fill him with heart and hope that he may "still bear up and steer right on," until better days shall dawn upon him; and the wretchedness and humiliation of the past shall have a subduing influence in the retrospect, and shall lift up his soul with devout feelings of gratitude and love.

The commissioned ranks of the army should not be wholly closed against the deserving soldier in the Company's service, more than in the Queen's. There are no English regiments, which contain so many young men of family and education, as the few European corps and battalions in the army of the East India Company; and we should be truly glad to see the present great paucity of officers in the Native Army in some degree remedied by the appointment to each regiment of Cavalry and Infantry, and battalion or brigade of Artillery, and to the corps of Engineers, an ensign or second-lieutenant from the non-commissioned ranks; and that henceforth a fourth or fifth of the patronage of the army should be appropriated to the ranks.

For such promotion, we should select in some such fashion as the following:—Let examination committees be held at Calcutta, Cawnpore, and two of the Hill stations twice a year; let any European soldier that wished appear before it; and having passed some such examination as is required at Addiscome, substituting a course of history and geography, and what by late orders is required in Hindustani before officers can hold Companies, for some of the Addiscombe requisites; let such men be held eligible for commissions in the Engineers and Artillery, and those passing in Hindustani, and in a more limited course of mathematics for the Cavalry and Infantry; but before any man received a commission, he should have served one year as a Serjeant-Major, Quarter Master Serjeant, or Colour Serjeant, or as a Sub-Conductor, and produce a

character for sobriety and good conduct and general smartness as a soldier.

With such a stimulus, what might not our European soldiery become? The educated and unfortunate, instead of being our worst characters, would be inspired with hope, while many would wipe away the stain of early misconduct, and by recovering their characters and position, bring peace to their bereaved families. By the infusion, too, of a different class into our covenanted service, we should all be more put on our metal; and, in fact, not only would the whole tone and position of the *Gora-log* be elevated, but their rise would, in a certain degree, raise the European character throughout the country. As Secretary-at-war, our present Governor-General did much for the British soldier; he thoroughly understands their wants, and by his acts he has proved that he does not consider that they should be shut out from hope. We beseech his good offices on behalf of the European soldiers of India; the majority of them exiles for life—and when we consider the effect of character everywhere, the moral influence of one honest, of one good and zealous man, who would lightly discard any means of raising the tone of our Europeans? Too lamentable is the effect of their present misconduct, of their drunkenness, their violence, their brutality, for us to deny that the present system does not answer, and that it calls loudly for change. Every individual European, be he officer or private soldier, we look on as in his sphere a missionary for good or for evil. We have hinted that one indifferent commanding officer may ruin a whole corps. The experience of many will furnish an example. From violence, injustice, meanness, or indifference, from seeds of different sorts, the equally baneful fruit is produced, discipline is undermined, discontent engendered, and misbehaviour and its train ensues.

On the other hand, what may not one Christian soldier do? However lowly his position, how much has he not within his power? The man who, a Christian at heart, devotes himself to his duties, and vexing neither himself nor those under him with harassing frivolities, perseveringly acts up to what he believes his duty, not with mere eye or lip service, but as evincing his love to God, by performing his duty to man. Such a man will not be the one to quail in the hour of danger; his shoulder is ever at the wheel, whether it be in the dull duties of cantonment, the trying times of sickness and famine, or the exhilarating days of success, all will find him cheerful, all will find him at his post.

We fear there is still a very common under-estimate of mili-

tary character, and military duty. The philosophical moralist who calls the soldier a mere licensed murderer; the Epicurean, who only wonders at the madness of men who consent to stand and be shot at, when they could get their bread in some pleasanter way; the narrow-minded Christian, who thinks of soldiers and their possible salvation in the same dubious tone as Corporal Trim, when he asked "a negro *has* a soul? an' please your honor!" and the country gentleman who pronounces on the blockhead or blackguard among his sons, that "the fellow is fit for nothing but the church or the army," all, all, are equally wide of the mark. A soldier—it is a trite commonplace, we know, but, like many trite commonplaces, often forgotten—is not necessarily a man who delights in blood, any more than a physician is one who delights in sickness. Both professions will cease with human crime and misery. The prophecies that hold out to us a prospect of the days when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more," tell us likewise of that period when "none shall say I am sick."

We may refresh our spirits by the contemplation of these promises, and pray for the coming of that kingdom; but our own personal duty lies under a different order of things. War is probably the sorest scourge with which our race is visited; but constituted as the world is, a good army is essential to the preservation of peace. Military discipline at large comes not within the province of individual soldiers; but if every man who enlists took care that there was *one* good soldier in the army, our commanders would have easy work.

No man attains to excellence in any design without setting before him a lofty standard; and Christianity, where it is more than a name, incites us always to take the highest. It is no easy slipshod system of shuffling about the world; but "up and be doing" is the Christian's motto. Newton's opinion was that "a shoe-black, if he were a Christian, would try to be the best shoe-black in the whole town."

There is some grave defect in our religious instruction which almost every one feels when he awakens to the importance of the world to come. Somehow the duties of time and the duties of eternity, instead of being inseparably blended, present themselves to the mind, as Dr. Johnson expresses it, "as set upon the right hand and upon the left, so that we cannot approach the one without receding from the other;" and the consequence is, that while some take one side, to the neglect of the other, the majority pass quietly between the two, on the broad road of self-pleasing. The great problem to be solved is, how we may

put the soul of high principle and imperishable aim into the body of our daily acts, small as well as great, as the quaint but delightful old poet George Herbert tells us—

"The man who looks on glass
On *it* may stay his eye;
Or if he pleaseth, through it pass,
And then the heavens espy."

Applying these general remarks to military duties,—we desire to see every soldier set before himself a lofty standard, remembering that if high qualities and high principles are requisite in the man who would lead and influence his countrymen, they must be more so in the European, who would gain the affections of a race differing from him in colour, language, and religion. Mindful of their own religious observances, the Hindoo and Mahommedan soldier, far from despising their Christian officer, will respect him the more on seeing that he has a religion, and the rudest of them will appreciate the man who, first in the fight, first in the offices of peace, is staunch to the duty he owes his God.

The apostle Paul, of whom Paley, no bad judge, says that, "next to his piety, he is remarkable for his *good sense*," when he speaks figuratively of the Christian warfare, gives some of the best maxims for the literal warrior. He lays down "holding fast a good conscience" as indispensable to "warring a good warfare," and tells us that "a good soldier" must "endure hardness." That religion unfits a man to be a soldier is a maxim that may be placed in the same category as that marriage spoils one. Both assertions arise from misapprehension of what a soldier, a Christian, and a married man ought to be. We have quoted an apostle; let us now refer to a poet—

"Who is the happy warrior? who is he*
That every man in arms should wish to be?
* * * Who, doomed to go in company with pain,
And fear, and bloodshed—miserable train!—
Turns his necessity to glorious gain;
In face of these doth exercise a power
Which is our human nature's highest dower;
Controls them and subdues, transmutes, bereaves
Of their bad influence and their good receives:
By objects which might force the soul to abate
Her feelings, rendered more compassionate;
Is placable, because occasions rise
So often that demand such sacrifice;
More skilful in self-knowledge, even more pure,
As tempted more; more able to endure,
As more exposed to suffering and distress,
Thence also more alive to tenderness.

* Wordsworth's Happy Warrior.

—'Tis he whose law is reason; who depends
Upon that law as on the best of friends;
Whence in a state where men are tempted still
To evil for a guard against worse ill,
And what in quality or act is best
Doth seldom on a right foundation rest,
He fixes good on good alone, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows:
Who, if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honourable terms or else retire,
And in himself possess his own desire;
Who comprehends his trust and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim;
And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
For wealth and honours, or for worldly state;
Whom they must follow on whose head must fall
Like showers of manna if they come at all:
Whose powers shed round him in the common strife,
Or mild concerns of ordinary life,
A constant influence, a peculiar grace;
But who, if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined
Great issues good or bad for human kind,
Is happy as a lover, and attired
With sudden brightness, like a man inspired;
And through the heat of conflict keeps the law
In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw;
Or if an unexpected call succeed,
Come when it will, is equal to the need.
He who, though thus endued as with a sense
And faculty for storm and turbulence,
Is yet a soul whose master bias leans
To home-felt pleasures and to gentle scenes;
Sweet images! which, wheresoe'er he be,
Are at his heart; and such fidelity
It is his darling passion to approve,
More brave for this, that he hath much to love.
* * * * *

Whom neither shape of danger can dismay
Nor thought of tender happiness betray—
* * * * *

This is the happy warrior—this is he
Whom every man in arms should wish to be."

We would willingly quote the whole of this noble poem; but as space forbids, we can but recommend every soldier to read it in the volume from which it is taken. We wish the same hand that drew the warrior had given us a picture of a fitting wife for him.

That neither piety nor domestic affection* spoils a soldier, we

* Was Hector or was Paris the better soldier? There is no finer illustration—though unintentional—of the difference between the military husband and the military bachelor than in the pages of the Iliad. The hero of the Odyssey, too, is

see in both classes and individuals. The Puritans and Covenanters fought and suffered as bravely as if they had owned their be-all and their end-all here, and the history of America testifies* to the fact that the Winthrops, the Williamses, and others, while most loveable in all the relations of life, were as brave and daring as were the ruffian bands of Cortes and Pizarro. And where does history show such bright examples of genuine heroism as in the persons of the royalists of La Vendée—in Lescure—in Henri Larochjacqueline—in their brave and devoted associates, who, with hearts full of love towards God and the tenderest domestic affections, rushed from the village church, or started from their knees on the green sward, to stem with their rude phalanxes the disciplined battalions of the national guard, and met death on the field with the serenity and constancy of Christian martyrs?

Washington's life is better than a hundred homilies: it may offer an useful letter to the martinet. How clearly it shows what integrity, good sense, and oneness of purpose may effect. The simple land-surveyor, by his energy and honesty keeping together the ragged and unwilling militia of the States, training and accustoming them to victory, and having performed his work, retiring to private life, is an example that even Britons may set before themselves. But we want not good and great soldiers of our own land. Who more so than Hampden, Colonel Gardner, Admiral Collingwood, and a host of others?

But a soldier, though always ready for the fight, is not always fighting; and the beauty of right principles and exalted aims is, that they need not the stimulus of a concussion to arouse them, but are operative in the daily and hourly details of life. It is here that a Christian soldier shines as much as in the conflict; and it would be difficult to over-estimate the influence and utility of a *good* (using the word in its widest sense) commanding officer in the barracks and the field. Devoting himself to his profession, he will have an interest in every man under him; his example will check the dissolute, encourage the good, and confirm the wavering. A king among his subjects, a father among his family, a master among his pupils, a physician among his patients—the officer's position partakes of the power, the responsibility, and the interest of all these positions. A living homily himself, he aids by his example and influence the labours of those appointed to teach and preach. Having cultivated his

drawn as one eminent in all the domestic relations. Turning from poetry to history, what character of antiquity, drawn in the breathing pictures of Plutarch, is more admirable than that of Agesilaus?

* See Bancroft's History of the United States, passim, a most interesting and instructive work published at Boston.

own mind, he tries to bestow the blessings of intellect on those under him. Having studied the feelings and circumstances of his men, he can estimate their temptations, and determine the best means of helping them out of vice and into virtuous habits. Above all, he works not for self-gratification or outward applause. He has before him a rule of right, a hope of reward, independent of present success ; and therefore is he able to persevere against obloquy and failure, to go straight forward, "doing with all his might whatever his hand findeth to do."

But we must return to our military details.—We had purposed to have offered some remarks on the different branches of the Staff; but our limits are already nearly exhausted. What we have said regarding the Engineers, applies even more strongly to the Quarter-Master-General's Department ; at best but the shadow of an intelligence corps, consisting as it does of eight or ten officers, and they not selected for peculiar qualifications, as linguists and surveyors, and not having any permanent establishment of non-commissioned officers or privates under them. In fact, it may be said that with more need for an intelligence department than any army in the world, we are worse supplied than any other. A handful of officers, however well qualified, does not form an establishment or department ; and it is a cruelty to impose on officers important duties, involving often the safety of armies, without placing efficient means at their disposal.

When the Army of the Indus assembled at Ferozepoor, in 1838, we are credibly informed that Major Garden, the Deputy Quarter-Master-General, about to proceed in charge of his department with the expedition, had not a single European at his disposal ; and not a dozen clashies. Three officers were then appointed, without any experience as intelligencers, and altogether it may be said that the army marched, as if it did not require information ; as if the commander had perfect maps of the country, and had some special means, independent of the legitimate channel, for acquainting himself with what was going on in his front and on his flanks. The exertions of Major Garden are well known ; and if he had been shot, as he possibly might have been any morning, the Bengal Division at least would have been without a Quarter-Master-General's Department. Colonel Wild, it is well known, was sent in December 1841, on perhaps as difficult and hazardous an undertaking as has, for many years, been entrusted to an officer of his rank ; with four Regiments of Native Infantry and 100 Irregular Cavalry ; a Company of Golundauze without guns, and one of Sappers (the two latter being under officers of less than two years' standing), and without staff of any kind—

Quarter-Master-General's, or Commissariat Department. A regimental officer was, for the occasion, appointed brigade-major; and with him began and ended the staff of Brigadier Wild, who, had he had half a dozen guns and as many good staff officers, might have reached Julalabad early in January, 1842; and have thereby, perhaps, averted the final catastrophe at Cabul. To this it may be added, that, *two days before* the battle of Maharajpore, extra establishments were ordered for officers in the field.

These are recent instances of defects in our military organization, and misapplication of the means at our disposal; but the experience of our military readers will tell them, each in his own line and from his own reminiscences, how often an apparently trifling deficiency has vitiated the exertions of a detachment. Only last December, or January, all Oude was alarmed by the report of a Nepalese invasion, and *then* individuals were called upon to lend horses to move the guns at Lucknow; and scarce twelve months before, when a small party was beaten at Khytul in the Sikh states within forty or fifty miles of Kurnaul—one of our Army Division stations—it was three days before a small force could move; it was *then* found that there was no small-arm ammunition in store, and ascertained that an European corps could not move under a fortnight from Sobathoo.

At that time, when both Kurnaul and Ambala were denuded of troops; and every road was covered with crowds of armed pilgrims returning from the Hurdwar Fair; the two Treasuries containing, we have heard, between them, not less than thirty lakhs of Rupees, were under parties of fifty sepoys in exposed houses or rather sheds close to the Native towns; and, extraordinary as it may appear, *both* within fifty or a hundred yards of small forts in which they would have been comparatively safe; but into which, during the long years that treasuries have been at those stations, it seems never to have occurred to the authorities to place them.

The treasury at Delhi is in the city, as is the magazine; the latter is in a sort of fort—a very defenceless building, *outside* of which, in the street, we understand, a party of sepoys was placed, when the news of the Cabul disasters arrived. We might take a circuit of the country and show how many mistakes we have committed, and how much impunity has emboldened us in error: and how unmindful we have been that what occurred in the city of Cabul, may, some day, occur at Delhi, Benares, or Bareilly.

It needs not our telling that improvements are required in the Commissariat. We observe that Ramjee Mull, who was a

man of straw in the department at Bhurtpore, in 1824, died at Delhi, the other day, worth twenty-four lakhs of rupees; and not long since one of the Calcutta papers gave a biographical sketch of Mr. Reid, who, in 1838, was a hungry omedwar, and in 1843 died worth about two lakhs of rupees, having been in the receipt of a salary amounting to perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred rupees per month. We recollect being amused by the naïve expression that his gains were all honestly made. It is just possible that Ramjee Mull's were so; but we look on it as something highly improper that Mr. Reid, a salaried public servant, should have made anything beyond his pay. He took contracts, but he should not have been allowed to do so; and in taking them he was only entering into partnership with Native Gomashtahs or Principals, such as Ramjee Mull, Doonee Chund, &c., who, by combining, raised their charges on Government; and it is clear that in so participating or even in being a contractor on his own bottom, he became useless as an assistant to the Commissariat officer in checking fraud on the part of other subordinates.

We have repeatedly seen the charge of a batch of camels on ten rupees per month preferred by an indolent Mootusuddee to a quiet one of thirty or forty rupees; the inference is that they have a per-centage on the grain of the animals; and so it is throughout the establishment; and low rates of pay only are authorized. Commissariat officers are actually in the power of their subordinates; they have not the means of paying respectable men, and being generally called on suddenly, they are in self defence thrown on their monied dependants or hangers-on.

The whole establishment requires reform. The few European officers are now no check on the subordinates; they are, indeed, often screens, and it sometimes occurs that a gentlemanlike inexperienced officer considers it a personal offence to have it proved that his gomashta watered the grog, or served out short grain. Commissariat officers should be carefully chosen and should then be armed with sufficient authority to do their duty efficiently. They have now just power enough to do harm —none to do good, unless they are bold enough to risk their own prospects and even character. A Commissariat officer may easily starve an army and yet bear no blame; but if he saves a detachment from starvation and loses his vouchers: or under extreme difficulties if he has failed to procure them, he is a ruined man. Oh, how much more, in this as in every other department, are forms looked to rather than realities: and how much does Government seem to prefer being robbed according to the usual forms, than to act on the plain principles of com-

mon sense that would actuate the same Government taken individually instead of in its collective character.

But we must draw our remarks to a conclusion, first briefly recapitulating our recommendations:—

1st. To increase the Engineer Regiment and to make it the nucleus of a General Staff Corps available in peace for all Civil Engineering operations—giving all ranks opportunities to qualify themselves for field duties, and by having acquired intimate acquaintance with the language, habits, and manners of the people, and the features of the country; by giving them habits of inquiry and practice in such duties as they may be called on to perform during war.

An immediate increase to the Engineers might be made by volunteers from the Line and Artillery—all ranks of such volunteers passing an examination in the requisite scientific points. They might then, according to standing, be drafted into the present Engineer corps, or form a new regiment of two, three, or more battalions.

We advocate the more efficient officering of the Foot Artillery, its elevation to an equality with the Horse Artillery—or at least that the latter should not be unduly cared for to the neglect of the former.

The regular cavalry should have some smart European Dragoons attached to each troop; the irregulars should be paid, in all cases, the full twenty rupees per month;—Bargeers not being admitted, unless in the case of Native officers, who might each be allowed to have their own sons or nephews (failing sons) as Bargeers, but their number should be limited to four to each officer.

We further desire that some regiments of irregular cavalry, and some of Native infantry, should be commanded and officered by natives, and placed in brigade under Europeans.

We would fain see the army, year after year, more carefully weeded of incapables. Age should no longer be the qualification for promotion; Jemadars and Soobadars should either be pensioned at their homes, or be real and effective lieutenants and captains. We have shown how the deserving old soldier, unqualified to be an officer, may be provided for, by being allowed to return to his home as a Havildar, on completion of his service. Our army being, in relation to the country it has to defend, a small one, it requires that every man should be effective; its subalterns and native officers should not be hoary-headed invalids, but young and active men, and its field-officers and commanders should not be worn-out valetudinarians. We need hardly say, that, gallantly as the army has ever behaved, and much as it has done, more might often have been effected, at less expense of life and treasure, if a few years could have

been taken from the ages of all ranks. We have all experience before us, in proof that great military achievements have been generally performed by young armies, under young leaders. Hannibal and Napoleon had conquered Italy before they could have been brevet-captains in the company's army: at as early an age the victories of Cæsar were gained, and at an equally early age Alexander had conquered the world. Forty years ago the victories of the Great Duke were gained in India, and happily he is still at the head of the British army; and we doubt if the ages of all the generals commanding divisions under Wellington, or against him, in the Peninsula, would amount, in the aggregate, to the ages of an equal number of captains of the Bengal army,—and this, be it remembered, in a climate where Europeans are old men at forty; and where, as there are but few of us, those few should be of the right sort, and full of energy, mental and physical.

The location in strength of Europeans on the hills—having good roads and carriage by land and water, for at least a portion of them, always ready—is another of our schemes, as it is also our hearty desire to see the commissioned ranks of the army opened to them, and hope no longer shut out from the inmates of the barracks. The better education of European children, and colonization on a small scale, under restrictions, is a part of this scheme.

The attachment of Native companies to European regiments, as posts of honour, or, at any rate, the permanent brigading of different classes of troops, seems to us highly desirable, as likely to enhance the good feeling of all, improve the tone of the sepoys, and soften the asperities of Europeans.

The greater mixture of classes in our Native army we also hold to be desirable, so as never to give a designing Brahmin the opportunity of misleading a whole regiment. Instant and full inquiry into every case of discontent or disaffection we hold to be of vital moment; no glossing over to save individual feeling, or, what is wrongly considered, to save the credit of the service. No army in the world has been at all times without taint; but where insubordination or dictation once was permitted, or donatives resorted to where summary punishment should have been inflicted, that army soon mastered their Government.

We would make the staff of the army, in all its branches, efficient: keep it so and practice it, while opportunity offers, during peace, so that it may be always ready for war. We would have a baggage-train, and precise orders, that *should be obeyed*, as to the amount of carriage and servants and camp followers, which, under all circumstances, on service, should accompany our armies. We should not take mobs of hangers-

on, or the luxuries of the capital, into the field, and it should be understood to be as much the duty of all ranks to obey orders in such matters, as in doing their duty when actually under fire.

We can see many advantages in having the three armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay united into one Indian army, having one commander-in-chief and one general staff; having rates of pay, equipments, and all else, as far as possible, assimilated, and having *four* commanders of the forces, with subordinate major-generals, all having sufficient authority to order, and finally dispose, of many matters of detail that now go to army head-quarters, and some that cannot now be there settled; with the power of bringing up the bulk of the Madras cavalry, and a portion of their other branches, to our north-west provinces; while the Bengal Presidency might send down a few native infantry regiments to the central stations,—all being on the same footing as to pay and batta, &c. Much good would thus accrue to the service. Emulation between the natives of different provinces would be excited, and the danger of combination be greatly lessened.

We have necessarily but glanced at the various branches of our noble army. We have not forgotten our own deep personal interest in its honour and welfare; but as we hold that our presence in India depends, in no small measure, on the contentedness and happiness of our native soldiery, we have prominently put forth what has long been our opinion, that something more is wanted for the sepahi than that at the age of sixty he should, by possibility, reach the rank of Subadar Major, and with it the first class of Sirdar Bahadoor. Doubtless, such hope and expectation is sufficient to influence nine ont of ten of our sepahis; but it is for the tenth we want a stimulus; for the man of better education, the superior character, the bold and daring spirit that disdains to live for ever in subordinate place; and it is for such, we firmly believe, that is absolutely required some new grade where, without our risking the supremacy of European authority, he may obtain command and exert in our behalf those energies and talents which, under the present system, are too liable to be brought into the scale against us. Commands of Irregular Corps, Jaghers, titles, civil honours, pensions to the second and third generation, are among the measures we would advocate for such characters; while we would give the invalid pensions, at earlier periods and under increased advantages, to men who had distinguished themselves in the field or by any peculiar merit in quarters. For all such, and such only, there should be medals and orders, and not for whole regiments, who may have happened to be in the field on a particular day.

Much reform is required in the Native army, but still more in the European branch of the service. The system of terror has long enough been tried, and been found wanting; the system that filled the American navy with British sailors, and drove the flower of the French into the ranks of their enemies, and that daily drives many Europeans in India, who under different circumstances might turn out good soldiers, to suicide, and to the high-road, should at once be exploded. Under a better régime our Europeans, instead of enacting the part of highwaymen, might be rendered as available to purposes of peace as of war, and be as well conducted during one period as another. With commissions open to the ablest, and subordinate staff employment, after certain periods, to all the well-behaved; with aids to study and to rational amusement in barracks, instead of eternal drills, whose beginning and end is to torment and disgust men with a noble service, how much might be done with the materials at our command, and how much would our Government be strengthened, and the value of every individual European's services be enhanced.

To raise men from the ranks, we feel, will be considered a terrible innovation, but we have not ourselves, as a body of officers, been so long emancipated from degrading restrictions that we should not have some fellow-feeling for our brother soldiers. Argument is not required in the matter; common sense dictates the measure. All history teaches its practicability: the Roman Legionary, nay, the barbarian auxiliary, lived to lead the armies of the empire; almost every one of Napoleon's marshals rose from the ranks, and at this day, and with all the preventions of aristocracy and moneyed interests, scarcely less than a fifth of Her Majesty's army is officered by men who rose from the ranks. Indeed, since this paper was commenced, we have observed not less than six staff-serjeants promoted to Ensigncies, Adjutancies, or Quarter-Masterships in a single gazette; but it is reserved to the army of a company of merchants that her sentinels should be black-balled—should be driven with the lash, instead of led by consideration and common sense.

Wonderful, indeed, is it, that this subject should have been left for our advocacy, and that situated as we are, in the midst of a mighty military population, we should fail to see the necessity—the common prudence—of turning our handful of Europeans to the best advantage; and that, while we foster the Natives, we degrade our own countrymen. Drive away hope from the former, make transportation, or death, a boon—a haven to the heart-broken or desperate sepahi, and then see whether the lash will be required in the Native army as well

as the European. We would not abate a jot of discipline with the one or the other; each should be taught his duty thoroughly, which at present he seldom is: he should be a good marksman or swordsman, according to the branch of his service, and until he is master of his weapon, he should be kept at drill; but there should be no after drill and parades, to *keep men out of mischief*—to disgust them with their duty. They should have as much of exercise and instruction as should keep them practised and able soldiers, and their lives should be rendered happy, that they might remain willing and contented ones. The lash should be reserved for mutiny, desertion, and plunder—for Natives, as well as Europeans—and while the worthless and incorrigible are thus dealt with according to their deserts, the indifferent soldier should be encouraged to become a good one; and the best be rewarded according to their abilities, by promotion to the non-commissioned Staff, and the commissioned ranks, and by comfortable provision in old age, in climates suited to their constitution.

We cannot expect to hold India for ever. Let us so conduct ourselves in our civil and military relations, as when the connexion ceases, it may do so, not with convulsions, but with mutual esteem and affection; and that England may then have in India a noble ally, enlightened, and brought into the scale of nations, under her guidance and fostering care.

Note.—In an article on the military defence of the country, it is obvious that some detailed notice should have been taken of so important a point as the means of rapid locomotion. We had not overlooked it, but the subject is too interesting and too important to be lightly touched upon in a rough desultory article, like the foregoing, which aspires not to teach, but to suggest. A small force, which can be moved, at an hour's notice, from one part of the country to another, with a celerity that will disconcert the measures of an enemy—be the hostile demonstration from without or within—is of more real service in the defence of the country, than an overgrown, cumbrous army, which cannot be put in motion without much difficulty and much delay. To attain this great end, it is not only necessary that our troops should be prepared to move, but that they should have good roads along which to move. Now roads and bridges—we are uttering but a trite common-place—are excellent things, not only as they strengthen our position, but as they conduce to the prosperity of the country—they are blessings to all and no mean part of the real wealth of a nation. In a military point of view they are of incalculable value; and when the country is not only intersected with good roads, but boasts of at least one railroad along the main line, from the sea to the north-western boundary; when our rivers are spanned, at the most important points, with bridges, and ever alive with magic steam-ships, then will it be found that our army of a quarter of a million is equal, in real strength, to an army of a million of men; and that with this facility of transporting troops and stores to any given point—of concentrating a large army, with all the muniments of war in a few hours—we have acquired an amount of military strength, the mere prestige of which will be sufficient to overawe our enemies and to secure an enduring and honourable peace.

ART. III.—1. *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, 26 *tomes*. *Paris*, 1780-1783.

2. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, &c. Collection faisant suite aux* LETTRES EDIFIANTES. *Lyon.*

3. *Memoires Historiques presentés* (*en* 1744,) *au Souverain Pontife Benoit XIV. Par le R. P. Norbert. Besançon* 1747 ; *et Luques*, 1745. *Avec la permission des Supérieurs.*

THOUGH not very old residents in India, we can well recollect a time, when the Roman Catholics of Calcutta, notwithstanding their numerical strength, possessed but a very slender share of moral influence: and when certain angry discussions, which, from time to time, gave token that the life remained in the body, were *caviare* to the Calcutta public. It was known that they had two or three churches, a few quiet inoffensive Portuguese priests, a few respectable families of the middle classes, and a large body of Indo-Portuguese adherents, who were understood to be in nearly the lowest stage of degradation and ignorance. They appear to have had but one school, which was instituted in 1830; hence many of the most respectable sent their children to the various Protestant institutions. Whatever weight private individuals might have derived from their own talents or character (and there were men distinguished for both), as Roman Catholics they possessed none. Nothing was either hoped or feared from Roman Catholicism in Calcutta. In those days, even the jealousy of rival sects was hushed to sleep. In religion, in education, in all that concerned the welfare of India, when all else were up and stirring, the voice of Rome was unheard, and, spiritually and intellectually, (though present in the body) she was not only absent, but forgotten and unmissed.

Within the last twelve years, however, a very remarkable change has taken place. Where all was torpor, all is now life and activity. Colleges, Schools, Nunneries, English preaching, are springing up, as if by magic. The Roman Catholic clergy already out-number those of any other persuasion. They have an archbishop, a bishop, and a numerous and rapidly increasing brotherhood and sisterhood, lay and ecclesiastical. Protestant children are now to be found in their schools; and there is a college for the education of the natives entrusted to the fostering care of the Jesuits by the wealthy Baboo Mutty Loll Seal. This last, however, can scarcely be classed with Roman Catholic institutions, as its conductors are understood to have pledged themselves to withhold all Christian instruction from the pupils.*

* Since this article was written, the institution has passed from the hands of the

There can be no doubt that the sudden, rapid, and simultaneous revival to life and energy of the Roman Catholic Church, in every part of the world, is mainly owing to the re-establishment of the far-famed "Society of Jesus:" and here, as elsewhere, we find these "vigorous and experienced rowers," as Pope Pius VII. happily terms them, once more at the oar. That they will row, and row with vigour, their past history gives ample assurance: but skilful navigators must steer as well as row; and, before abandoning the vessel to their guidance, it may be well to consult the records of a former voyage, which was not only performed on our own waters, but is usually spoken of as the most successful they ever made.

The glory of the Jesuits was their missionary spirit: the glory of their missions was that of Southern India, more generally known as the mission of Madura.*

"Although there may have been among them defects," says Dr. Wiseman, "and members unworthy of their character (for it would not be a human institution, if it was not imperfect) it must be admitted that there has been maintained among them a degree of fervour and *purest* zeal for the conversion of heathens, which no other body has ever shown."—*Lectures on the principal Doctrines, &c. of the Catholic Church.* Vol. I. p. 218, London, 1842.

Berault Bercastel is still more eloquent, and, forgetting for the moment the historian in the partisan, breaks out into the following animated apostrophe:—

"From the hyperborean mountains of higher Asia to the burning bosom of Africa, from Thibet and the impracticable defiles of Caucasus to the heart of Ethiopia, and, in the other hemisphere, from Labrador and California to the Straits of Magellan, there is not a nation, worthy of the name, there is scarcely even a numerous tribe, where that *Society of Apostles*, which is no more, hastening, before it ceased to be, to fulfil the whole extent of its destiny, had not borne the name of Jesus Christ. The facts are so notorious, that Protestant historians are forced to confess, that the missionaries of this society principally did at this time (the end of the 17th century) convert an infinite number of infidels. All that they have to object is, that these new Christians have received but a feeble tincture of Christianity, and that the true spirit of the Gospel has never been given to them. It is easy to understand what these terms mean in the mouths of the pretended reformers. To obtain the full approbation of the impure and sacrilegious reformation, it would have been necessary no doubt, to instruct the fervent neophytes of *Madura*, for example, to have neither altar, nor sacrifice, and to revere neither priest, nor clergyman, unless he had his wife, or rather his concubine, and his counting-house.

"There have been found among the jealous reformers, emulators so destitute of common sense, as to draw a parallel between *their* missionaries, husbands, and merchants, and the chaste Apostles of the holy apostolic see.

Jesuits, and is now (1844) under the superintendence of a minister of the Church of England—the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea.

* They had a mission in Bengal also; but it was unsuccessful, and need not therefore be noticed here.

Infatuated with pride, they saw not that the quality of Apostolic is no less peculiar to the Roman Church, than that of Catholic, and that all the efforts of secretaries to usurp or to counterfeit it have ever appeared but despicable jugglings and miserable apings!"—*Histoire de l'Eglise*, Tome 12, p. 257. Paris, 1830.

It must, indeed, be acknowledged by all impartial men, that the Jesuits have been most energetic and laborious missionaries; sincere in their convictions, whether these were right or wrong; persevering for centuries, in the pursuit of their object, and for that object enduring privations, persecutions, even death itself, with a courage and constancy beyond all praise. But, alas! charity must weep, and frail humanity tremble, when we see how thoroughly these noble qualities were perverted, until they became a curse, instead of a blessing to mankind.

Mere professions of impartiality deceive no one; and the man must be devoid of all principle, and even the common sympathies of human nature, who will not feel strongly in regard to the transactions which we are about to record. But in soliciting the attention of our readers, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, we can honestly assure them, that we are anxious only for the truth, and that our authorities are beyond suspicion. Not one Protestant author is quoted; almost every statement is rested on the letters of the Jesuits themselves, the Mandates and Bulls of the Popes and Cardinals, or the incidental notices of friendly and Roman Catholic writers. Father Norbert is, perhaps, an exception. He was indeed a most devoted and orthodox Romanist; yet as he was a Capuchin and a rival, we have advanced nothing on his private authority alone, however strongly corroborated by circumstances, or otherwise likely to be true. His work is, however, extremely useful, as a repository of public documents admitted by all parties. It was presented by himself to Benedict XIV., the then reigning Pontiff, in the face of friends and foes, which is a sufficient guarantee for its accuracy in essentials.

The flourishing mission of Southern India was originally confined to the triangular Peninsula, having Cape Comorin for its vertex, the Coleroon River for its base, and for its sides, the Ghats (separating it from Malabar), and the sea. It was known in the 17th century, partly, as the kingdom of Madura, which then included Tinnevelly with the smaller dependency of Marawas; partly, as the kingdom of Tanjore, which formed its N.E. corner. The shores of the Gulf of Manar, stretching from Cape Comorin to Adam's bridge, were usually called the Pearl Fishery Coast, and were famous as the scene of the early labours of St. Francis Xavier. Within this favoured spot, about one hundred and fifty years ago, if we may believe most spe-

cious contemporary testimony, there might be witnessed millennial happiness. Miracles, we are assured, were numerous; rivalry and strife unknown; hundreds of thousands were added to the Church; and the converts lived and died in all the fervour of their first love, and with the purity of the angels of heaven. Never was Christian Church so blessed: never was Christian Church so successful; for the primitive Christian and the Apostles of Christ were far inferior in self-denial, in heavenliness of spirit, and in successful propagation of the Gospel, to the Apostles, and neophytes of Madura. Hence, as from a nucleus, missionary operations were extended to Mysore and Gingi, and with the same unparalleled success. Dr. Wiseman, in a very beautiful description of the Church of Rome in her missionary capacity, declares that "no clamour or boast is heard "within her; but she perseveres in the calm fulfilment of "her eternal destiny, as unconscious of any extraordinary effort, "as are the celestial bodies in wheeling round their endless "orbits, and scattering rays of brilliant light through the un-"measurable distances of space."—*Lectures, &c.*, Vol. I. p. 220.

It would be well, indeed, if it were so; for, as we have no other authority for the wonderful success of these Apostolic men than their own modest statements, it is of the last importance that we should be able to rely on these, as neither clamorous nor boastful, but as the simple unexaggerated truth.

Three hundred years ago, in the year 1545, the missionary Xavier landed at Cape Comorin. Nine years later, we are informed by the historian Bercastel (tome 9, p. 308) that the number of converts on the Pearl Fishery Coast alone amounted to upwards of five hundred thousand,—"all fervent, and "desiring nothing more than to become martyrs for their "faith." The proceedings of this great man are smothered in such a mass of legend and falsehood, that it is very difficult to discover their actual character. According to the Abbé Dubois, on the authority of his own printed letters to his friend Ignatius de Loyola, Xavier left India in disgust, entirely disheartened by the apparent impossibility of making *real* converts.*

This much is certain, that his recorded policy was condemned by the Jesuits as ineffectual,† and was totally different from that which was afterwards followed by Robert de Nobilibus, the real founder of the Madura mission, who entered the country about fifty years later. This remarkable man, the nephew

* Letters on the State of Christianity in India.—P. 3. London, 1823.

† Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Tome 10, pp. 67-69.

of Cardinal Bellarmine, and the grand nephew of Pope Marcellus II., seems to have commenced, somewhere about the year 1606, the very singular system of conversion, which was carried on by his successors with the most extraordinary energy and perseverance for nearly 150 years. "These new missionaries," says Bercastel, "following the method of him who had "traced out for them the road, continued to practise, *with all "the good faith which the Gospel prescribes,* austerities, which "are often but apparent with the zealots of idolatry. On this "account, this mission is attended with more hardships than "perhaps any other. The most determined enemies of these "works of God themselves make an exception in its favour, "when they vomit forth their calumnies against most others." —*Histoire de l'Eglise,* Tome 12, p. 178.

Leaving, for the present, this somewhat hot-tempered historian, and repairing for information to the fountain head, we find the first distinct notice of the Madura mission in a letter from Father Martin, dated Balasore, in Bengal, 30th January 1699, wherein he expresses his delight, that, having been ordered to Pondicherry, he will thus be as it were at the door of the famous mission of Madura, into which he longed to enter. And certainly the worthy missionary was singularly qualified for his work; for, says he, "As soon as I arrived in this fine kingdom "(which is under the dominion of the Mahometans, although "nearly all the people are idolators) I applied myself seriously to "the study of the Bengalee language. At the end of five months "I found myself sufficiently far advanced to be able to disguise "myself, and to enter into a famous Brahminical University." —*Lettres Edifiantes, &c.,* Tome 10, p. 39.

Reader, we must put in a peg here to hang a doubt upon. Is it credible,—is it possible that, in the short space of five months, a stranger should master the Bengali language, should become so familiar with its idiom,—so intimately acquainted with manners, customs, and observances totally different from his own—that he could successfully assume the disguise of a Brahmin, and enter without detection as a student in a native University? To our doubt, however, is opposed the direct and deliberate affirmation of the missionary himself: so we shall simply pass on to his account of the mission of Madura.

"We shall be there, my dear Father," writes he, "at the door of the mission of Madura, the finest in my opinion in the whole world. There are seven Jesuists there, nearly all Portuguese, who labour indefatigably with incredible success and with incredible hardships. * *——You will easily understand, why I feel myself so strongly attracted thither, when I tell you that the mission is reckoned to have more than a hundred and fifty

thousand Christians, and that every day a very great number is added to it. The least that each missionary baptizes is a thousand a year. Father Bouchet, who has laboured there for ten or twelve years, writes, that for his own part he has baptized two thousand in the course of this last year, and that he has administered this initiatory sacrament to three hundred in a single day: so that his arms fell down from weakness and fatigue. Besides, say he, these Christians are not like those in other parts of India. *We baptize them only after strong proofs of their sincerity, and after three or four months' instruction.* After they once become Christians, they live like the angels, and the Church of Madura seems a true image of the primitive Church. This Father protests further, that he has sometimes listened to the confessions of several villages, without finding among them a single individual guilty of a mortal sin. Let it not be imagined, adds he, that ignorance or shame hinders them from opening their consciences to this sacred tribunal: they approach it as well instructed as the clergy themselves, and with all the candour and simplicity of Novices."—*Lettres Edifiantes, &c.* Tome 10, pp. 41-43.

Not less favourable is the testimony of Father Bouchet himself, after an experience of twenty-five years.

"That," says he, "which consoles the missionary, and supports him in his labours, is the innocent life of these new believers, and their extreme horror of sin. Most of them have but slight faults to bring before the tribunal of penitence, and we sometimes hear a great number of confessions successively, without knowing on what to found the absolution! A missionary cannot refrain from tears of joy, when he sees these virtuous neophytes shedding tears of compunction, and attending to his instructions with such docility. They are strongly persuaded that the Christian life should be holy, and a Christian who yields to sin appears to them a monster. I shall relate an anecdote on this subject, which has infinitely edified all to whom I have mentioned it. A Hindoo, extremely attached to the worship of his false gods, perceived at last that he was in error; and having got himself instructed in the mysteries of our holy religion, he asked for baptism with importunity, notwithstanding the ties which bound him to infidelity. His conversion was so perfect, that he devoted himself entirely to works of piety. Some months after his baptism I sent for him to prepare him for his first confession. He appeared quite astonished, when I explained to him the manner in which he ought to confess, "When," said he to me, "in the instructions which I have received, they spoke to me of confession of my sins, I understood that it referred to those only which I had committed before baptism, that I might feel for them the greater horror; but you tell me now that it is necessary to declare also those which have been committed after baptism: What! my Father, is it then *possible* that a man regenerated in these waters of salvation, can be capable of violating the law of God? Is it possible that after having received so great a favour, he can be so unfortunate as to lose it, and so ungrateful as to offend Him from whom he has received it."—"Behold," continues Father Bouchet, with pardonable exultation, "behold the noble idea which our neophytes form of the Christian religion! Nothing seems to me better calculated to confound so many European Christians, who, though they have imbibed with their mothers' milk the maxims of the law of God, nevertheless observe them so ill: while a people, whom they look upon perhaps as barbarians, have no sooner been enlightened with the light of the Gospel, than they observe it faithfully, and preserve even till death that

precious innocence which they have received in baptism."—*Lettres Edifiantes*, Tome 13, pp. 55-57.

To the same purport writes Father Barbier, in 1720:—

"Among a hundred whom I confess, scarcely shall I find eight who have fallen into any considerable fault. All edify me infinitely by their scrupulous exactness in fulfilling the duties of religion, by the eagerness with which they listen to the word of God, and by the patience with which they endure afflictions and maladies. It seems to me that I look upon a revival of the fervour of the early ages."—Tome 13, p. 188.

One more extract we must make, for which we are indebted to the veracious Father Trembloy, who writes about 25 years later. Nothing can be more direct, deliberate, and circumstantial than this missionary's statement; and we request, that it may be very carefully borne in mind. It will throw light on much.

"Yes!" he exclaims, "the Christians of India adore our God in spirit and in truth: *their worship is pure and without mixture. Their aversion to idolatry is carried even to scrupulousness:* often they refuse to look upon the false gods, to pass before their temples, or to touch anything employed in the ceremonies of the Gentiles! Hunger, thirst, persecutions, the privation of their goods, and the most cruel outrages cannot shake them; as the symbol of their faith, they usually have the cross marked on their foreheads, and the only name they give to the idols is that of Demon."—*Lettres Edifiantes*, 13, p. 176.

The next chapter in the history of this wonderful mission is no whit less surprising, or less worthy of admiration. The devil, it appears, reigned with absolute power over the bodies, as well as the souls, of the unhappy idolators. In certain parts of the country, almost every second person was tormented by demons; and nothing tended more to the propagation of the Gospel, than the universal and well-founded belief, that the meanest Christian was not only for ever delivered from their attacks, but could at once put them to silence and drive them away. Let us listen to Father Bouchet:—

"To begin then, my Reverend Father, it is a fact, which no one in India doubts, and in regard to which the evidence does not admit of a doubt, that the devils utter oracles, and that these wicked spirits seize upon the priests who invoke them, or indiscriminately upon any of those who are present, and take a part in these spectacles. The idolatrous priests have abominable prayers which they address to the devil, when they wish to consult him: but woe to him whom the devil chooses to use as his instrument. He throws all his limbs into an extraordinary agitation, and makes his head turn round in the most frightful manner."—Tome 11, p. 45.

Again:—

"Shall we say then that the power of imagination is sufficient to produce these marvellous effects, which we attribute to the devil? But who can believe that through the force of imagination alone, *some find themselves*

transported in an instant of time from one place to another, from their own village, for instance, to some distant forest, or unknown pathway,—that others lie down at night in perfect health, and awake next morning, having their bodies all bruised with blows which they have received, and which have forced them to utter fearful cries during the night?"—Tome 13, p. 62.

It might naturally be supposed that the Prince of Darkness would bestir himself vigorously when he found any of his own subjects disposed to become Christians: and accordingly we find (Tome 13, p. 65) that "the devil frequently appears "to the catechumens under a hideous form, and reproaches "them in the most cutting terms for abandoning the gods "adored in the country. I have baptized a Hindoo," says Father Bouchet, "who was carried all at once from the path "which led to the church to another, where he saw the devil "holding in his hand a scourge (*nerf de bœuf*) with which he "threatened to beat him, if he did not give up his resolution "to meet me here."

Father le Gac, writing to the governor of Pondicherry, tells him, moreover, this is a very common occurrence, and relates another instance that he met with a short time before.

"A short time ago," says he, "a heathen who has Christian relatives, and who is only waiting for the conclusion of a marriage to follow their example, sitting one evening at his house door in the moonlight, saw a man in appearance like one of their false gods, who came and sat beside him: he held in one hand a trident, and in the other a small bell, with an empty gourd which is used in asking alms. The spectre frowned on him with a threatening glance: but the proselyte, who had heard something of the virtue of the sign of the cross, made that adorable sign, and the spectre disappeared."—Tome 13, p. 154.

We must hear Father Bouchet again, that we may be made thoroughly aware how completely the devil was made subject to the meanest of the Christians of Madura:—

"I once baptized," says he, "in a single month four hundred idolators, of whom two hundred at least had been tormented by the devil, and had been delivered from his persecution, by having themselves instructed in the Christian doctrine. At Aour I myself have often been an eye-witness, how Christians of every age, of both sexes of every rank in life, drive away devils, and deliver the possessed by a single invocation of the name of Jesus Christ, by the sign of the cross, by holy water, and by other holy practises which the Christian religion authorizes, and of which our good Indians certainly make a better use than most of our Christians in Europe. Thus it is that our neophytes have *a sovereign contempt* for the devils, over whom their quality of Christians alone gives them so great authority."—Tome 11, pp. 75-77.

Passing over several instances, where the devil was put to silence by the accidental presence of a single Christian in a crowd of heathen, and where he was ingenuous enough to avow his own discomfiture and its cause, we shall now

record a dialogue between the devil and Father Bernard de Sa:—

"The Heathens brought to him a Hindoo cruelly tormented by the devil. The Father interrogated him in the presence of a great number of idolators, and his answers *very much surprised* the spectators: We first asked him, Where were the Gods, whom the Hindoos adored? the answer was, They were in Hell, where they suffered horrible torments. And what becomes of those, pursued the Father, who adore these false Divinities? They go to Hell, was the answer, there to burn with the false Gods whom they have adored. Lastly, the Father demanded of him, Which was the true religion? and the devil answered from the mouth of the possessed, that there was none true except that which was taught by the Missionary, and that it alone led to Heaven."—Tome 13, p. 67.

The Lutherans, we regret to add, fare no better than the Heathens and their Gods. For Father Calmette tells a story (Tome 13, p. 360) of a Lutheran convert and his wife, who happened to be in Tanjore, when a *heathen* exorcism was performing; and while they were incautiously looking on, the devil, leaving the person possessed, entered into the female heretic. The exorcist, being very much surprised, asked the devil the meaning of this. "The reason is," answered he, "that she is my property, just as much as the other."

The terrified husband brought his wife to the Roman Catholic Church at Elacourichi, and there having asked pardon of God, he took a little earth, which he first moistened with his tears, and putting it on his wife's head with lively faith, she was instantly dispossessed. This fact, adds Father Calmette, is public and unquestionable!

It is no wonder, therefore, as we find at p. 64 of the same volume—"It is said among the Missionaries, THAT THE DEVIL IS THE BEST CATECHIST IN THE MISSION;" with which somewhat startling conclusion we leave this part of the subject.

Having seen how effectually the devils were tamed, we shall now select from the same veracious chronicle one or two edifying examples of piety in tigers—

"My church," says Father Saignes, in a letter to an Ursuline nun at Toulouse (Tome 14, p 12), "is built at the foot of a high chain of mountains, from which the tigers formerly came down in great numbers, and devoured many men and cattle. But since we have built a church there to the true God, they are no longer to be seen; and this is a remark, which has been made by the infidels themselves."

The following will perhaps be thought more to the point; it is related by Father Trembloy:—

"We were travelling," says he, "about ten o'clock at night, and were occupied, according to the custom of the Mission, in telling our beads, when a large tiger appeared in the middle of the road, so near me, that I could have touched him with my staff. The four Christians who accompanied me,

terrified by the sight of the danger, cried out *Sancta Maria!* forthwith the terrible animal moved a little out of our path, and showed, so to speak, by his posture, and by the grinding of his teeth, how sorry he was to let such a fine prey escape!"—Tome 14, p. 212.

So likewise Father Martin tells us.—(Tome 10, p. 110).

"It has been commonly observed, that when Heathens and Christians are joined together, the tigers devoured the former, without doing any harm to the faithful; these last finding armour of proof in the sign of the Cross, and in the holy names of Jesus and Mary; which, the heathens observing with admiration, they also have begun to make use of the same arms to avoid the fury of the tigers, and to preserve themselves from danger."

Where should we look for miracles, if not in this wonder-land of Madura? A bare enumeration of them even would be endless. At Cotate * on the South, in the immediate vicinity of Cape Comorin, there was a church built over the spot, where St. Francis Xavier is said to have been miraculously preserved from the flames. In it the Christians had erected a large cross, which God rendered speedily famous even among the "idolators by a very great number of miracles."—Tome 10, p. 85. Formerly *water* was burnt instead of oil, in the lamps suspended before the image of the Saint, and still he continued to work miracles, in the church of Cotate EVERY DAY.—Tome 10, p. 85. At St. Thomas's again, on the extreme North of the Mission, says Father Tachard, (Tome 12, p. 181), "No one can deny, that *continual* miracles are working at the church of our Lady of the Mount." In Madura Proper, they wrought from time to time, as they were required. The staple of Romish miracles all over the world is very much the same; however, we shall endeavour to select two or three from the mass, which have at least the recommendation of originality.

In the church of our Lady of the Mount at St. Thomas's there is a cross, said to have been cut out in the rock by the Apostle Thomas, at the foot of which he is said to have been murdered by a lance thrust from a Brahmin.† This cross is of a very dark grey, nearly approaching to black. Now, *somewhere about* the year 1703, when the church was full of people, the black cross suddenly in the sight of all became red, then brown, and immediately after of a dazzling whiteness; a thick cloud then formed round it, through which occasional glimpses of the cross might be seen, and upon the dispersion of the cloud, the cross was found to be covered with such a profuse perspiration, that the miraculous water flowed as far as the altar! Nay more, whenever this miracle occurs, on sending to the little Mount, the cross

* *Kotar* in the English maps.

† Rufinus and Socrates say, that St. Thomas was martyred at Edessa, in Syria; perhaps as the Roman Catholic Archbishop in Calcutta is titulary Archbishop of Edessa, he may be able to decide which of the two is the *orthodox* tradition.

there is found to have, says Father Tachard, "the same miraculous symptoms." Not only was Father Sylvestre de Souza twice an eye-witness of this prodigy, but several English Protestants were present when it occurred, and after a searching investigation were forced to confess that there was something in the matter extraordinary and divine.—Tome 12, pp. 19-20. It is a pity that Father Sylvestre de Souza omits to mention their names.

Returning again to the South, we find St. Francis Xavier working so many miracles for the idolators, that there was great danger of worshipping him as a God.

"They look upon him," says Father Martin, "as the greatest man who has appeared in these last times: they call him *Peria Padria*, that is to say, the great Padre, and there are even grounds to fear that they may rank him among their false divinities, notwithstanding the care which we take in informing them of the kind of worship, which is really His due. Nevertheless they remain at ease in their errors, and when we press them, they content themselves with answering coldly, that they cannot abandon their own religion, to embrace that of a caste so base and despicable as that of the *Feringees*."—Tome 10, p. 88.

The Saint, however, we are sorry to say, seemed to trouble himself very little about conversions, provided he received pecuniary contributions to his church: for he did not work miracles for nothing, and looked very sharp after his money, as the following instance will show.

An idolator had a favourite child, who, from some disease of thee yes, was threatened with blindness. The miserable parent had recourse to the saint, and vowed to present *eight* fanams to his church at Cotate, if the cure of his son was effected. The child was cured accordingly: and the father brought him to the Church, and presented him to the Saint: but instead of giving *eight* fanams, as he had promised, he offered only *five*. The saint, however, was not to be so easily cheated: for before the heathen had well got to the church door, he found his son's eyes much worse than they were at first. Struck with terror, the father hastened back, prostrated himself before the altar, publicly avowed his fault, paid up the *three* fanams, and rubbed some oil from one of the lamps on his child's eyes. On leaving the church, he found once more that his son was perfectly cured! This edifying miracle is related by Father Martin.—Tome 10, p. 86.

Another miracle narrated by the same Father (p. 90, &c.) is not a whit more creditable; for in it the Saint comes out in great force, as a patron of *Lotteries*, which Father Martin looks on as perfectly innocent and commendable.

It may be worth while to notice here the principle on which these lotteries were constructed. A number of Hindoos, from

five hundred to a thousand, associated together for this purpose; each put a fanam every month into a common purse, until a considerable sum was collected: then each wrote his name on a separate slip, and put it into a common receptacle. The vessel was well shaken, and a little child, putting his hand into it drew out a name. The person, whose name was first drawn forth, was the successful candidate, and received the whole sum.

Now it seems that a covetous Heathen had embarked in two of these lotteries, and being anxious for success, bethought himself of St. Francis Xavier. According to Cotate he went, and there promised the Saint five fanams, provided he favoured him in the drawing of the first lottery. He told his neighbours what he had done: and they were not a little surprised to find that his was in effect the first name drawn. This man then paid his five fanams honestly; and again offered, if he were successful in the second lottery, to pay the Saint ten fanams more. So firm this time was his confidence of success, that he *took bets to a large amount* that the prize in the second lottery would be his also. So it was! and the grateful idolator paid even more than the ten fanams he had promised.

The only remark, which we shall permit ourselves to make on this edifying miracle, is, that surely some one, after the issue of the first lottery at any rate, might have had sense enough, by offering *twelve* fanams to the Saint, to outbid the other, and so secure the prize.

The idols of the Heathen, among whom the Saint so narrowly escaped being numbered, have women attached to their temples, who are called the *slaves* of the Divinity. What these are, and for what purposes they are kept, is but too well known. Now we cannot help thinking it not a little scandalous that a Christian Saint should have his *slaves* also, and make besides a very considerable profit by selling them by public auction! It will be said, perhaps, that this is a base calumny!—but listen to Father Martin:—

"Some bring their children to the church at a certain age, and there publicly declare them to be *the slaves of the Saint*, by the intercession of whom they have received life or have been preserved from death. After which the people assemble; *the child is put up for sale as a slave*, and the parents receive her back by paying *to the church* the price offered *by the highest bidder*."—*Lettres Edifiantes, &c.* Tome 10, p. 89.

What happens when the parents are not able to raise the money, is shrouded in judicious darkness.

It is not to be supposed that such devout Christians could forget the Virgin and the Saints. The most tender devotion for the Virgin was cherished among them: and when any one

forgot to recite every day the rosary in her honour, he always brought this omission as a sin to the confessional, even though the missionaries assured him that the practice was not absolutely necessary.—Tome 13, p. 75. As it must be interesting to know what saints were held in especial veneration by these angelic neophytes, Father Bouchet has furnished us with a list. "Those," says he, "whom they invoke most frequently, are "their guardian angel, their Patron, St. Joseph, St. John the "Baptist, St. Michael, the protector of our mission, St. Peter "and St. Paul, St. Thomas, the Apostle of these countries, St. "Ignatius, and St. Francis Xavier."—Tome 13, p. 78. As an illustration of the good effects of this pious practice, he relates (p. 79) the following story: A Christian Pariah was condemned to death for killing a cow. He was bound to a tree over-night, and the soldiers who were appointed to execute him in the morning slept around it. The Christian prayed to St. Francis Xavier that the cords which bound him might fall off; and immediately they snapped asunder with such vehemence *as to awaken the guards.* But the neophyte entreated the Saint to put them to sleep again, which he did on the instant. The Christian then slipped quietly away, and went straight to the missionary, to whom he related what had passed, showing him at the same time the deep marks which the cords had left on his limbs!

It was a common practice in this Mission also to wear on the person medals of the Virgin and Saints as a preservative from danger, and especially from evil spirits.

Reader! Is not this a glorious picture? Behold the heavenly Christians of Madura! Behold their sinless and angelic lives, their pure and spiritual worship of God, their jealous dread of the very appearance of idolatry! Behold how the devils tremble before the weakest of that revered band, and the tigers sink cowering aside, and grin with impotent malice! Behold how miracles are as daily food, and all is so fair, so pure, so holy, that we doubt whether heaven or earth is set before us in the modest pages of the apostolic labourers in this rich vineyard. Who would not wish to be there; who would not exclaim with Father Lopez (x. 63) "Ah! how happy you are, my dear Father Martin! would that I might accompany you! But alas! I am unworthy ever to associate with the band of Saints who labour there?" Insensibly the mind wanders back to the golden age; to the fabled El Dorado of enthusiasts; to the gorgeous visions of Cloud-land; to the poet's dreams of beauty, too bright, too delicate, too ethereal, ever to be realized on this lower earth amidst the strife of human passions. And, as when

on the shores of Sicily, temple, and palace, and tower rise in their exceeding lovelincss from the bosom of the waters, and we know that they are unreal, and fear to move even an eyelid, lest the glorious show vanish and nought remain but common rock and sea:—so amidst these glowing descriptions something seems to warn us, not to approach too close, lest this Jesuitical Paradise should vanish into the air, and leave behind, not Apostles and Angels, but a paganized Christianity, and wicked and crafty men.

And even so it is! the high-born Robert de Nobilibus, and the martyred Brito, over whose head hangs canonisation suspended by but a single hair, Father Tachard, and wily Bishop Lainez, Father Bouchet and Father Martin, Father Turpin and Father De Bourges, Father Mauduit and Father Calmette, the learned Beschi, the noble De la Fontaine, and the veteran Pere le Gac, in a word, every Jesuit who entered within these unholy bounds, bade adieu to principle and truth; all became perjured impostors; and the lives of all ever afterwards were but one long, persevering, toilsome LIE. Upon the success of a lie, their Mission depended; its discovery (we have it under their own hands) was fraught with certain and irremediable ruin; yet they persevered. Suspected by the Heathen, they persevered; through toils, austerities and mortifications almost intolerable to human nature, disowned and refused communion by their brother Missionaries, condemned by their own General, stricken by Pope after Pope with the thunders of the Vatican, knowing that the Apostolic damnation had gone forth against all who "do evil that good may come,"—yet they persevered. For one hundred and fifty years was enacted this prodigious falsehood, continually spreading and swelling into more portentous dimensions, and engulfing within its fatal vortex, zeal, talents, self-denial and devotion, unsurpassed in modern times. Men calling themselves the servants of the true God, went forth clad in the armour of Hell; and, sowing perjury and falsehood, they expected to reap holiness and truth. Thus were the Jesuits guilty of that very crime, which Dr. Wiseman most falsely ascribes to the Lutherans; thus was engendered the most horrible of "religious chimeras,—the worship of Christ united to the service of devils!"—*Lectures, &c.*, vol. 1, p. 260.

But the providence of God, just and righteous, slumbered not; the sentence went forth from Him; and the end came with sudden ruin and destruction, with shame and infamy to the very name of Jesuit, never ending and never to be effaced.

If the evidence of their guilt were not clear, certain, incontrovertible, authenticated by public documents, proved by their own confessions (sometimes incautious, often boastful!) it would

seem incredible and monstrous that men of high family, able, accomplished, full of zeal and devotion, and professing to be disciples of the Holy and Blessed Jesus, should all of them, without resistance or murmur, be guilty of wilful, deliberate and repeated falsehood, live so doing for many years, and die, and make no sign. But when we turn to the Constitutions of the Society, we find an easy solution of the problem; though the wonder still remains, how men could be found so criminally weak, as to allow themselves to be led blindfold, like silly sheep to the slaughter. And most truly, most deeply do we commiserate the fate of many a noble heart, flying from the world in mistaken zeal to devote itself more entirely to God in the arms of this spacious Society, and finding itself unawares (and who can tell with what secret struggles and untold misery?) involved in a maze of iniquity, deceit, and abomination.

In the Constitutions, the vow of obedience is thus explained:—

"Omnia justa esse, nobis persuadendo; omnem sententiam ac judicium nostrum contrarium cœca quadam obedientia abnegando, et id quidem in omnibus, quæ a superiore disponuntur, ubi definiri non possit (quemadmodum dictum est) aliquod peccati genus intercedere. Et sibi quisque persuadeat, quod qui sub obedientia vivunt, se ferri ac rigi a divina Providentia per superiores suos sinere debent, perinde ac si cadaver essent, quod quoquo versus ferri, et quacunque, ratione tractari se sinit, vel similiter atque senis baculus, qui, ubicunque, et quacunque in re velit eo uti, qui eum manu tenet, ei inservit."*

The following is a literal translation:—

"By persuading ourselves that everything is just; by suppressing every *contrary* thought and opinion of our own by a certain *blind obedience*, and that in all things, which are determined by the superior, where it cannot be defined (as has been said already) that any kind of sin is present. And let each persuade himself, that they, who live under obedience, should allow themselves to be moved and governed by Divine Providence through their superiors, exactly *as if they were a dead carcass, which allows itself to be moved where you will and handled how you please;* or like *an old man's staff*, which serves him, who hold it in his hand, wherever and however he wills to use it."

The specious proviso, in the first sentence, obviously means more than meets the eye, for how can a dead carcass judge of sin? But to take away all ambiguity, and to prove that the members of the society are bound to commit MORTAL SINS, if commanded by their superiors, we find in the first paragraph of the fifth Chapter of the same Sixth Part, that it is thus written:—

"Visum est nobis in Domino præter expressum votum, quo Societas Summo Pontifici pro tempore existente tenetur, ac tria illa essentialia

* Constitutiones Societatis Jesu, Part VI. cap. i. sect. i. Romæ, in Aedibus Societatis Jesu 1558.

Paupertatis, Castitatis, et Obedientiæ, nullas constitutiones, Declarationes, vel ordinem vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere; NISI superior ea in nomine Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, vel in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ juberet; quod in rebus, vel personis illis in quibus judicabitur, quod ad particulare uniuscujusque, vel ad universale bonum multum conveniet, FIERI POTERIT; et loco timoris, offensæ, succedat amor omnis perfectionis, et desiderium: ut major gloria et laus Christi Creatoris ac Domini nostri consequantur."*

These Constitutions are still unchanged; and at this day the detestable and truly Satanic doctrine taught in them sanctions every crime, and teaches that, though God's commands may be broken, and provided it be for the advantage of the Society, the Pope's must always be obeyed! How well the Jesuits observed this their special and most binding vow, we shall see immediately. Let us return to Madura.

The foundation of this Mission was laid, as we are informed by the Jesuit Jouvency, in his history of the Order, in the following manner:—Father Robert de Nobilibus, perceiving the strong prejudice of the natives against Europeans, and believing it to be invincible, determined to conceal his real origin, and to enter among them, as one of themselves. For this purpose he applied himself diligently to the study of the native language, manners, and customs, and having gained over a Brahmin to assist him, he made himself master of the usages, and customs of that sect, even to the most minute details. Thus prepared for his undertaking, and fortified besides with a written document, probably forged by himself or by his companion, he entered Madura, not as a Christian Missionary, but as a *Brahmin* of a superior order, who had come among them to restore the most ancient form of their own religion. His success however was not at first complete: and the chief of the Brahmins, in a large assembly convened for the purpose, accused him publicly *as an impostor, who sought to deceive the people by lies, in order to introduce a new religion into the country:* upon which Robert de Nobilibus produced his written scroll, and in the presence of all protested, and MADE OATH, that he had verily sprang from the God Brahma. Three Brahmins, overpowered by such strong evidence, then

* "It has seemed good to us in the Lord, that, excepting the express vow by which the Society is bound to the Pope for the time being, and the three essential vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, no Constitutions, Declarations, or any order of living CAN INVOLVE AN OBLIGATION TO MORTAL OR VENIAL SIN; UNLESS the superior command them in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, OR IN VIRTUE OF HOLY OBEDIENCE, WHEN IT SHALL BE DONE, in regard to those cases or persons wherein it shall be judged that it will greatly conduce to the particular good of each, or to the general advantage; and instead of the fear of offence, let there be the love and the desire of perfection; that the greater glory and praise may accrue to Christ our Lord and Creator."

rose and persuaded their brethren not to persecute a man who called himself a Brahmin, and proved that he was so, by written evidence, and solemn oaths, as well as by conformity to their manners, conduct, and dress. Having passed this ordeal so triumphantly, he next gave himself out to be a *Saniassi*, and for the remainder of his life kept up the cheat successfully. His example was followed by all his successors in the mission; and the discovery of the falsehood, or the mere knowledge that they were Europeans, is represented by themselves, as synonymous with utter ruin. Thus was laid the foundation and chief corner-stone of the far-famed mission of Madura!

It will be necessary here to introduce a short account of the *Saniassis*, extracted from the "Systema Brahmanicum" of Fra Paolino Bartolomeo. The *Saniassi* is the fourth and most perfect institute of the Brahmins. He lays aside the *poita*, or sacrificial cord, composed of 108 threads, *in honour of the* 108 *faces of the God Brahma;* but continues the usual daily ablutions, *in honour of the Linga*, with the appointed prayers and ceremonies. The *Saniassi* must also wear an *orange-coloured dress*, which, being sacred, is to be washed by no hands but his own. He carries about with him a copper vessel, with a little water in it, for certain appointed ablutions, and for *purifying* every thing offered to him in charity. In his right hand he holds a staff or club with *seven* natural knots,* *representing the seven great Rishis.* This staff, which is greatly valued as a gift of the Gods, must be washed every day with water from the *Kamadala*, or copper vessel; and by *its power, he is preserved from evil spirits.* From his shoulders hangs a tiger's skin, on which he sleeps; *because thus was Shiva clad.* He fasts often; eats nothing that has life; flesh, fish, eggs, wine, spirituous liquors, and even certain vegetables are strictly forbidden him. He must bathe in a tank or river, three times a day, going through innumerable ceremonies; and must rub his forehead and his breast with the ashes of cow's dung; *for the dung of this sacred animal cleanses from sin.*† He generally suffers his beard to grow, and wears sandals of a particular description, constructed, says Norbert, so as to avoid as much as possible endangering insect life, and thus perhaps *dislodging the soul of a progenitor.* But what has all this to do with Christian Missionaries? Let us listen to Father Tachard:—

"The Missionaries," says he, "had resolved to assume the dress and the manner of living of Brahminical *Saniassis*, that is to say of religious peni-

* Norbert says *nine*, in honour of the seven planets and the two nodes.

† See *Systema Brahmanicum*, pp. 47, also 56, 57, *Romæ*, 1791.

tents. This was a very difficult undertaking, and nothing less than apostolic zeal and love could have enabled them to sustain its hardships and austerities. For, besides abstinence from every thing that has life, that is to say flesh, fish, and eggs, the Saniassis have other observances extremely painful. They must bathe every morning in a public tank, in all weathers, and do the same before every meal, of which there is but one a day."—*Lettres Edifiantes, &c.*, tome 10, p. 324.

In like manner writes Father de Bourges, to the Countess de Sonde in 1713, inclosing a portrait of a missionary *Saniassi*, with his orange dress, his knotted staff, his copper vessel, his long beard, and his sandals, very edifying, and very nicely engraved in the Lettres Edifiantes :—

"You see at once," writes he, "what kind of dress the Missionaries wear: it is of common cotton cloth, neither red, nor yellow, but of a colour betwixt both. The vessel which they carry in their hand is of copper: and as water is not to be found every where, and as, even when found, it cannot always be drunk, *they are obliged to have some always with them* to refresh themselves under this burning sky! The shoe will appear strange to you: it is a kind of clog or sandal, not unlike those used in France by some of the Franciscans: it is true that these are attached to the foot with latchets, while the Indian sandals have no other hold than a wooden knob, between the great toe, and the one next it."—Tome 12, p. 101.

Nor was the tiger's skin forgotten: thus Father Mauduit, describing his interview with a Hindoo prince, says :—

"I stretched my tiger's skin on the ground, according to the custom of the country, and, seating myself on it, explained to him the purpose of my journey."—Tome 10, p. 266.

It would be useless to multiply quotations: one more from Father Martin may suffice :—

"Nothing," says he, "can be more austere or more frightful to human nature than the life of the Missionaries. * * * They abstain rigorously from bread, wine, and eggs, all sorts of flesh; and even fish. They must eat only rice, and green herbs without seasoning: and they have no little trouble to preserve a little flour for the Host, and sufficient wine to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass."—Tome 10, p. 45.

Thus equipped, with knotted staff in hand, and smeared with the purifying cow's dung, these "Brahmins from the North" (Tome 10, p. 46.) or "*Roman Saniassis*" (*Lettres Edifiantes*, Tome 10, 15, *passim*,) boldly went forth amongst the idolators, confidently denying that they were Europeans, and professing to teach the law of the TRUE God.

Nothing, indeed, grieved and scandalized these austere *Saniassis* so much, as the bare suspicion of their being Europeans. This will appear very clearly from the following story related by Father Martin (Tome 10, pp. 168-182), of which "modest" Father Bouchet is the worthy hero. It appears that among the angels of Madura, there were three Catechists, who, for

certain reasons, were deprived of their offices. In revenge they determined to ruin the Missionaries and the Mission. With this "detestable" purpose, they formed three heads of accusation against the preachers of the Gospel. The first was, that they were *Feringees*, that is to say, Europeans. The second was, that they had never paid tax or tribute to the prince of the country; and thirdly, that they had caused a monk of another order to be murdered, on account of which the Pope refused to canonise Father John de Brito.

But the most formidable of all was behind: for they offered TWENTY THOUSAND CROWNS to the Prince, provided he would exterminate the Christians, and drive away Father Bouchet, against whom they were especially set. On the very same authority, we are informed (p. 47) that the *yearly* salary of a Catechist was from 18 to 20 crowns: and it is somewhat hard to guess, whence came the 20,000: but veracious Father Martin is not the man to spoil a good story for a few thousands more or less: so we shall proceed with our narrative. The Prince Regent was the most perfectly disinterested and greatest minister, who ever bore rule in Madura. Nevertheless, Father Bouchet did not think it judicious to appear before this disinterested judge empty-handed: but, according to the custom of the country, he carried with him a present: and this present, though the Father speaks of it as "peu de chose," was by no means despicable. It consisted of a terrestrial globe, two feet in diameter, with the names written in *Tamul;* a hollow glass sphere, about nine inches in diameter, silvered inside like a mirror; some burning and multiplying lenses; several Chinese curiosities which had been sent to him from the Coromandel Coast; jet bracelets set in silver; a cock formed of shell work, and fabricated with great skill and beauty; and a number of common mirrors, and other like curiosities, which he had got by gift or purchase.* After the same fashion, the Father thought it prudent to win over several of the great men of the court. Having taken "these wise and necessary" precau-

* Father Bouchet does not explain the precise object of these *purchases*, which seem strangely out of place in a *Saniassi's* hut. Norbert tells a story, in relation to a proposed interview between Bishop Lainez, and the English Governor of Madras, which may throw some light on the matter. The Bishop purposing to visit Madras, where the Jesuits were never very popular, wished to know how the Governor would receive him. Upon which the Governor wrote to him rather bluntly, that he should be received, as (what he certainly was) a capital merchant!—*Memoires Historiques, Besançon*, Tome 1, p. 353.

M. Martin, the Governor of Pondicherry, asserts that the Jesuits carried on an immense commerce; that from Father Tachard alone was due to the French Company on account more than 500,000 livres; and that the Company's vessels often took home large bales for the Jesuits in France. Perhaps, says Norbert, they contained relics, p. 183.

tions, he demanded an audience, and was received with distinguished honour, as a Brahmin. The Prince was delighted with the wonderful globe; the Queen was delighted with the shell work and the bracelets; the Father was covered with a piece of gold brocade, sprinkled with rose water, and sat on the same sofa with the Prince, "so that their knees were in contact," which showed how completely every suspicion of his being an European was lulled to rest. He was then paraded through the streets of Trichinopoly, in a magnificent state palankeen, to the sound of instruments, like Mordecai of old, "from which," says Father Martin, "the modesty of Father Bouchet had much to suffer." Finally, he was assured that anything he asked for should be granted. "The success of this species of triumph," continues Father Martin, "strengthened the neophytes in their faith and *finally determined a great number of idolators to ask for holy baptism.*" A word from Father Bouchet would have exiled the offending catechists from the kingdom; but he was content with merely excommunicating them. Rejected alike by Christian and heathen, after six months' perseverance two of them came and threw themselves at the Father's feet. "The Father," says Father Martin, "who had long sighed for the return of these "erring sheep, received them with kindness; and after public "confession, and an authentic retraction, made in the Church, "of their infamous desertion, and their foul and calumnious "accusations (*leurs calomnieuses et noires accusations!*), they "received absolution, and were again admitted into the number "of the faithful." The third remained obstinate in his apostacy. But how did Father Bouchet satisfy the Prince, that he was not an European? How could he, in the Church, in the face of God, force the poor catechists to retract as false, what he knew to be true, and prostitute for his own ends the most solemn ordinances of religion? Now,—but we shall meet with Father Bouchet again, and find him yet more daring in impiety,

"Our whole attention is given," writes Father de Bourzes, "to the concealing from the people that we are what they call *Feringees*: the slightest suspicion of this on their part, would oppose an insurmountable obstacle to the propagation of the Faith."—Tome 21, p. 77.

We had marked many other passages to the same effect: for they were often accused, and every successful falsehood was a fresh triumph to these successors of the Apostles. But it cannot be necessary to enlarge upon this distressing subject; one more quotation only we shall make, were it only to show how deliberately a Jesuit could lie. A famous heathen penitent was almost persuaded by some missionaries on the coast, where they appeared as Europeans, to embrace the Christian

religion: but the idea of uniting himself to the despicable *Feringees* gave him great uneasiness. Seeing this, says Father Martin,

"We resolved to send him to Madura to be baptized by one of the Missionaries who live there as *Saniassis*. We told him, therefore, that we were but the *gurus* or teachers of the low castes on the coast, and that it was proper for him, as he was a person of quality, to apply to the teachers of the higher castes, who were inland."—Tome 10, pp. 99, 100.

And the poor man *believed* them, and was baptized in Madura! Another triumph of the faith!

That the discovery of this long course of falsehood would be attended with the most ruinous consequences, is again and again repeated by Father Martin.

"The Missionaries are not known to be Europeans: if they were believed to be so, they would be forced to abandon the country: for they could gain absolutely no fruit whatever.—The conversion of the Hindoos is nearly impossible to evangelical labourers from Europe: I mean impossible to those who pass for Europeans, even though they wrought miracles."—Tome 10, pp. 45, 66.

So again, writing of the visit of Bishop Lainez to Aur, he says,

"No other bishop until now had dared to penetrate into the interior, because, being ignorant of the language and customs of Madura, he would be sure to pass for a *Feringee* or European in the opinion of the Hindoos, *which would have been the absolute ruin of Christianity*."—Tome 12, p. 132.

With the sword thus ever suspended over their heads, it may be imagined in what continual misery and dread of detection they must have lived. This fear is sometimes carried to the verge of the ludicrous. Thus Father Saignez, who from exposure to the sun "had changed his skin three times like a serpent," trembles lest the new skin should be *whiter* than the old, and so lead the people to suspect that he was a *Feringee*.—(Tome 14, p. 41.) Again, it is almost sublime: thus an anonymous Missionary, who had been thrown into prison, preferred *to die* in his bonds, rather than be indebted for his liberty to the Europeans on the coast, whose interference in his behalf might give rise to a suspicion that he was connected with them! (Tome 13, p. 24.)

It will be remembered that this infamous system had for its chief object the conversion of the Brahmins, and that Xavier himself even does not escape without a sneer at the low caste of his converts. Considered in this view, nothing could be more signal than failure of the plot The lordly Brahmins held disdainfully aloof, in open hostility or haughty suspicion. The wily fathers of St. Paul were over-matched: in lies, in cunning, in fraud, the Brahmins of Madura might perhaps be inferior to the sons of Loyola; but in austerities, mortification, and power

over the people, they were more than their masters. Besides, they fought at advantage: for the Brahmins believed that they had truth on their side; while the Jesuits quailed under the consciousness of falsehood. A whole history may be gathered from a letter of Father Tachard, the superior of the Mission, dated February 4th, 1703.

"Father de la Fontaine," writes he, "has had *extraordinary* good fortune since the commencement of his mission. In addition to more than a hundred adults from other distinguished castes, whom he has baptized, he counts among his neophytes *nine Brahmins;* that is to say, he alone has in eight months baptized more adult Brahmins than nearly all the missionaries of Madura have baptized in *ten years.* If these conversions continue, as we have reason to hope, he may be called *the Apostle of Brahmins*, and should God give grace to a great number of these learned nobles, so that they may embrace Christianity, all the other castes will be easily converted.—Tome 10, p. 331.

Father de la Fontaine died fifteen years afterwards, but neither he nor any of his brethren has yet been called "the apostle of the Brahmins."

The *Roman Saniassis* were more successful in imposing on the simple country people of the lower castes. They gained over a considerable number of *Sudras:* but the bulk of their converts were *Pariahs.*

From what Father Mauduit tells us, much may be gathered in regard to the internal economy of the Mission:—

"The catechist of a low caste," says he, "can never be employed to teach Hindoos of a caste more elevated. The *Brahmins* and the *Sudras*, who form the principal and the most numerous castes, have a far greater contempt for the *Pariahs*, who are beneath them, than Princes in Europe can feel for the scum of the people. They would be dishonoured in their own country, and deprived of the privileges of their caste, if they ever listened to the instructions of one whom they look upon as infamous. We must therefore have Pariah catechists for the Pariahs, and Brahminical catechists for the Brahmins, which causes us a great deal of difficulty."—"Some time ago a catechist from the Madura Mission begged me to go to Pouleour, there to baptize some *Pariah* catechumens, and to confess certain neophytes of that caste. The fear that the *Brahmins* and *Sudras* might come to learn the step I had taken, and thence look upon me as infamous and unworthy ever after of holding any intercourse with them, *hindered me from going!* The words of the holy Apostle Paul which I had read that morning at mass, determined me to take this resolution, 'giving no offence to any one, that your ministry be not blamed,' 26 Cor. vi. 3. I therefore made these poor people go to a retired place about three leagues from here, where I myself joined them *during the night, and with the most careful precautions,* and there I baptized nine!"—Tome 10, pp. 243-245.

With all deference to Father Mauduit, it may be doubted whether the apostolic injunction is very consonant with this work of darkness; nor does the good-natured Father tell the whole story. For the poor *Pariahs* had not only separate catechists,

but separate churches; and if they presumed to enter the church of a higher caste they were driven out and well whipped. Nay, even when they were dying, the Christian *Saniassis* refused to enter their dwellings; and the expiring wretch, in nature's last agony, was dragged from his couch, into the open air, or to a distant church, that the *Saniassi*, uncontaminated by entrance into the house, might (but without contact) administer the last rites of the Church.

The real number of their converts is involved in impenetrable mystery. In the sixteenth century the converts of St. Francis Xavier are said to have amounted to half a million. In the beginning of the 18th century, the native Christians in Madura are reckoned by Father Martin to amount to 150,000. He also informs us that each Missionary baptised at least 1,000 annually, and that some much exceeded that number: for instance, Father Bouchet baptized more than 30,000 souls in 12 years (Tome 10, p. 54), and Father Lainez in Maravas no less than 10,000 in 22 months.—(Tome 10, p. 285.) In A. D. 1700, there were but seven or eight Jesuits in the Mission, but in 1750 they had in Southern India upwards of 20. Taking ten only as a fair mean, we cannot put down the yearly increase by conversion at less than 20,000: and all these, it is to be presumed, were *adults*—for Father Martin assures us that the Missionaries "only baptize after hard probation, and three or four months' instruction." —Tome 10, p. 43. Now, allowing that the births and deaths merely counterbalanced each other, there should have been in 1770, about the time the Jesuits left the Mission, at least a million and a half of native Christians in Maravas and Madura. To this must be added the increase of Xavier's converts on the Pearl Coast during a period of three hundred years. Yet in 1776 Fra Paolino da San Bortolomeo found but 18,000 in Madura, and 10,000 in Tanjore!*

It will be seen, however, that the main supply of baptisms was from another source. Besides the children of the Christians, of whom each Missionary, by himself or his catechists, baptized from three to four thousand yearly, immense numbers of Heathen children were added to the church after the following singular fashion:—

"When these children," says Father de Bourges, "are in danger of death, our practice is to baptize them without asking the permission of their parents, which would certainly be refused. The Catechists and the private Christians are well acquainted with the formula of baptism, and they confer it on these dying children, *under the pretext of giving them medicines*."—Tome 12, p. 107.

* Voyage to the East Indies. London, 1800, p. 65.

In this part of the work the women were found to be most useful assistants, as they alone could have access to infants newly born; and Father Bouchet mentions one woman in particular, "whose knowledge of the pulse, and of the symptoms of approaching death, was so unerring, that of more than *ten thousand* children whom she had herself baptized, not more than two escaped death."—Tome 13, p. 34.

In like manner, during a famine in the Carnatic about A. D. 1737, Father Trembloy writes, that, according to the report of the Catechists and Missionaries, the number of deserted and dying children baptized, during the two years of dearth, amounted to upwards of *twelve thousand.* He adds, that, as every convert knew the formula of baptism, it was rare in any place where there were neophytes, *for a single heathen child to die unbaptized!*—Tome 14, pp. 185, 186.

It may be taken for granted, that when Christian Missionaries assumed the orange cloth and the tiger's skin, and professed to have sprung from the head of the divine Brahma, they must have allowed, in their followers, a like conformity to the superstitions of the country; even although Father Trembloy has asserted in the most confident terms that a native Christian could scarcely endure so much as to look upon an idol.

Let us assist at a Hindoo procession. An immense car approaches covered with silk awnings, and gaudily decked with fruit and flowers. It is dragged slowly on its creaking wheels by a tumultuous crowd, and surmounted by a female figure. She has on her head the *Tirubashi*, a ring through her nose, and round her neck the sacred nuptial collar. On each side of her are men with parasols in their hands, and one holds a napkin with which he carefully drives away the musquitoes. (Norbert, 1, 428.) The car is preceded by dancers half naked, and streaked with sandal wood and vermilion. Wild shouts ring through the air, and the ear is stunned with a confused din of horns, trumpets, tom-toms, kettle-drums, and other instruments of music. It is night: but (besides a grand illumination, and the blaze of innumerable torches) rockets, wheels, roman-candles, and other fire-works in the construction of which the Hindoos excel, shoot up in every direction. The crowd is of the usual motley description, all Hindoos,—and all with the characteristic marks of idolatry. The car is the gift of a heathen prince; the dancers and many of the musicians are borrowed from the nearest pagoda; the spectators are idolators; but the woman represents the Virgin Mary; and the actors in this scandalous scene are the Christians of Madura!

How lovingly the Christians and the Heathens associated together on such occasions, Father Martin tells us on another occasion—(Tome 11, p. 148):—

"The chief man of the place with all his family, and the other *Heathens* who were present in the procession, prostrated themselves three times before the image of the risen Jesus, and adored it in a manner which happily blended them with the most fervent of the Christians!!"

Immediately followed, as usual, a great number of baptisms. Indeed, processions and dances were favourite methods of conversion with the Jesuits. Thus the traveller Mandelslo, who was at Goa in 1639, has the following description of an entertainment given by the Jesuits, at which the Archbishop of Goa was present:—

"At the upper end of the pillar came out a flower made like a tulip, which opened of itself while they danced, till at last there came out of it *an image of the blessed Virgin, with her child in her arms*, and the pillar itself opened in three several places to cast out perfumed waters like a fountain.—The Jesuits told us, that by that invention they represented the pains they had taken in planting, among the Pagans and Mahometans of those parts, the Church of God, whereof our Saviour is the only pillar, or corner stone.—There came in also one man alone, who was covered with birds' nests, and clothed and masked according to the Spanish mode, who began the *farce* of this comedy by ridiculous and fantastic postures; and the ball was concluded with the coming in of twelve boys, dressed like *apes*, which they imitated in their cries and postures. As we took leave of our entertainers, they told us, that they made use of those divertisements, *as well to reduce the Pagans and Mahometans of those parts to the embracing of the Christian religion by that kind of modern devotion*, as to amuse the children, and divert them after their studies."—*Mandelslo's Travels into the Indies*. Book II. London, 1669.

The dancers attracted also the special admiration of the devout Roman Catholic nobleman Pietro della Valle, who visited Goa in 1624. And fine showy fellows they were! Naked from the waist upwards, with painted bodies, and gold bracelets and necklaces; with flowers in their turbans, gay parti-coloured hose, and gallant streamers hanging below the knee, "so that," says Della Valle, "in the festivities made at Goa for the canonization of Saints *Ignatius* and *Xavier*, though in other things they were most solemn and sumptuous; yet in my conceit, there was nothing more worthy to be seen for delight than the many *pretty and jovial dances* which intervened in the tragedy."—*Travels into the East Indies*, p. 165.

Let us now turn to an open and veritable procession of idolaters. Who are these in the throng, with cymbal and trumpets, with kettle-drum and horn, loudest in devil-worship? Reader, these are Christians of Madura! What! you exclaim, those angelic men, who rarely commit a venial sin, and, from their horror of idolatry, scruple to pass by a heathen temple! Even so:—

there they are round the idol, as loud and as busy as the most zealous of its worshippers. And Father Bouchet and Father Bartolde deplore the scandal, but cannot promise the Legate that it shall cease. What can they do, indeed? *It is the custom.* Vain are threats: vain are fulminations. The Legate dies in a foreign prison, and Fathers Bouchet and Bartolde go to their account: but sixty years afterwards this infamous practice is in full vigour. Fra Bartolomeo tells of "a diabolical nocturnal orgy," during which the statue of *Shiva* is carried round, with the *Lingam* before him. At this festival all the Christians of the country are required to be present: and there is a dance to which the Christian women are invited—those who do not go voluntarily, being compelled to attend. Fra Bartolomeo applied to the heathen magistrate to prevent the overseers of the temple from compelling the Christians to be partakers in this detestable festival. "The overseers, however," says he, "found means to make a thousand excuses, and always referred to *ancient usage.*"

"But this did not discourage me from pursuing the accomplishment of my object, and as I was invested with full power by the Heathen Magistrate, I caused some Christian fishermen from Cuttur and Sumboli, who had taken a share in the celebration of this festival, *to get a severe beating before the Church door*, as a warning to other Christians not to particitate in such abominations for the future."—*Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 119, London, 1800.

Nor was this all. The distinction of castes was rigorously observed; the Pariahs had separate Churches, fonts, confessionals and communion tables; marriages were celebrated between children seven years old, and with nearly the whole idolatrous ceremonial of the Heathens: and the wives of the Christians had suspended from their necks the indecent *Taly*, representing the god *Pollear*, the *Priapus* of the Greeks. The Brahmin retained his *poita;* and sandal wood, and the ashes of cow's dung were applied to the body as before. Christians and Heathens observed the very same ablutions, and both used the very same prayers, while bathing, which were really directly addressed to the idols of the Hindus. In short, as the keenest observer might be at a loss to distinguish the *Saniassi* of Rome from the *Saniassi* of devils, so he might be equally puzzled to discriminate between the Christian of Madura and the idolatrous Hindoo. There was indeed in the latter days of the mission a notable distinction: the use of the *Taly* ceased,—that is, *Jesuitically;* for the reverend Fathers cut off a little from the stomach of *Pollear*, and on the flat surface thus formed, they engraved a tiny little cross, so that it ceased to be a *Taly*, and became a decent and edifying Christian ornament, and a fit companion

for a medal of the Virgin, or of St. Xavier himself.—*Norbert*, Tome 2, p. 323. *Besançon*.

The proof of all these abominations is at hand, and will abundantly satisfy the most sceptical inquirer; which leads us to another phase of this strange and scandalous history.

During the lifetime of Robert de Nobilibus, the first news of these unhallowed doings reached Goa, and were listened to with surprise and indignation.

Loud complaints were immediately made to Rome; and Paul V. the reigning Pontiff, appointed the Archbishop of Goa to inquire carefully into the nature of the rites and customs that prevailed in the mission of Madura. Meneses, certainly not the most scrupulous of Prelates, condemned them unequivocally. In the mean time the Jesuits, aware of that danger, boldly asserted that the rites were merely civil observances, and had nothing in them of a religious nature; that they were neither contrary to the faith nor to morality, and absolutely essential to the propagation of Christianity in India. Misled by such misrepresentations, yet doubtful of their good faith, Pope Gregory XV. in the year 1623, issued the Constitution, *Romanæ Sedis Antistes*, wherein he allows the wearing of the *cord*, provided it be merely a mark of nobility, the use of sandal-wood, provided it be rubbed on the body merely for ornament and on account of its agreeable flavour, and the practice of bathing, but only for the purpose of cleanliness and refreshment: but he condemns in the strongest language, and beseeches them, by the bowels of Christ, to abstain from every rite or practice attended with the slightest offence, or defiled by the smallest possible tincture of superstition (*a quâlibet vel levissimâ culpâ aut maculâ, necdum ab impurissimâ superstitionis labe*). He also ordains that there should be no distinction in the Church between the *Pariahs*, and the higher castes, but that all should hear the word of God, and partake of the sacred mysteries, *together*. To avoid public scandal, this Constitution was sent to the Jesuits alone; and the worthy fathers, with admirable tact, received it in profound silence, and continued to do exactly as they had done before; so that, until 1680, the Capuchins did not so much as know that such a Constitution was in existence.

In the beginning of the 18th century, the Jesuits had reached the zenith of their power. It was the age of Louis XIV., in those splendid days, when success crowned every enterprise, when Europe seemed prostrate at his feet, when heroes, philosophers, and poets worshipped him as a demi-god, rather than honoured him as a king, and counted a flattering

word, or a condescending smile, a greater reward than glory. Then neither man nor woman resisted his will, and it seemed as if he could never know reverse or misfortune. Yet there was *one* man before whom that haughty Monarch trembled, and to whose councils he was docile and submissive as a little child; and that man was the Jesuit, Le Tellier. So complete was his ascendency over the mind of Louis, that Madame de Maintenon herself dared not to oppose it, or even to interfere secretly in favour of her dearest friends. Is it to be wondered at, if at such a crisis, the Jesuits thought themselves all powerful, and acted as if the empire of the world were already in their grasp? The Protestants driven from France, the Jansenists broken or breaking, the Dominicans hating, but fearing and bending before them, Paragnay their own, the mighty empire of China about to be Christianized after their own fashion, and India with her yearly produce of thousands and tens of thousands of angels,—truly the prospect was dazzling, and accordingly the worthy Fathers carried matters with a high hand. They knew not that "the Judge was at the door."

Nearly eighty years had elapsed, since the constitution of Gregory XV. was issued "under the ring of the fisherman;" eight Popes had passed into eternity, and the Malabar rites, strengthened by the practice of a century, were more deeply rooted than before. And now the Jesuits, blinded by success, lost sight of their usual prudence. Through the weakness of M. Martin, the Governor of Pondicherry, who at their repeated instances, gave them illegal possession of a famous Hindu pagoda, that city was all but lost to the French, and the tumult was with difficulty appeased by allowing the Brahmins to take triumphant repossession of their temple. M. Hebert, the next governor, at first opposed them boldly, and in a letter to father Tachard, rebukes them for their constant intermeddling in the affairs of the Company, and for forcing their converts into families, nominally as servants, but really as "domestic spies." His description, indeed, of these marvellous neophytes is strangely different from that of the Lettres Edifiantes. He speaks of them as men "of scandalous life, lazy, superstitious, and almost universally given to thieving;" and reproaches the Missionaries for allowing them to retain nearly all their superstitions, and idolatrous ceremonies, such as the Cocoa-nut at marriages, the mirror at funerals for the dead man to see his soul, the marks on their foreheads, and the Heathen music in their processions, as well as for their cruel treatment of the *Pariahs*. See his letter at length in Norbert.—*Memoires Historiques*, Tome 1, p. 40, *Besançon*. Monsieur Hebert was answered, not by words, but

by deeds; he was recalled in disgrace, to be sent out shortly afterwards, the reluctant, but obedient tool of the Jesuits.

About this time, in the year 1701, arose the persecution in Tanjore, caused by a public outrage on the idols of the country, during one of their processions in Pondicherry.* Father Tachard assures us (*Lettres Edifiantes*, Tome 10, p. 317) that *twelve thousand* Christians stood firm in the hour of trial, and endured the most cruel sufferings for the faith. Pondicherry is but a little way on the other side of the river; but, strange to say, nothing of all this was heard of there. On the contrary, Father Norbert assures the Pope, that, to the shame of their Christian profession, not *one* was found ready to seal his faith with his blood; and that, while a few families fled to the coast for shelter, the Christians of Tanjore flocked by thousands to the pagodas, to renounce Christ, and receive the indelible mark of Vishnu.—*Memoires Historiques*, 1, pp. 71, &c. *Besançon*.

It was precisely the same in 1784; when Tippoo ordered all the native Christians in Mysore to be seized, and gathered together in Seringapatam, that he might convert them to Mahometanism. Amidst that vast multitude, amounting to more than 60,000 souls, says the Abbe Dubois, (while he indignantly exclaims "oh shame! oh scandal! will it be believed in the Christian world?") not *one*, not a single individual among so many thousands, had courage to confess his faith under this trying circumstance, and become a martyr to his religion. The whole apostatised *en masse*, and without resistance or protestation."—*Letters on the state of Christianity in India*, p. 74, London 1823.

Yet the Jesuits tell us, in these veracious Letters so often cited, that there was nothing more characteristic of these neophytes, than the ardour with which they courted martyrdom! It is true that, in Tanjore, as well as in Mysore, when the peril had passed over, numbers returned to their former faith, saying, adds Dubois, "that their apostacy had been only external, and that they always kept the true faith in their hearts:" but, he continues significantly, "God preserve them from being exposed in future to the same trials."

On the 23d of Nov. 1700, Cardinal Albani was elected Pope, and assumed the name of Clement XI. Everywhere he found opinions divided, and the most violent and bitter recriminations concerning the proceedings of the Jesuits in India and China. By themselves their policy was represented as innocent, necessary, and sagacious; by their opponents as scandalous, unchristian,

* The images of Brahma, Vishnu, &c., were broken to pieces in the streets by a Native Christian, representing St. George.

and stained by the darkest crimes. The framer of the far-famed Bulls, *Unigenitus* and *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*, can scarcely be suspected of any bias against the Society of Jesus: nevertheless he deemed it necessary that the matter should be thoroughly investigated, and settled by competent authority on the spot. For this purpose, after anxious deliberation, he fixed upon a prelate in whose wisdom and piety he had the fullest confidence, and determined to send him to the East, clothed with the amplest powers, to examine and set at rest for ever those unhappy disputes which divided and scandalized Christendom.

Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, was of an illustrious family in Savoy, and of high repute for learning and sanctity. He is described in the brief of Clement XI., dated 2nd July, 1702, as a man "whose well-known integrity, prudence, learning, piety, charity, skill in business, and zeal for the Catholic religion made him worthy of the highest trust;" and he was accordingly appointed Apostolic Visitor, with the full powers besides of Legate *a latere*. The brief further enjoins every Ecclesiastic in India and China, whether Secular or Regular, "*etiam* prædictæ Societatis Jesu" to obey his mandates implicitly, and without delay: for though a final appeal to Rome was of course open, yet that regarded the future, and in the mean time could in no way delay the execution of the Legate's Mandate, to which all were strictly ordered to render instant obedience.* Briefs to the same purport were addressed to the Archbishop of Goa, the Bishop of Meliapore, and other Prelates in India and China.

In addition to all this, Louis XIV. placed two frigates at his disposal; in one of which, *Le Maurepas*, of 46 guns, commanded by M. de Fontaine, he sailed from Teneriffe, May 3rd, 1703. On the 6th of November he landed at Pondicherry amidst the thunder of cannons; and a Te Deum was chanted in the Church of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Amidst the joyful acclamations of the multitude, surrounded by the clergy and the magistrates of the place, and by a mixed crowd of Christians and Heathens, he was conducted in a sort of triumphal procession to the Society's Mission house; *there* he abode during his nine months' stay in India, and it would have been impossible, he himself writes in his journal, to add anything to the politeness, the hospitality, and attention with which he was entertained. During these nine months the Legate was indefatigable in gathering information regarding the Malabar rites. He examined the Capu-

* Quacunque appellatione, recursu, recusatione, seu nullitatis dictione, minime obstante, ita ut quælibet appellatio solum in devolutivo, et non retardata executione, et non nisi ad dictam Sedem interponi possit.

chins; he examined impartial men of the world; he used his own eyes; and, most of all, the materials of his decree were drawn from the lips of the Jesuit Fathers themselves. With a portion of their own cunning, he set a snare for these worthy men; and Father Bouchet and Father Bartolde were taken. He summoned these two Fathers to a private conference, praised their zeal, seemed to enter into the difficulties of their position, and so won upon them, that they frankly told him *all*, not disguising even the repugnance which they had felt at first to the system of mendacity and imposture, which prevailed in Madura. They did not know that two secretaries were concealed in the room, who took full notes of the conversation. Not quite satisfied with themselves, however, they proceeded at once to tell their superior, Father Tachard, what had happened. The wily Tachard, alarmed for the consequence of their ruinous sincerity, sent them back to the Legate, to unsay and explain away their most unfortunate admissions. But it was too late: and now they were obliged to brave the storm.

The famous decree of Cardinal de Tournon was published on the 8th of July, 1704; and, though itself in our Protestant eyes not free from superstition and laxity of Christian principle, is in all respects a remarkable testimony against the semi-paganism introduced into Madura under the sacred name of Christianity. He begins by declaring, that what was wanting in his own personal experience had been supplied by the Fathers, Venant Bouchet, superior of the Carnatic Mission, and Charles Michael Bartolde, Missionary of Madura, learned and zealous men, long resident in the country, and perfectly acquainted with its manners, language, and religion; and that from their lips he had learned (dictis Patribus ore tenus auditis) what those things really were, "which rendered the vine branches feeble and barren, adhering, as they did, rather to the vanities of the Heathen than to the vine, Christ." The decree, as a whole, is too long for extraction: it will be sufficient to substantiate our statements by a few extracts in the original, accompanied by a literal English translation. The numbers refer only to the paragraphs extracted.

1. Præterea, quum moris hujus regionis sit, ut infantes sex vel septem annorum, interdum etiam in teneriori ætate, ex genitorum consensu, matrimonium indissolubile de præsenti contrahant, per impositionem Talii, seu aureæ tesseræ nuptialis uxoris collo pensilis; Missionariis mandamus, ne hujusmodi irrita matrimonia inter Christianos fieri permittant, &c.

1. Further, as it is the custom of this country, that children six or seven years old, and sometimes even younger, contract, with the consent of their parents, an indissoluble marriage, by the hanging of the *Taly*, or golden nuptial emblem, on the neck of the bride, we command the Missionaries never to permit such invalid marriages among Christians.

2. Et quoniam apud peritiores impiæ illius religionis sectatores, Talii præ se fert imaginem licet informem Pulleyaris, sive Pillayaris, idoli nuptialibus ceremoniis præpositi; quumque dedeceat Christianas Mulieres talem effigiem collo deferre in signum matrimonii; districte prohibemus, ne in posterum audeant Talii cum hac effigie collo appendere, et, ne uxores innuptæ videantur, poterunt uti alio Talii, vel Sanctissimæ Crucis, vel Domini nostri Jesu Christi vel Beatissimæ Virginis, vel aliâ quâvis religiosa imagine ornato!

2. And since, according to the best informed adherents of that impious superstition, the Taly bears the image, though unshapely, of Pullear or Pillear, the idol* supposed to preside over nuptial ceremonies: and since it is a disgrace for Christian women to wear such an image round their neck, as a mark that they are married: we henceforth strictly prohibit them from daring to have the *Taly*, with this image, suspended from their necks. *And, lest wives should seem not to be married, they may use another Taly, with the image of the Holy Cross, or of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of the most Blessed Virgin, marked on it!*

3. Et quum superstitione non careat funiculus centum et octo filis compositus, et croceo succo delinitus, quo plerique dictum Talii appendunt, prohibemus etiam dictum filorum numerum et unctionem.

3. And since the cord of 100 threads, dyed saffron, by which many attach the *Taly*, is not free from superstition, we forbid both the saffron dye, and the said number of threads.

4. Ceremoniæ etiam nuptiales, juxta harum regionum morem, tot sunt, tantâque superstitione maculatæ, ut tutius remedium aptari non posset, quam eas omnino interdicendo; quum undique noxiâ Gentilitatis labe scateant, et difficilimum sit eas a superstitiosis expurgare. At vero, &c.

4. The nuptial ceremonies also, according to the customs of the country, are so many, and defiled by so much superstition, that no safer remedy could be devised than to interdict them altogether: for they overflow with the pollutions of Heathenism, and it would be extremely difficult to expurge from them that which is superstitious.

The Legate then enjoins the Missionaries to extirpate from these ceremonies, everything that savoured of superstition; such, for instance ("*besides the abuses they had already reformed*"), as the twig of the *Arasu* tree, which is emblematic of the Hindu Trinity, *Brahma, Vishnu*, and *Shiva;* the circlets for averting misfortune; the seven vessels filled with earth, in which rice must be growing about two inches high, emblematic of the seven planetary gods; and the dishes, containing rice, betel, &c., all dedicated to superstition. But as to these last, by changing the *number* of the vessels and dishes, and filling them with food of a different description, he thinks some latitude may be allowed! Truly it was not for nothing that the Cardinal reproached himself afterwards so bitterly.

* Bartholomeo, describing *Ganesa* or *Pollyar*, says, "Indian women who are married, wear *an image of this deity*, which they call *Taly*, suspended from their neck by a string."—Voyage, &c. page 71. See also his "Systema Brahmanicum," page 173.

The almost incredible idolatry and superstition that characterized Christian marriages will be found fully detailed by Norbert, in his Memoires Historiques, Besançon. Tome 2, pp. 232-241, or in the Lucca edition, Tome 3, pp. 14-27.

The next section forbids the superstitious breaking of the cocoa-nut; but actually allows the very practice it condemns, provided it be done *privately!* Then follows an absolute condemnation of the conduct of the Missionaries, who would not permit women "menstruali morbo laborantes," to go to Church or confession, yet celebrated its first appearance by a public festival which is denounced in the strongest language as "obscæna "consuetudo, a Gentilium impudentiâ inducta." On their treatment of the *Pariahs*, he is especially severe, and cuttingly rebukes the Christian Spiritual Physicians, who would not enter a Pariah's door, even to administer extreme unction, while the Heathen doctors never scrupled to attend them, when they were dangerously ill. He then proceeds:

Non sine maximo animi nostri mœrore accepimus, etiam Christianos tympanorum pulsatores, tibicines, aut alterius cujuscunque musici instrumenti sonatores, ad Idolorum festivitates et sacrificia accersiri ad ludendum, et interdum etiam cogi, ob quamdam servitutis speciem erga Publicum, ab ipsis, contractæ, per hujusmodi artis exercitium; nec facile esse Missionariis, eos ab hoc detestabili abusu avertere: quocirca considerantes, quam gravem rationem essemus Deo reddituri, si hujusmodi Christi fideles, a Demonorum honore et cultu, pro viribus non revocaremus; illis prohibemus, &c. Ideoque Missionarii, non solum eos monere tenebuntur de præfata prohibitione, verum etiam illam omnino executioni demandare, et contrafacientes ab ecclesiâ expellere, donec ex corde resipiscant et publicis penitentiæ signis patratum scandalum emendaverint.

We have learned with the greatest sorrow also, that *Christians*, who can beat the drum, or play on the flute, or other musical instruments, are invited to perform, during the festivals and sacrifices in honour of idols, and *sometimes* even compelled to attend, on account of some species of obligation supposed to be contracted towards the public by the exercise of such a profession: and that it is by no means easy for the Missionaries to turn them from this *detestable abuse;* wherefore, considering how heavy an account we should have to render to God, did we not strive with all our power to recall such Christians as these, *from the honouring and worshipping of Devils*, we forbid them, &c.

The Missionaries also shall be held bound not only to acquaint them with the aforesaid prohibition, but also to insist on its entire execution, and to expel from the Church all who disobey, until they repent from the heart, and by public marks of penitence expiate the scandal they have caused.

In like manner the Heathen ablutions and superstitious bathings, at set times, and with certain ceremonies, are absolutely prohibited to all, and more especially to the preachers of the Gospel, whatever pretence they allege, were it even to pass themselves

off as *Saniassis*, who are distinguished by their manifold and multiplied washings, "ut existimentur *Sanias*, seu Brachmanes "præ ceteris dediti hujusmodi ablutionibus." He prohibits also the use of the ashes of cow's dung, and all marks on the forehead, chest, and other parts of the body, so common among those "most superstitious Hindus." Finally, he declares that the penalties for non-observance of this decree shall be excommunication for the superiors of the mission, and suspension *a divinis* in the case of individual Missionaries.

This goodly catalogue, however, is far from including all the scandals which disgraced the miserable (so called) Christianity of Madura.

What concerns Romanism chiefly, we have passed over: and Cardinal de Tournon is careful to let it be known that "*much* "perhaps that needed reformation might have escaped his "notice, and that several things he had purposely left undecided, "as requiring more mature consideration." Will it be believed that in these deeps there was still a lower deep? Passing over the unadulterated Heathenism of their funeral rites, the innumerable superstitions that disgraced their nuptial ceremonies, and the disgusting details of that scandalous ceremonial, which was well termed "the festival of immodesty and wantonness;" we shall lay before our readers a specimen of the *prayers*, which accompanied the ablutions and anointings which the Christians of Madura loved so well. It is very probable that many of the poor creatures did not know the meaning of the words they used: but what shall be said of their teachers, who knew the truth, yet permitted and sanctioned the most daring and gross idolatry? The ashes of cow's dung are consecrated to the Goddess *Lakshmi*, and are supposed, when applied to the body, to cleanse from sin. These ashes were used by the Christians of Madura. The Catechist, or Missionary, laid them upon an altar, on which stood an image of the Virgin, or a Crucifix; they were then consecrated, and distributed to the neophytes in the shape of little balls. What followed, we extract from a report drawn up by the Capuchins for the purpose of showing the identity of the Heathen ceremonies with those of the Madura converts:—and it is but justice to the Missionaries of that order, to acknowledge that they uniformly avoided and denounced these scandalous compromises, and that their standard of Christian principle seems to have been higher and purer even than that which found favour at Rome. But we return to the neophytes of the Jesuits, and their burnt cow's dung. "When they rub it on the head and forehead, they say "*neruchiguron netchada shiven*, that is, may the God *Shiva* be

"within my head! When they rub it on the chest, they say "*Manu Rudren*, i. e, may the God Rudren be in my breast! "When they apply it to the neck, they say *Maya Ishuren*, May "Ishuren be in my neck; and when to the shoulders, they say "*Tolbairaban*, May Bhairab be in my shoulders!"

In like manner there is a distinct God, and a distinct invocation, for the arms, the ears, the eyes, the groin, the back, the stomach, the legs, knees, and feet; and "they conclude all these "fine invocations, by putting a little of the ashes in their mouths, "and saying *condadu mireum kuripu adulane;* that is, by this "last action I declare that all is finished as it ought to be."—*Memoires Historiques, Luques,* 1745. Tome 3, pp. 29-30.

Excepting among the Jesuits, there could not surely be found throughout the world a Christian Missionary, who would not have hastened to disclaim with horror and indignation the practices denounced by the Legate De Tournon, and to aid with all his powers in their instant suppression. The Fathers of Jesus hastened indeed to De Tournon, but it was to entreat, to beseech, to implore him, to recall his censures, to sanction every thing he had condemned, and to compel the Capuchins and every Romanist in India to adopt the whole of these devilish practices in all the grossness of their abomination. The too complaisant Patriarch yielded so far as to suspend the execution of his decree for three years, in order to give time for a gradual reform;—a weakness, which caused him afterwards many a bitter moment; but further than this he would not go, remaining inexorable to all their entreaties, and determined that his decree should be fulfilled to the letter.

It became therefore Father Tachard to be doing, and he lost not a moment in sending round among the Missionaries under his charge a circular, of which the following is a *precis:*—

I.—Is the frequent use of ashes (burnt cow's dung) necessary for the Christians of these Missions? *They answered in the affirmative.*

II.—As the *Pariahs* are looked upon in a civil light as so despicable that it is almost impossible to describe how far the prejudice against them is carried, ought they to assemble in the same place, or in the same Church, with other Christians of a higher caste? *They answered in the negative.*

III.—Are the Missionaries obliged to enter into the houses of the *Pariahs* to give them spiritual succour, while there are other means of arriving at the same end, as is remarked elsewhere? *They answered in the negative.*

IV.—Ought we in the said missions to employ spittle in conferring the sacrament of Baptism? *They answered in the negative.*

V.—Ought we to forbid the Christians to celebrate these brilliant and joyous *fetes*, which are given by parents, when their young daughters "ont pour la premiére fois la maladie des mois?" *They answered in the negative.*

VI.—Ought we to forbid the custom observed at marriages of breaking the cocoa-nut? *They answered in the negative.*

VII.—Ought the wives of the Christians to be obliged to change their *Taly*,* or nuptial cord? *They answered in the negative.*

But the bare signature of this creditable document did not seem to Father Bouchet a sufficient atonement for his former want of adroitness: he backs it by a solemn oath.

"I, John Venant Bouchet, Priest of the Society of Jesus and Superior of the Carnatic Mission, do testify and *swear* on *my faith as a Priest*, that the observance of the rites, as set forth in the preceding answers, is of the greatest necessity to these missions, as well for their preservation, as for the conversion of the Heathens. Further, it appears to me that the introduction of *any other* usage, contrary to these, WOULD BE ATTENDED WITH EVIDENT DANGER TO THE SALVATION OF THE SOULS OF THE NEOPHYTES. Thus I answer the Reverend Father Superior General, who orders me to send him my opinion as to these rites, and to confirm it by my oath: for assurance and faith of which I here sign my name. Signed Novr. 3d, 1704, in the Mission of the Carnatic, *Jean Venant Bouchet*."

Fathers Peter Mauduit, Philip de la Fontaine, Peter de la Lane, and Gilbert le Petit, took the same oath, and attested it by their signatures; and after like fashion, swore all the Portuguese Jesuits in Madura and Mysore.—*Memoires Historiques, Luques*, 1745. Tome 3, pp. 8-10.

Thus the Reverend Fathers publicly, solemnly, and deliberately make oath, that, in these missions the religion of Christ must necessarily be joined to the idolatry of the Heathen, and that the introduction of Christianity, alone, and in its purity, would be fatal to the salvation of souls!

In the meantime the decree of the Legate had reached Rome, where it was confirmed by Clement XI. in January 1706, who, after praising the zeal and prudence of the Patriarch, ordered, that, until otherwise determined by the Apostolic See, "exacte "observari debeant ea omnia, quæ in Decreto supradicto fuerunt "ab ipso præscripta," i. e. "every thing was to be strictly observed, which had been ordered by him in the foresaid Decree."

Nor were the Jesuits idle: for, first they despatched to Rome Fathers Lainez and Bouchet, with the memorable document to which we have already referred, to plead their cause in Europe.

* In juxtaposition with this 7th question and answer, let the reader weigh the following extract from the Brief of Clement XII., issued under the ring of the Fisherman, Aug. 24th, 1734, "quamvis asserunt Missionarii, nunquam permisisse gestationem dicti Taly," that is, Although the Missionaries assert that they have NEVER permitted the wearing of the said Taly!!

In the mean while, they stirred up the Archbishop of Goa to deny the authority of the Legate, to suspend the execution of his decree, and to forbid its observance to all the Christians of India. The Pope, scandalized and grieved by such conduct, instantly issued an indignant declaration, that the edict of the Archbishop was from the beginning rash and presumptuous, void, worthless, and of none effect; and the Archbishop, thoroughly frightened, submitted for the present. So this shaft fell wide of the mark.

Their next manœuvre is remarkable for its singularity. To the astonishment of every one, the Council of Pondicherry passed an Act, condemning as abusive the decree of M. De Tournon, and forbidding its observance! The answer to this was a pastoral letter, addressed by him, to the Christians of Pondicherry, from his prison in Macao, dated 13th October, 1709. In this letter he reminds the Magistrates of Pondicherry, that things spiritual did not lie within their province, beseeches them not to be led away by seducers from their obedience to the Holy See, and threatens with the thunders of the Church every Christian, whether lay or ecclesiastical, who persisted in disobedience. The Act was also annulled by the Pope in 1811.

Not long after, this distinguished prelate, who had been elevated in the meanwhile to the dignity of Cardinal, perished in the dungeons of Macao, into which he had been thrown by the Chinese at the instance of the worthy Fathers, who at first fawned upon him, and who, when the cunning of the fox availed not, never failed to display the ferocity of the wolf. Who were the real authors of this tragedy may be easily gathered from a letter to the Jesuits of Pekin, which was written by the Cardinal himself in 1707. The following is an extract:—

"Night and day I shed tears before God, not less for the distressed state of the mission, than on account of those who are the causes of its affliction: for, if I knew not the cause of the evil, and the authors of it, I might endure all more cheerfully. The Supreme See has condemned your practices: but much more to be detested is *that unrestrained licence, with which you strive to bury your shame under the ruins of the Mission!* You have not lent your ears to salutary counsel; *and now you betake yourselves to means that cause horror* (modo ad horrenda confugitis)."

And he adds, with a prophetic anticipation of the result,

"What shall I say? woe is me! The cause has been determined, but the error continues; the Mission will be destroyed sooner than it can be reformed."—Tome 1, p. 268.

It will not have been forgotten, that Fathers Lainez and Bouchet had been sent on a mission to Rome, for the purpose of overturning the decision of Cardinal De Tournon, and pro-

curing a new bull in their own favour. Lainez had been promoted to the Bishoprick of St. Thomas; and he and his colleagues in iniquity returned to India, there to exhibit, to the astonished public, their crowning act of audacious wickedness. Bishop Lainez declared that they had gained their cause, and that the Pope had decided in their favour; and Father Bouchet, says Norbert, on a day when the exposition of the sacrament had drawn together a great concourse of French and native Christians in their church at Pondicherry, "came forward in his sacerdotal "robes, and, *calling to witness the body and blood of Jesus Christ*, "*boldly protested before God*, that of a truth he had obtained "from the lips of the Pope himself an express declaration, that "the decree of the Cardinal De Tournon was in no wise binding, "and that the Missionaries, without offence of conscience, might "permit the practice of the ceremonies which the Legate had "condemned, because, so doing, they might the more easily "convert the Heathens to the faith!" (Tome 3, p. 320.) In like manner writes Bishop Lainez to Father Esprit, the Superior of the Capuchins, "Another thing which you are perhaps ignorant "of, my Reverend Father, because it has recently occurred, and "which puts an end to every suspicion connected with these "censures, is an oracle (oral deliverance) of the Supreme "Pontiff Clement XI., which has been brought before me a "few days ago, and which I shall publish in due time, regarding the permission of the rites and customs which are practised "in the Missions of the Society, and which facilitate the conversion of the Heathen. This oracle is so far from prohibiting the using of the ashes, that it orders the continuance of "their use in the Missions, because it facilitates and increases "conversions to Christianity. *This I can attest, for it was I "who managed the business at Rome, and spoke of it to the "Sovereign Pontiff, who left me not a doubt on the subject, and "consequently all who think otherwise are in error.*"

But what if this were an infamous lie? What, if apostolic Father Bouchet were guilty of deliberate perjury? You reject the bare possibility as, under all the circumstances, something too monstrous for belief.

But listen to Father Timothy de la Fleeche, who writes, that, when he went to the Pope to learn from his own lips whether he had indeed given such permission, his Holiness at once took fire, and used almost these very words:—

"FATHER BOUCHET IS A LIAR, and nothing is less true than the story he dares to publish: far from going away triumphant and comforted, he retired mortified and grieved to the last degree, at not being able to obtain anything from us. He indeed did all he could to make us revoke the decree

of our Legate: but having shown him that it was confirmed by the Congregation of the Holy Office, and made him understand that no change would be made in it, and that the Holy See would never approve of rites so scandalous as those which the Fathers of his Society caused to be observed by their Christians in India, nor ever allow them to be practised, the Reverend Father, having no longer any hope of success in that for which he came to Rome, took leave of us," &c.

Bishop Lainez indeed rejects this testimony on the weighty ground of its being an atrocious insult to his Holiness, because the reigning Pope was far too *polite* to call a Clergyman a liar! However, the matter was set at rest by a Brief from the Pope himself, dated Sept. 17th, 1712, and addressed to the Bishop of St. Thomas, stating that he had heard of such a report with great sorrow of mind, and that it had no foundation: and in a letter addressed to M. de Visdelou, Bishop of Claudiopolis, Cardinal Sacripanti, Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, incloses for his perusal a copy of the original acts of the Congregation of the Holy Office. "They "will show you," writes he, "that the report you have heard in "your countries, announcing the suspension, or annulling of the "decrees of the Cardinal de Tournon, Visitor Apostolic, of "happy memory, *is false, and without the slightest foundation.*" (*Norbert, Lucca Edition.* Tome 1, pp. 319-361.)

We shall offer no comments; for nothing can add to the infamy of such wickedness on the part of Christian Ministers.

We must now turn from the tragedy to the comedy (if such it may be called) of iniquity. The worthy Fathers were now desperately hard pushed; and they had recourse to a new stratagem. They declared that the Pope had been misinformed as to the facts on which his decision was grounded; and they produced a document, signed by many Malabar Christians, and three of the most learned Pundits in French India, attesting that the rites were all mere civil observances! The Capuchins amazed (as well they might be) by such a declaration, had these learned Brahmins summoned before the Judges of Pondicherry, and there publicly and judicially examined by M. de Lorme, the Secretary of Council, the Capuchins not being allowed to interfere.

One of these most learned Brahmins (peritissimi Brachmanes) declared that a certain Jesuit (whose name he mentioned) had given him a paper to sign, and asked him to procure a few more signatures from his friends: but as to the rites, all that he had said on the subject, was, that undoubtedly they were of a religious nature. Another of the three Brahmins was a friend, who happened to be in his house, and who had signed to do him a pleasure.

The third worthy declared that he had signed the paper, because he was told it was of no consequence, "but, sir," added he, "it is not my own name I have put there; it is the name of my grandfather!!" But alas! this comedy ended in blood. The Capuchins, by the assistance of *Naniapa*, the Company's broker, had four Brahmins, really learned and able men, publicly examined by the same judges, and the result was the most unequivocal evidence of the superstitious nature of the rites. The Jesuits answered, as they have done but too often: for they gave complaisant Governor Hebert no rest until poor *Naniapa* was publicly whipped, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon, out of which he never came alive. One evening the sergeant of the guard came to acquaint M. Hebert that the poor creature was vomiting blood.—"Well, what then?" was his brutal reply, "What business is that of yours? *Let him burst?*" For this atrocious judicial murder, Hebert was recalled, and died in contempt and disgrace; and the heirs of *Naniapa* were ennobled by the French King. They needed indeed to be wary and powerful, who in those days entered the field against the Society of Jesus!*

In vain Clement XI. issued brief after brief; in vain they were branded by Rome in 1714, as "alike obstinate and impudent;" they firmly held to their beloved rites, and practised them as devoutly as ever. But we must hasten to a close.

The Brief of Clement XI., sealed with the ring of the Fisherman, Sept. 30th, 1719, again insists upon the observance of Cardinal De Tournon's decrees, and enjoins the Bishop of Claudiopolis to use his utmost efforts to have them fulfilled to the letter. It was in vain.

The Brief of Pope Benedict XIII., dated 12th November, 1727, wherein it was written, "Following in the footsteps of our "predecessor (Clement XI.) we also confirm the decrees of the "said Patriarch of Antioch, and in like manner command and "enjoin that they be obeyed and observed," had precisely the same result. The Jesuits paid no attention to it, and went on, as they had done before.

Under the Pontificate of Clement XII. they had sufficient influence at Rome to procure a revision of the Cardinal's decrees; but (alas for them!) the result was the Papal Brief, *Compertum*

* Their *practice* in this matter we will not enter on here; but their *doctrine* may be learned from one of their own authors. "It will be lawful for an ecclesiastic, or "one of a religious order *to kill a calumniator* who threatens to spread atrocious "accusations against himself or his religion, when other means of defence are "wanting."

Francisci Amici Cursus Theologici, Tomus, V. Disp. 36, Sect. 5, n. 118, Duaci. 1642.

exploratumque, issued under the ring of the Fisherman, 24th August, 1734.

This famous Brief (with a few slight modifications in matters that relate to the rites of the Roman Church, such as insufflation, and the use of the spittle in Baptism) confirms anew the decrees of the Cardinal De Tournon, as well as the Briefs of Clement XI. and Benedict XIII., and especially and distinctly again forbids every superstitious practice referred to in Tachard's documents, and supported by the oaths of his associates, as well as those already quoted from the Legate's decree. But, as the Fathers still continued obstinate in their rebellion, the same Pope five years afterwards issued another Brief, dated 13th May, 1739, insisting on instant submission, and threatening them, should they persist in their rebellion, with all the thunders of the Vatican. In his wrath he compares them to the mongrel Samaritans, "who feared the Lord, but served their graven images, after the manner of the Gentiles" (2d Kings, xvii. 41): and being thoroughly in earnest, and determined to bring the matter to an issue, he ordered the following oath to be taken by every Jesuit bishop and missionary in India

"I, N. of the order N. or Society of Jesus, sent or designated, as a missionary to the Kingdom or Province of N. in the East Indies, by the Apostolic See, or by my Superiors, according to the powers granted to them by the Apostolic See, obeying the precept of our holy Lord Pope Clement XII., in his Apostolic Letter, issued in the form of a Brief, on the 13th day of May, 1739, enjoining all the missionaries in the said missions to take an oath that they will faithfully observe the Apostolic determination concerning the Malabar rites, according to the tenor of the Apostolic Letter in the form of a Brief of the same our holy Lord, dated 24th August, 1734, and beginning *Compertum exploratumque*, well known to me by my reading the whole of that Brief, PROMISE that I will obey fully and faithfully, that I will observe it *exactly, entirely, absolutely, and inviolably*, and that I will fulfil it *without any tergiversation;* moreover, that I will instruct the Christians committed to my charge according to the tenor of the said Brief, as well in my preaching, as in my private ministrations, and especially the Catechumens before they shall be baptized, and unless they promise that they will observe the said Brief, with its determinations and prohibitions, that I shall not baptize them: further that I shall take care with all possible zeal and diligence, that the ceremonies of the Heathens be abolished, and those rites practised and retained by the Christians, which the Catholic church hath piously decreed. But if at any time (which may God forbid) I should oppose (*that Brief*) either in whole or in part, so often do I acknowledge and declare myself subject to the penalties imposed by our holy Lord, whether in the Decree, or in the Apostolic Letter, as above, concerning the taking of this oath, in like manner well known to me by reading the whole thereof. *Thus touching the Holy Gospels, I promise, vow, and swear: so may God help me, and these God's Holy Gospels! Signed with my own hand, N.*" The original and the Brief at full length will be found, *Memoires Historiques*, Tome 2, p. 465, &c.

What can be clearer than the purport of this oath? What more solemn than its sanctions? It was taken by every Jesuit missionary in India; and (horrible to relate) not one even pretended to observe it.

Staggered by such universal and unblushing perjury, we require to be reminded that, as we have already seen, mortal sin is in certain cases permitted by the Constitutions of the Society; or, if we search for something more immediately applicable, Busembaum is ready with a very similar case in his "Marrow of Moral Theology," as quoted in Ranke's History of the Popes, vol. ii, p. 101. "Qui exterius tantum juravit," writes this Jesuitical casuist, "sine animo jurandi, non obliga-" tur, nisi forte ratione scandali, cum non juraverit, sed luserit," that is, The man who makes oath outwardly, without in his mind intending it to be an oath, is not bound by it, *unless perhaps to avoid scandal*, for he has not sworn: he did but jest.

As the matter, however, was too serious for jesting, the worthy Fathers adopted a more ingenious explanation. Pope Clement XII. attached his own meaning to the oath: there was nothing to hinder them doing the same: so they merely broke it according to his interpretation, but kept it according to their own! And for this, too, there was no want of authority: for says the learned Jesuit, Emmanuel Sa—"Lastly, since you are "not bound to swear according to the meaning of the inquirer, "you may *according to your own;* which some deny, affirming "that words which are *absolutely false* are not excused by such "an understanding of intention. There are learned men *in* "*favour of either opinion*, who maintain it on either side with "probability." Aphorismi confessariorum, verbo *Juramentum n.* 6. *Coloniæ*, 1590.

Pope Clement died next year; and the Malabar rites continued to flourish.

A few years later, the learned and energetic Benedict XIV. once more interfered, with a vigour and determination of purpose, that were neither to be evaded nor opposed: and he did not spare the Fathers of the Society. His Bull on the Chinese Rites (*Ex quo singulari,*) dated July 11th, 1741, somewhat oversteps the cautious and measured line of Romish policy, when deciding internal disputes: for, provoked and wearied out by their daring obstinacy in evil, he brands them as (inobedientes, contumaces, captiosi, et perditi homines) "disobedient, contu-" macious, crafty, and reprobate men;" which, it may be observed, is rather a singular comment on their oath of special obedience to the Pope in missions.

A year or two afterwards appeared his celebrated Brief on

the Malabar Rites, the last and the best of the long series called forth by these abominations.

Resolved to spare no pains in dissevering for ever the worship of Christ from the worship of devils, and to put an end to those unholy artifices and impostures which for a century and a half had scandalized Christendom, he not only made the provisions of this Brief (*Omnium sollicitudinum*) so precise and stringent that even Jesuitical ingenuity could hardly evade them, but he ordered the Brief itself to be read every Sunday in their congregations, and insisted that all their converts should promise to submit to its requisitions.

And now every resource failed them, and they saw themselves constrained to yield a sullen and reluctant, and yet but apparent obedience.

At the very same time, in consequence of the wars between the French and the English, it was discovered by the Natives that the far-famed Roman *Saniassis* were nothing other than Feringees after all. The discovery of the fraud enraged and disgusted the heathens, and put an immediate stop to conversions; and when the "angels" of Madura found the least restraint laid upon the practice of their favourite superstitions, they rushed by crowds into apostacy;—if that can be called apostacy, which was but the more open profession of an idolatry, from which they had never emerged, except in name.

Twenty years later, and soon after the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the natives, who still professed to be Christians, and who must, therefore, have constituted the *élite* of the Madura mission, are described by Fra Bartolomeo, as living in the lowest state of superstition and ignorance. The account he gives of their morals, especially those of the Catechists and native clergy, is literally too gross for transcription. The evidence of the Abbé Dubois is not a whit more favourable. In his celebrated letters are to be found instances of superstition and ignorance scarcely exceeded even in the reign of the Jesuits; and he makes (p. 63) the frightful admission, that "during a "period of *twenty-five years* that I have familiarly conversed "with them, lived among them as their religious teacher and "spiritual guide, I would hardly dare to affirm that I have "*anywhere* met a sincere and undisguised Christian!"

The final result of this singular and disgraceful contest we shall extract from a continuation of the Church History of Berault Bercastel, by M. L'Abbe, and Comte de Robiano, Tome 1, pp. 197, 198. More surprising, or less satisfactory, it could not well be; but here at least the Jesuits are not the offending parties.

"In order, therefore," writes M. de Robiano, "to take away "every pretext for tergiversation, Benedict XIV. issued the "Bull *Omnium sollicitudinum*, in which, as he had done before "in his Bull on the Chinese Rites, he recited all that had passed "on the matter, cleared up every disputed point, explained and "confirmed the modifications made by Clement XII., and left "nothing undone in order to put an end to the disputes, in "regard to the Malabar Rites. Nevertheless, a leaven of dis-"cord always remained between the Jesuits and the other "missionaries, and the latter reproached the former for not "observing the Bull *honestly*. This division continued even *after* "the dissolution of the Society, when the Malabar mission was "entrusted to the Bishop of Tabraca, and the missionaries of "the Seminary of Missions at Paris. At that time the Holy "See was again consulted on the subject of the Rites, and the "answer was that they were allowed, at least for the present, "*to practice whatever seemed tolerable, and according to former* "*custom*."

Such were the rise, progress, and decay of the Jesuits' missions in Southern India. The sketch is plain, but faithful; and, every fact, even every assertion, is substantiated by Papal Briefs, or public and accredited documents, or the published statements of the parties themselves. These statements cannot be set aside as the offspring of party spirit or Sectarianism. The facts and the evidence on which they rest are both before the reader, and we court and challenge the closest further investigation. The abominable practices which we condemn have been already denounced and condemned by five Popes, by the Congregation of the Holy Office, by the General of the Jesuits, by many eminent Cardinals and Bishops, and by whole bodies of Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics; and their honest indignation, and their horror of such vileness and infamy, have been expressed in much stronger language than we have ventured to transcribe. So far, indeed, as we are aware, there is nothing in these pages to which a conscientious Roman Catholic might not give his willing assent. Not a single Protestant writer is quoted; not a single doubtful authority is adduced. Else it might seem incredible that such things were allowed to exist; that Rome had submitted to be bearded and contemned for more than a century by "the sworn slaves of the Pope:" and that iniquity and crime had soared to such a pitch of audacity. We abhor even to think of the holy name of Christ, and the awful purity of his religion, in connection with things so detestable; for surely the mission of Madura, built on perjury and fraud, given over to superstition, and where

every chord of falsehood was touched by a master's hand, vindicates for its author no other than the Father of Lies.

There is yet one other department, in which the reverend Fathers distinguished themselves, to which we can here but briefly allude. The celebrated *Ezour vedam* is a curious and most skilful attempt to impose a forgery upon the Brahmins, as one of the oldest and most sacred books of their own religion. —"It is easy to see," says Sonnerat, "that the author wishes "to bring everything back to the Christian religion, *leaving "however several errors*, lest the missionary might be detected "under the Brahminical mantle." The worthy *missionary* is however, quite impartial, for he is every whit as willing to corrupt Christianity as Hinduism, and to alter, interpolate, mangle, and pervert both alike, provided he thinks it likely to serve his own purpose. The real writer is unknown; but there is no one to dispute with the Jesuits the honours of its paternity. It is impossible, indeed, that a work professing to be *bonâ fide* Brahminical, yet under a veil striving to pave the way for Christianity, and exhibiting consummate knowledge of the Hindu language, religion, and manner of thinking, could have come from any other source. It seems, however, to have been better fitted for deceiving the *savans* of Paris, and among others the brilliant Voltaire, than for winning credit among those for whom it was designed: nor is there the slightest evidence to show, that the forged *vedam* had even the poor merit of being temporarily successful. A full account, by Mr. Ellis, of this extraordinary production of Jesuitical ingenuity, and one or two others of a similar nature, will be found in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xiv.

Was there, it may be asked, anything which these men held sacred? was there anything so holy that they feared to lay upon it a sacrilegious hand? Mingling light with darkness, confounding evil and good, loving falsehood rather than truth, would they dare to tamper with the word of the living God? Would they bring forward their own lying devices as the word of his inspired Apostles? "The History of Christ" in Persian will answer these questions.

This impious production was written by the Jesuit, Geronimo Xavier, the nephew of the great missionary, at the request of Akbar the Great, early in the 17th century, and, together with "The History of Peter" from the same mint, was printed at Leyden with the Elzevir types in 1639, accompanied by a literal Latin translation, and many learned and useful notes from the pen of Ludovicus de Dieu. The preface is as follows:—

"I, his servant, Jerome Xavier, a European of the Society of Jesus at the

command of him, who is the Emperor of the world, the bountiful Prince, the splendid of Soul, the Darius of his age, Jelaladin, the Akbar (greatest) of monarchs, whose kingdom and dominion may God perpetuate, have compiled this venerable book, the essence of beatitude, *from the holy Gospel and other books of the Prophets*, at Agra, the seat of the Khalifate: and my Master, Abdel Senarem Kasim, of Lahore, has translated it, by my consent, in the same Agra, the seat of the Khalifate," &c.

He commences (after a short introduction) with a legendary account of the nativity of the Virgin Mary and the miracles that preceded and followed it; of her wonderful bringing up in the temple, and of the vow she made there of perpetual virginity, which was the first that was ever made by a woman, and drew towards her the especial favour of God. He then relates how Joseph was designated as her husband by the miraculous flowering of his staff, and how they ever lived as brother and sister, for which reason, and not on account of his years, Joseph is always represented as an old man with a flowering staff. At p. 30, Mary's personal appearance is thus described:—"Mary was a girl of middle stature, of the fairest "brunette complexion, and of a small face. Her eyes were "large, and almost sky blue. She had golden hair. Her "hands and fingers were long; her figure beautiful and well "proportioned; her voice was pleasing; her looks modest and "graceful; her apparel poor but clean. Altogether there was "such a glory and majesty in her appearance, that the wicked "man who happened to look upon her was struck with astonish-"ment, and, retiring within himself, reformed and became a "new man."

But not content with introducing innumerable legends like these, upon the alleged authority of the gospels and prophets, he does not scruple to deal in the following manner with the scripture narrative itself. After relating how Gabriel came down from heaven with a numerous attendance of angels to announce to Mary the birth of Jesus; and, *how he left the others outside*, and went in alone to wait upon her, the narrative proceeds,—

"The Virgin was occupied with thoughts like these, when suddenly the angel Gabriel entered through the door in the form of a young man, of a fair countenance, in clean robes, and full of light and glory: *he fell upon his knees*, and, bending his eyes to the ground, devoutly saluted her and said, 'Peace be to thee, O thou full of grace: the Lord be with thee, thou blessed among women." The Virgin was astonished at what she saw and heard, and thought within herself what manner of salutation is this! This astonishment was not because she had seen and heard an angel, *for she had often seen angels before:* but because she saw the humility and submission which he had exhibited in that speech, and because she heard the words which he had addressed to her with such reverence."—(P. 34.)

"After several hours had passed, exactly at midnight, the holy Virgin falling on her knees, and bowing her head towards the ground, with her

hands joined before her breast, her eyes full of tears, and with the greatest submission and lowliness, said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it unto me according to thy word. *As soon as she had thus consented*, Gabriel, *with the utmost joy*, disappeared from before her."– (p. 40.)

At p. 73, we are informed, always on the same authority, that the people of Rome having resolved to adore Augustus Cæsar as a God, he, being averse to their wishes, called the Sibyl before him, and asked her, if there was on earth any being greater than himself. Upon which she showed him a golden circle round the sun, in the midst of which stood a virgin of exquisite beauty, with an infant in her arms; and, turning to him she said, That infant is greater than thee. On that day, Christ was born! A voice too was heard saying, "This is the altar of Heaven." And to put the matter beyond dispute, on the site of the very palace where this vision was seen, stands a church of the Franciscans, which to this day is called Santa Maria, the altar of Heaven (Ara Dei). Could the great Akbar doubt any longer?

Nor does this wretched man fear to tamper with the words of the blessed Redeemer—"And Christ said to Simon, Simon, "behold the devil hath desired to sift thee like wheat; but "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fail; and, "when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren. He "himself explained this saying, and *said*, Never shall the faith "of Peter fail, *who is my first successor*, and his work shall be "to strengthen others!"

But when we turn to the consummation on Calvary, to that mighty catastrophe on which hung the salvation of mankind, to the thrilling words of men inspired of God, sublime, pathetic, but solemn, pure, and majestic, and find that a man, with even the name of Christian, in the full flow of *that* narrative, can stop to tell us of his Longinus, and Veronica, and three folds of cloth with the printed face of the Saviour still to be found rotting at Rome, and Jaen, and Milan, and such like, the very garbage of superstition, who would not fling the book away with horror and loathing? Never could superstition appear more degrading to human nature: never did falsehood appear more odious in the holy presence of truth.

The history of Peter, with a groundwork of truth and scripture, contains a like congeries of legends and lies, rejected by the church of Rome as a body, and by all her most eminent writers, and, by a curious felicity in falsehood, not even correctly borrowed from the authors who report or invent them.

Such has been the course of the Jesuits in India. What it has been elsewhere, may be gathered from the Bull of Clement XIV., which suppressed them. Pope Pius VII. has alleged no other

reason for the restoration of the Society, than the drowning man for grasping at a straw, namely, the danger of refusing "to employ the vigorous and experienced rowers, who *volunteer* "their services, in order to break the waves of a sea which "threatens every moment shipwreck and death." Whether the Society has changed its nature, time will show; if not, the drowning man may yet find, that, in order to keep himself afloat, he has laid hold of the anchor.

A strange and melancholy chapter in the annals of the world are these same missions in India, and not tending, it must be confessed, to lessen the feeling of distrust, so universally inspired by the Society of Jesus, in spite of the zeal, learning, and splendid abilities of many of its members. We have striven to embody its leading incidents in a narrative, which, if not strictly and dispassionately historical, identifies itself with no sect, and contains nothing contrary to the spirit of Catholic Christianity. As common distinctions are lost sight of in the dread of impending danger, so party spirit is absorbed in the very magnitude of the evil. The only triumph is the triumph of Satan, and he never achieved a greater.

Of all the forms of devil-worship, Hinduism is the most gross, and the most cruel; and, as will always be found, the more palpable the darkness, the more stupid the ignorance of the worshippers, so, in exact proportion, the more dreadful are the austerities and tortures which that scoffing and malignant spirit imposes upon them. But it was the very masterpiece of Satanic cunning to bow beneath this rude and galling yoke, not ignorant heathens who knew no better, but enlightened European Christian missionaries, who deliberately descended from the high vantage ground, and surrendered their happiness, their birthright, their truth, their Christian principles to deceive and entrap the unwary, and to live like Hindu *Saniassis*, that is, like something between a beast and a man. We allow them to have been able men, well-born, and highly educated; men of undaunted courage, for during a century and a half they fought against all things, sacred and profane; models for all missionaries in zeal, in devotion to their work, in self-sacrifice, in acquaintance with the languages, manners, and habits of the people; and therefore it is impossible not to lament, and abhor, the accursed policy of which they were the willing victims, and which will render their names and their history, to all succeeding ages, beacons of ruin and disgrace. So will it ever be, when men leave God's ways to follow their own, and seek for other guidance than that Word, which God has given to be "a light unto our feet, and a lamp unto our path."

ART. IV.—1. *Rules and Regulations of the Honourable East India Company's Seminary at Addiscombe*, 1834.

2. *Ditto ditto*, 1844.

3. *The Military Annual, London*, 1844.

4. *Peregrine Pultuney: or Life in India*, 3 *vols.* 8*vo. London*, 1844.

AT the distance of about a mile from the pleasantly situated little town of Croydon, in snug retirement from the public road, and environed with green fields and magnificent arborage, stands Addiscombe House, formerly the residence of Charles Jenkinson, the first Earl of Liverpool, and now the property of the East India Company. Some of our elder readers may yet remember the aspect of the place in those ancient days, when Pitt and Dundas, and other kindred spirits, beneath that hospitable roof, forgot in conviviality the cares of state, and if cotemporary gossip be trustworthy, sometimes forgot themselves.* It was assuredly a pleasant spot; and the old house, a magnificent specimen of English brickwork, massive but not heavy to look upon, had something in it well calculated to attract the notice of the most careless and apathetic passer by. There was something respectable,—something national in the character of the building, and yet unpresuming withal. It was a place fit for the residence of an English statesman, and in those days deemed far in the country—a retired spot, remote from the bustle and noise of the great metropolis. Now that modern science has annihilated space, it seems but in the very suburbs of London.

The old brick building, formerly so much admired, stands as erst it stood, in all its original proportions; but it has been white-washed; and—still worse—encompassed with stacks of buildings of the most unsightly description that human malice could devise. The park has been cut up; but still there are clusters of noble trees, through which may be seen these forbidding heaps of masonry, with their rows of iron-barred windows, filling the stranger, who should find himself in their neighbourhood for the first time, during the lull of a vacation, with wondering curiosity to know with what possible object so many unsightly buildings have been huddled down in so fair a spot.

These excrescences are barracks; studies and store-rooms:

* More than one story illustrative of Addiscombe revels may be found in the *Rolliad*.

hospitals and other necessary appendages of a military academy —built with the strictest regard to economy and the most utter indifference to architectural display. The old house which has been converted into the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of the institution, seems to be ashamed of the disreputable company which has sprung up around it; and the fine old picturesque tree looks sadly out of place in a spot where utilitarianism has been carried almost to the extent of an outrage on civilization.

In these unseemly barracks and study-halls the flower of our Indian army have spent two years—and perhaps not the least happy ones—of their lives. In these barracks and study-halls, they have grown from boys into men. Hundreds of our readers will call to mind, with a daguerreotype fidelity, the white gates; the tall walnut and chestnut trees; the old house or "mansion," with its flights of steps and its decorous large-lettered inscription; the adjacent wilderness—a sacred grove accessible only to the privileged footsteps of the Addiscombe high priests, vulgarly called corporals—the sunken study court; the clock over the arcade (in those days, how we reckoned by half minutes—how extreme was our penalty-enforced military exactitude!); the rows of barracks with their iron-barred windows and dreary walls, desolate without and comfortless within; the well-weeded parade-ground, dreaded scene of extension motions; and the gymnastic ropes and bars; the heavy Java guns, on which we erst tried the strength of our stripling arms; the cadet-raised field-works; the hospital, whither we betook ourselves when overcome by too much pastry or too much study; the "Cold Stream," in which we laved our young limbs—all are conjured up visibly and at once by the sight of the word ADDISCOMBE; whilst the memory perhaps, wandering beyond the immediate precincts of the seminary, recalls many a pleasant walk to the Hills of Addington and many a name, dedicated to Friendship carved on their wild trees; or, peradventure, scenes less innocent and romantic—the reeking bowl of punch, in the pleasant parlour of the *Shirley Arms* where the "solitary luxury—the one friend" was even more enjoyable than the *suave scelus* of the steaming liquor; and young heart opened itself out to young heart in unrestrained delightful converse, checked too soon by the sad necessity of paying the reckoning and of running home, with a speed somewhat too provocative of a swimming head, to save the inevitable moment of the seven o'clock parade.

But in reminiscences such as these it is not permitted us to indulge, save to point a most serious moral. We enter upon

our present task as grave reviewers, desiring to avail ourselves of our own youthful experiences to examine, with the calm and searching eye of maturity, the code of laws framed for the institution, which is the military forcing house of the *élite* of the Indian army. We believe that these laws and their influences—not only temporary but abiding influences—upon a large number of our military officers, have seldom or never been considered, save in a light and indifferent spirit, coming lazily to a conclusion that they answer the purpose for which they were intended. The few members of the Court of Directors, who, twice in the year, rattle down to Addiscombe on a duty-trip, and present their venerable faces at the Christmas and Midsummer examinations, see a hundred and fifty smartly dressed active-looking youths, cheerful and seemingly healthy —for what will not the approach of the vacation effect?—go through, with great neatness and precision, a series of military evolutions; reply to a string of formidable mathematical questions, with the promptitude of a senior wrangler; and carry a front of fortification, on the system of Cormontagne, with the skill and address of a veteran general. Contented with seeing things in their best holiday robes, they think that both the military and scholastic discipline of the Institution cannot be improved. They know nothing of the system itself. Perhaps they consider the matter unimportant. We cannot bring ourselves to think it so; for we believe that it is mainly to the imperfect character of the disciplinary regulations of the Institution that many young men owe a departure from rectitude, during the season of their studentship, which impairs both their moral and physical health in a manner which in after life is the source of most poignant regret.

Let us watch the progress of the cadet from the day on which, trembling with nervous anxiety, he journeys down in the glass-coach or post-chaise, attended by his father, or uncle, or elder brother, from London to Addiscombe, there to undergo the dread ordeal of an examination, terrible from its very simplicity. See a fine, healthy boy, who has numbered some fourteen, fifteen, or it may be even eighteen summers, fresh from school, or, perhaps, from the training tutor's, eager for the initiatory experiences of a military life, and, perhaps, swelling with ambition to carry off the great prizes held up for competition. It is possible, we say, that the candidate is a round-cheeked, smooth-faced boy, gentle, modest, and uncontaminated; or a "tall, stout stripling of eighteen," six feet in his boots, with bushy whiskers, and the assurance of a practised man of the world. Gathered together in the hall of Addis-

combe House, on the morning of examination day—the first day of term—may be seen boys of all ages, from fourteen to eighteen, a period embracing an immense variety in character and appearance, a variety suggestive of doubts which we shall briefly notice as we proceed. But first let us make a little use of the work of fiction, the title of which we have given at the head of this article, as being the only work, at least within our knowledge, which attempts to introduce the reader to scenes of cadet life. We believe that the following description has the merit—the only one with which we at present concern ourselves—of fidelity :—

"It was the morning on which young gentlemen, who are candidates for admission into the Company's seminary, go thither to have their qualifications for that admission put to the test. Most of the young gentlemen were accompanied by their parents or guardians; and felt themselves in as uncomfortable a position as they had ever experienced in their lives. A thing of this kind is nothing at all when it is over; but it is the waiting, and the suspense, and the delay, and the nervousness, that render it a wretched business at best. The extreme easiness of the examination is the worst feature in it, for one cannot help thinking what a disgrace it would be if one got plucked after all. It is nothing to be plucked in Chinese mathematics and Patagonian philosophy; but to fail in vulgar and decimal fractions and Cæsar's Commentaries, is no joke. Hanging would be a trifle in comparison.

Amongst the number of great coats congregated in the waiting-room, there was a Petersham of no ordinary pretensions to scientific construction—it was as well built an article as you would wish to see, and it covered as pretty a figure. It would be almost superfluous to inform the reader that the Petersham and the figure were Peregrine Pultuney's.

Perhaps of all the young gentlemen assembled upon this occasion, Peregrine Pultuney was the least embarrassed. It happened fortunately for him that he was rarely troubled with nervous misgivings, and being, as we have before stated, of a philosophic temperament, he always made the best of everything, and consoled himself with wonderful resolution under every dispensation of Providence. So it was, that in the present crisis of affairs, after having satisfied himself thoroughly as to the state of the empire, which he did by the assistance of a *Morning Chronicle*, extracted from the pocket of his Petersham, he began to amuse himself by inspecting the pictorial adornments that graced the walls of the waiting-room. This he did apparently with great complacency; for being the works of different gentlemen-cadets, who had passed out of the seminary, he began to wonder whether he should be able in process of time to daub as well. There was a view of Lows-water, by gentleman-cadet Simpkins, and of Windermere, by gentleman-cadet Smith, which showed very great execution, especially in the live-stock line, for the sheep were marvellously like rolling-stones, and the cows like sacks of potatoes—and the colouring was so ingenious that the hills, being purple and green and blue, reminded you of a shot-silk gown, which everybody must know is a very difficult thing to paint. And then there was the bay of Naples—all cobalt blue—with the boats picked out with a penknife, and the whole thing wonderfully like the paper on the walls of a cigar-divan; and there was a drawing of Milan Cathedral, done by a young gentleman, who not being able to paint without a ruler, a steel-pen, and a pair of compasses, was exceedingly successful in the architectural department, from which he never diverged—and

there were various other specimens of water-colour drawing, all in the same style of green and purple, and boats picked out with a penknife.

Having fully satisfied himself as to both the merits and the characteristics of the Addiscombe school of painting, Peregrine Pultuney, quitting the representative for the real, began to make sundry critical observations, within his own mind, on men and manners. There was abundant food for philosophical and physiognomical speculation within the walls of this waiting-room, and Peregrine Pultuney improved on the opportunity thus presented to him of increasing his knowledge of mankind. Thrusting his hands into the pocket of his Petersham, he leaned his back against the wall, crossed his legs, and looked around him.

There was a stupid-looking boy just before him, with a large mouth and a cadaverous countenance, who was standing not far from Peregrine, intent upon the pages of a brown-covered book, and every now and then looking up, with certain convulsive twitchings of the countenance, into the face of his father—an enlarged likeness of the same—to ask him "the English" of some word or other in the second book of Cæsar's Commentaries. There was a slim boy, too, with a remarkably stout parent, who was lecturing away in great style on the advantages resulting from steady behaviour and conformance with the rules of the institution; and Peregrine laughed within himself as he caught the words "public house," "cigar smoking," and "write to your mother." There was a pretty-looking effeminate boy sitting before the fire, with his elbows on his knees and his chin upon his fists, finding out shapes in the coals, and beside him was a great huge fellow with whiskers, who might have been father of the little boy, but who was nothing but an embryo cadet. Then there were two brothers, both going up, and wondering whether they would pass—and a stout short boy, in a blue cloak with a fur collar, who seemed to be pointing out Peregrine Pultuney to the especial observation of an old gentleman with a good-natured face, who was uncle to the stout boy, who had also a good-natured face; and Peregrine caught the words, "a good looking fellow—isn't he?" whereupon he smiled complacently, and set down the stout boy as a good judge of things in general.

Besides these, there were a great number of boys, with folio editions of themselves in great coats—"governors," uncles, and others—some tall and some short, some punchy and some wire-drawn; but there were two things in particular that struck Peregrine Pultuney when he contemplated his future companions, and the first was, that though some of these incipient cadets looked old enough to be captains, there were others who looked as though they would never be big enough for anything but drummer-boys—and the second was, that whether young or old—big or little—captains or drummer-boys, they all looked excessively uneasy; and Peregrine Pultuney did not know which most to wonder at—their inequality in size, or their equality in general wretchedness."

We stop here to make an observation on the subject of this "inequality in size," or rather the disparity of years of which this inequality is the visible type. Cadets are, as we have already intimated, admitted to the Addiscombe seminary between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. The latitude is too great. We would contract it. We know no similar institution which admits of such disparity in the age of initiation. At the Royal Military College, at Sandhurst, the age of admission ranges between *thirteen* and *fifteen;* at the Military

Academy, Woolwich, *fifteen* is the earliest, and *seventeen* the latest period of admission. At the latter of these, the severity of the initiatory examination is proportionate to the age of the cadet, each succeeding half-year raising the standard of qualification. Now we think that the question of limiting the age of admission to the Addiscombe seminary, is worthy of some consideration at the India House. It is undeniable that there is a vast difference between the feelings, habits, attainments, &c. of a boy of fourteen and a young man of eighteen. There is great disparity even in young people of the same age, one being a man in feeling and intelligence, whilst the other is still puerile in both; but between the ages of fourteen and twenty may range the extremes of childishness and manliness; and it must be obvious that the same disciplinary course cannot be suitable both to the child and the man. What to one may be an undue allowance of liberty, to another is a degrading bondage. We can see nothing to compensate for this. It does not often happen that the destiny of a youth is fixed after the age of sixteen; so that by contracting the span, little or nothing would be lost, either to patronage-seekers or patronage-bestowers, whilst not only from such contraction might result a better adaptation of the rules of the seminary to the requirements of the cadets; but the efficiency of the Indian services be considerably advanced. We would strongly recommend an assimilation to the Woolwich limits. No cadet should enter the seminary before fifteen, nor remain there after nineteen. The closer the affinity of age the better. If one boy can enter the seminary when four years younger than another, he can also enter the service with a four years' start of his cotemporary; and the objections to such inequality are manifest. Nothing is more disheartening to an officer than to find, immediately before him in his regiment, one or two, perhaps more, comrades, several years younger than himself, eternally blocking up the road to promotion, and perhaps entirely depriving him of every chance of attaining the highest prizes of the service. It is, moreover, galling to a man to be commanded by his junior in years, a contingency, which however frequent in the Queen's service, is in the Company's a strictly seniority service, sufficiently rare to be somewhat distressing.

We repeat that we see nothing to compensate for these disadvantages. There are many objections to the Addiscombe system of discipline, military and scholastic, which we shall endeavour to state, as we proceed, in detail; but this is a general objection, which cannot be too strenuously insisted

upon *in limine*, for it must render *any* system inefficient and inoperative for good. Regulations suitable for the restraint and coercion of a boy of fourteen are ill adapted to the more matured character of the young man of twenty; and it is unreasonable to look for the same outward decorum, and the same high principle, in the former as in the latter. An offence comparatively venial in a boy of fourteen may be discreditable, in a high degree, to the man of twenty; and a system which equally visits similar offences in all is, therefore, unjust in its equality, for the punishment is not proportionate to the offence. The difficulty, nay the impossibility of framing one general code suitable to all ages is so obvious, that no one will be surprised to learn that the present disciplinary system is a failure. It is defective at every point; it neither meets one extreme nor the other. Whilst it exacts an amount of military steadiness and decorum from the rough school-boy of fourteen, which it is unreasonable to look for in one so young, it imposes upon the full-grown youth, emerging from his teens, an amount of restraint and coercion, which is not only irksome, but degrading at that more advanced stage of life. The Woolwich limits are sufficiently extended, and we are strongly of opinion that an assimilation to them, in the Addiscombe system, would produce an excellent effect upon general discipline. It is obvious that without some such limitation, no code of regulations can be drawn up which shall not be totally unsuited to a considerable proportion of the cadets.

The dread examination over and the cadet "passed;" his name registered in the books; himself numbered; told off to a certain squad; to a certain mess, and a certain bed in the barracks assigned to him,* he begins soon to discover the character of the discipline to which he is subjected. He soon finds that the day is divided into very large proportions of study, and

* The new comers or probationary students are huddled into long rooms containing sixteen or eighteen beds, without any partitions between them. After the first term, the majority are fortunate enough to be removed into long rooms with partition-walls or bulkheads, between the beds; but, during the first term the mischief has been done. The cadets have almost without an exception abandoned the old-fashioned habit of saying their prayers. It is lamentable to see, one by one, even the most religiously educated youths, under the combined influence of ridicule, a sense of singularity, and the feeling of the impossibility of real devotion in the midst of noise and other interruptions, cease to bend a knee to their Creator. All this would be remedied if, on first joining the institution, the cadets were placed in dormitories similar to those which they occupy after the first or second term. It is during the *first* term that it is principally desirable that the cadet, who is placed among strangers in a novel and perhaps trying position, should have a corner, however straitened, into which he can retire for an hour of privacy. When this privilege is granted to him, it is less valuable. We know no reason why all the barracks should not be divided into partitions, unless it be that without the partitions the rooms will hold a few more beds.

very small proportions of recreation. He enters the seminary perhaps, at the commencement of the dreary month of February, and after toiling through the day at long studies, varied by brief intervals of drill, he finds himself emancipated for the first time from this thraldom at night-fall. He is roused at morning by the sound of the bugle; makes a hurried toilet but nevertheless a precise one, for a little fluff on his jacket will condemn him to the registered punishment of extra drill;* appears on parade, is marched into chapel, thence to study, thence after an hour and a half to breakfast; then comes drill; then study again for four long hours—from nine to one; then dinner; then halfan hour of recreation; then two more hours of study; then an hour of drill, and from five o'clock the cadet is permitted to amuse himself till seven; after which come two more hours of study; then chapel again—then *bed*. Now, looking at this appropriation of time, it is obvious in the first instance that the amount of labour and confinement thus imposed upon the cadet is calculated both to injure his health and to impair his faculties; but a more serious objection will have presented itself to the reader. Such a distribution of time is fatal to the morals of the cadets. We all know what, during many months of the year—from October to March inclusive—is an English evening between the hours of five and seven. During the most favourable months, these winter evenings are a dull twilight; during the remainder, they may be described as *thick night*. Now, is it easy to imagine anything worse than a regulation, which fixes those two hours as the only two consecutive hours of the day—nay, we may say the only hours of the day,† during which the cadet is left to himself to follow the bent of his own inclinations? We may spare ourselves the trouble of stating the manifest objections to such a system, for we find them already stated in the novel from which we have drawn a previous illustration:—

"Boys are notoriously very stupid animals, and we suppose that Peregrine

* Extra drills are almost the only punishments inflicted at Addiscombe—the duration of the infliction, varying from a single day to six weeks, being in proportion to the gravity of the offence. Every punishment is registered, and the drill list frequently consulted by the authorities. We may here remark that the first punishment should never be lightly inflicted. A cadet who has been once on the drill list is indifferent about appearing there again; but the honourable pride which he feels in the knowledge that his name appears above a virgin page in the punishment-book is more cogent to deter from irregularity of conduct than any fear of the simple discomfort of shouldering a musket in play hours. The "first fault" system should be liberally adopted; but it will appear, as we proceed in the text, that no pains are taken to induce the cadets to preserve their own self-respect.

† Besides this time in the evening, *half* an hour for recreation is allowed after breakfast and half an hour after dinner, during which the cadets, for the most part, saunter about the study court, or in winter crowd round the fire.

Pultuney must be classed in this category, for he was heard to say one dark night to Julian Jenks, "Surely we are driven into mischief; they coop us up all day, and let us loose for two hours of recreation, when it is pitch dark. It may be well enough in the summer-time, when we can play a good game at cricket, but what *can* youngsters like us do between five and seven on a winter evening, except get into mischief? We have had enough of reading in the daytime, and who ever sets out for a walk in the dark without some definite object. What wonder is it then, that we should stroll into a public-house and enjoy a comfortable bowl of punch, a good fire, and what is perhaps still better, an hour or two of privacy, which we cannot get within the walls of the institution, packed together as we are like so many dogs in a kennel? And if we do still worse, it is not a matter of much surprise, for we are sent to wander about for amusement, at an hour when darkness favours immorality of every description. Why do they not divide our hours better, and let us amuse ourselves in the full daylight?"

"Because," replied Julian Jenks, answering this last question, "it would very materially interfere with the professors' hours of dining."

"Be it so," said Peregrine Pultuney; "if it were light, I should go and play at foot-ball; as it is dark, I shall go and lush."

"Very good!" cried Julian Jenks, "come along, I'm your man," and the two gentlemen-cadets started off for the Shirley Arms.

They must have been two uncommonly stupid boys, to talk in such a manner as this; but nevertheless they were not thought so either by themselves or their companions. Let it not be thought that we advocate such opinions, for indeed we regard them with unmitigated horror, and see no reason in the world why young gentlemen from fifteen to twenty years of age should not employ themselves between the hours of five and seven on a winter evening, in reading "The Whole Duty of Man," or "Cœlebs in Search of a Wife;" or should they have a mechanical turn, they might employ themselves, very profitably, in making pincushions to take home to their sisters, or in default of them to their maiden aunts.

But at length Peregrine Pultuney, having spent all his pocket-money, to the great benefit of the excise—having smoked all his cigars, and been twice reported for playing at cards, was driven into such extremes, that after wavering, for some time, between suicide and poetry, he betook himself in despair to the latter."

We most earnestly desire to draw the attention of the Court of Directors, to the very important defect in the disciplinary system at Addiscombe, thus lightly touched upon in the above extract. It may seem a trivial matter, as it is thus set forth in the pages of an ephemeral fiction — but nothing which affects the moral welfare of a large number of immortal beings can be properly regarded as anything less than a matter of the very gravest importance. Apart from the personal interest, which so many members of the Anglo-Indian community must take in the eradication of an evil which exercises, or may some day exercise, so malign an influence over the characters of their own children, there is a common interest which must be felt by every member of the great Christian family whose sympathies are not of the narrowest, in aught that affects the welfare of the immortal souls of their brethren. Now we

merely state what we know to be an undeniable fact, when we say, that the Court of Directors, so long as they perpetuate a system of internal discipline at their military seminary, which keeps the cadet a prisoner during the sunny hours of the day, and emancipates him at night-fall, are responsible for a sad catalogue of grievous sins committed by the students, which, but for the vicious regulations in force at the institution, would not and could not be committed. Instead of rendering the hours of liberty assigned to the cadet a period devoted to healthful recreation, the Addiscombe code, during many months of the year, converts those hours into an interval for the encouragement of juvenile crime—an interval during which, under cover of the darkness, the youth of sixteen indulges in manly vices which enervate the body, and brutalise the mind—and all, that the professors may take their dinners at a more fashionable hour of the day. Drunkenness, and prostitution in its lowest and most filthy aspect, take the place of healthful and innocent relaxation—and the professors are not driven to the barbarism of eating their dinners at three o'clock.

We are far from thinking that the Court of Directors are indifferent to the moral welfare of the youths who enter their service; it rather appears to us that they are ignorant of the evil to which we have referred. We say this the more readily, because we understand that there has recently been some modification of another portion of the disciplinary code, which was well nigh as injurious to the morals of the cadet, as the dark-hour system which we so strenuously deprecate. Some years ago it was permitted to the cadets—once a week—from one o'clock on Saturday afternoon to eleven o'clock on Monday morning, to absent themselves from the Seminary. The privilege was freely granted to every cadet on the production by him of a note of invitation from some relative or friend in the neighbourhood (the neighbourhood including *London*) which was to be given in to the Lieutenant-Governor early on Saturday morning. At one o'clock, as the dinner parade was forming in the Study-Court, the names of the cadets, who had obtained leave, were read aloud by one of the grim squad of non-commissioned officers. Immediately, the emancipated youngsters fell out; proceeded to their barracks; threw off their uniform; brought forth their much-loved plain clothes, perhaps somewhat crumpled and creased by a few weeks' "snug lying," in a trunk or portmanteau of narrow dimensions; stowed away in a carpet-bag two or three changes of linen and a few appliances of the toilet; and in half an hour might be seen arrayed in mufti, in full march to Croydon to catch, if possible, the two o'clock stage; or failing in this,

to obtain a seat behind a chance Brighton coach. All this, at first sight, would appear to be harmless—nay, indeed desirable. That the cadet should thus be afforded an opportunity of occasionally joining the family circle—of enjoying the pleasures and relaxation of home, for a few hours, after many toiling days of severe study—of spending an innocent Sabbath* and attending divine worship with his own parents—would surely have been a good,—a sanatory provision; and, we doubt not, it was with some such intention that the privilege was accorded. But alas! for the optimism of the framers of the code, the privilege in an unfortunately large number of cases, was turned to the worst possible account. The young gentlemen, in many instances—we had nearly written *most*—cared but little about visiting their relatives. Liberty was the one thing desiderated by them; and liberty was but another name for licentiousness. To make his way up to London—to dine at a tavern or a restaurateur's (there was a favourite one kept by a Swiss, named Bertollini, at a house in St. Martin's street, famous as Sir Isaac Newton's, and subsequently inhabited by the Burney family) to eat salmon and lobster sauce, washed down with white Burgundy; to stroll from the restaurateur's to the cigar divan; thence to Drury Lane—

Not for the drama—but the ladies there—

and to wind up the evening, as may be guessed, so that the dawn of the Sabbath saw the young profligate slouching out of some haunt of vice—and the remainder of the day was spent in jaded idleness, equal only to soda-water and Sunday papers, at an hotel, or at a friend's lodgings—these were the substitutes which juvenile ingenuity soon found for the hum-drum visit to the father or the uncle. Nor in this brief sketch has the worst been declared. The first step, which was to prepare the way for all this, was generally a fraud—often a forgery. The privilege of absence from college-bounds for nearly two whole days was, as we have said, only to be purchased by the presentation of a note of invitation from some relative or friend. There was more than one way of getting over this difficulty. The least culpable, perhaps, was that of handing in a genuine

* And an innocent Sabbath at Addiscombe was something rare. On Sunday, a certain number of cadets were allowed, upon giving in their cards, to be absent from afternoon parade; so that, thus obtaining five or six hours of liberty at a time (a privilege unknown on week-days) they were enabled to proceed to more distant parts of the country—such as Sydenham, Bromley, Norwood, Streatham, &c., and indulge themselves without fear of detection or interruption. Detection, however, frequently came afterwards. Soon after their return to Addiscombe, there was an evening service in the Fortification Hall, which being very full, very confined (purposely, we believe), and very hot, seldom failed to bring to perfection the germs of intoxication.

invitation, which had been declined in answer to the relative or friend, who tendered it; the worst, and we fear the most common, was direct forgery. School-boy morality is not very high-toned; cadet morality is of a lower grade still. The principle appears to be somewhat the same as that contained in the venerable doctrine that "All's fair in war." Constituted authorities are considered as a common enemy; and a crime, which committed against another would be looked upon with loathing, committed against one of the said authorities is regarded rather as an achievement. The cool indifference with which the cadets were wont to forge the name of an uncle, or a grandfather—for themselves or for their friends—was something which appears strange and surprising to us now; but some twelve years ago, under the name of a *fudge*, a forgery was merely treated as a joke. It entered not into our hearts to conceive that there could be any moral or legal enormity in a *fudge*. To go up to London on a *fudge* was a common thing. If there was plenty of cash available, so much the better; if not, there was the pawnbroker. It was a common thing, on a Saturday morning, to hear a cadet, discussing with no little unction the coming visit to town, sum up his available resources in the statement that he had half-a-crown and a gold hunting watch. The half-crown paid his coach-hire to London; and the pawnbroker supplied the rest. It was a standing joke, too, to declare that one was going to visit one's uncle—a relative to whom few of the cadets failed to pay their respects in the course of the term. There was a favorite *avunculus* in the *Strand*, who was wont to ask youthful customers, on Saturday evenings, what was the state of the road to Croydon; and who was generally thought to advance an additional crown or so for his joke. All this was very bad. New comers thought it so; and wondered into what strange place they had been thrown; but the bloom of their finer moral sensibilities was soon wiped off; and the second or third term found them no whit behind their predecessors. The system was responsible for all this. Youths of seventeen and eighteen will indulge themselves, when they can; and if they have no money, but money's worth, to obtain indulgence, they will turn the latter into the former. A privilege so liable to abuse, ought not to have been granted, save under the severest restrictions. The Court of Directors, or the Addiscombe authorities, have become aware of this; and the privilege has been in some degree narrowed. Leave is still obtainable, under certain restrictions, but the fudge-system has been considerably obstructed by the greater vigilance now exercised. It is not, therefore, without hopefulness, that we call their attention to

the still more important defect—more important because it is in daily operation—in the Addiscombe disciplinary system, which we have pointed out in the preceding pages.

It must be added, too, that no great pains are taken at the Seminary to encourage the growth of more honourable feeling. Precept is not wanting; but example is more powerful than precept; and the academical authorities can scarcely expect to generate a high tone of sentiment in the breasts of the cadets, so long as they themselves, under cover of disciplinary necessities, violate all honourable feeling.* It used to be the fashion to exact from the cadets the decorous propriety of mature manhood, whilst they were being treated as children; but this, preposterous as it was, fell short of the criminal absurdity of pretending to foster honourable and manly feeling in the breasts of the cadets, whilst the college authorities were enforcing a system of underhand meanness, and dishonorable espionage, which could scarcely fail, whilst destroying confidence, to produce disingenuousness and deceit. Wile was met with wile. The cadets would have exhibited an example of superhuman virtue, if they had given, in return for mistrust and suspicion—for a secret and degrading spy system—the manly openness and chivalrous honour which ought to mark, in every stage, the military character. The feelings of the cadets were outraged; their chivalrous sentiments repelled, by the humiliating treatment to which they were subjected. More worthy treatment would have called forth more worthy conduct. The cadets were treated as though they were expected not to behave like gentlemen, and therefore they did not behave like gentlemen. There can be no more fatal error than that which destroys the self-respect of a young person. Now the Addiscombe system, from the first nervous morning on which the cadet enters the institution, to the final examination-day, at the close of which he shakes the dust of the study-court off his feet for ever, is one series of humiliations. At the present time, the expenses of Addiscombe education having been doubled within the last few years, the cadets, we believe, supply their own military uniform. Formerly this was supplied by the Court of Directors. A new suit was furnished by the Company's tailor every half-

* The military establishment consists of a lieutenant-governor (an officer in the Company's service of the rank of colonel or major-general) a staff-captain, who has the local rank of major; two orderly officers (captains or subalterns in the Company's office, on furlough, whose usual tenor of office is about three terms) and three or four non-commissioned officers. The orderly officers, it is proper to say, are not fairly chargeable with the errors to which we have referred in the text. Their duties are almost entirely parade duties; and they have no authority to meddle with the system in force.

year; so that the cadet had an old and a new suit, the latter being reserved for Sundays. This was all well enough; but as it necessarily happened that the cadets, passing out of the seminary at the end of a term, left behind them so many suits of clothes which had only done Sunday duty, and were therefore in a tolerable state of preservation; these suits, by the exceeding generosity of the Court of Directors, were made to descend to the cadets who entered the Seminary at the commencement of the following term; so that on the very first day of the tyro's enrolment his feelings were outraged—and at no period of life are we more sensitive than in the more advanced stages of boyhood—by an order to indue the old clothes of a bygone race of cadets. We may once more quote the fiction, from which we have already made an extract or two:—

"Peregrine Pultuney, with an expression of uncommon disgust on his handsome intelligent face, then took off his neat little black-silk neckcloth, and tried on an uncouth-looking leather stock, which was given him as a part of his kit. He was then told to suit himself to a pair of military boots, and great was Peregrine's dismay when he saw a heap of strange-looking ankle boots somewhat in the shape of coal-scuttles, and utterly unlike any thing that young gentleman had ever worn before. To try them on was impossible, for not having a boot-jack, how could he dispossess himself of his Wellingtons? so he took the least shapeless pair he could see, for form's sake, not having at the time the most remote idea of ever putting them on; having done which, he made himself master of a blue cap, with a polished leather top, ingeniously contrived so as to concentre the sun's rays on the apex of his head; and he next took two pair of thick leather gloves, very excellent for hedging and ditching. He had then got all his minor regimental appointments; and was looking out for Mr. Buckmaster or some other army tailor to measure him for a suit of tiger-boy livery, when one of the large men in the sergeant's uniform told him to go and try on some clothes. "Where—what clothes?" cried Peregrine, with astonishment depicted on his features.

"In the next room—I will show you—your military uniform to be sure."

Peregrine did not much like the idea of wearing ready-made clothes; but he followed the sergeant into the adjoining room, where a number of boys of all sizes, some in their shirt-sleeves, and some in their shirt-tails, were trying on coats and trousers, with every symptom of gratification. The sergeant pointed to some pigeon-hole places, where Peregrine saw divers suits of blue uniform turned up with red, and without partaking at all of the general satisfaction that animated his associates, he extracted one of the suits from its lurking-place, and instantly let it fall to the ground, as though a scorpion had stung him. "Why, these are old clothes!" exclaimed Peregrine, turning round to the grim sergeant, with an aspect of horror, as he spoke; "I could swear they've been worn before."

"No occasion for that, young gentleman," returned the sergeant, with a grin upon his face that was enough to make an angel long to knock him down; "we never suspected them of being new, sir; you'll get a new suit for Sundays."

"You don't mean," cried Peregrine," boiling over with indignation, "that I am to wear second-hand clothes! I would not put my footman into them," and Peregrine Pultuney felt very much inclined to ram them down the sergeant's throat with a sponge staff that he saw in the room.

"I've got nothing to do with it," said the grim sergeant, who, after all, being only one of the executive, was by no means to blame, "it's the rule of the institution, Mr. Pultuney."

We can vouch for the fidelity of this. It may seem a trivial matter; but as part of a system which has a direct tendency to destroy the self-respect of a youth, at the very outset of his military career, we look upon this inheritance of coats and trousers as a very objectionable affair. We believe that the cadets have now the privilege of paying some sixty guineas a year beyond the original amount, and of providing their own uniform;* but other evils, of the same degrading character, still continue to exist. The spy system is still in force. The non-commissioned officers attached to the establishment are employed not only as drill-sergeants on parade, but as spies off it. They have a keen scent of mischief, and whilst freely pocketing the hush-money of the cadets, are sufficiently unscrupulous, in other ways, to be very useful to their employers, who ought to be ashamed of using such agency. It is not only that the cadet is watched in his daily walks,—that his conversation in barracks is overheard, and eagerly treasured up,—that every physical manifestation, however deceitful, such as the sparkle of the eye, the flush of the cheek, the irregularity of the step, is eagerly looked for and duly reported, as presumptive evidence of indiscretion; but that letters are read, lockers opened, and other low tricks resorted to, to ascertain the doings, and sayings, and feelings of the cadet.† Is a youth likely to acquire an elevated tone of sentiment in such a school as this? We confess that when we reflect on the little pains that are taken to elevate and refine the moral feelings of the cadet, we find it impossible to feel any surprise at the contemplation of youths of sixteen

* Since the first edition of this number was published, we have learned that the same system is still in force, for although the cadets *pay* for their own uniform, the Company *provides* it.

† We have now forcibly in our recollection a remarkable instance of the little pains that were taken by the authorities even to keep up an appearance of honourable gentlemanly feeling. A cadet, who had recently joined the seminary, happened to be writing a letter to an old schoolfellow when the bugle was sounded for parade, and either not having time, or being too unsuspicious to lock his desk, he left it open; and one of the sergeants entering the barrack soon afterwards, inspected the contents of the writing-box, and read the half-finished letter. Like the majority of letters written by new comers, it contained some very strong remarks on the general profligacy of the cadets, and the institution, if we remember rightly, was spoken of as a "sink of iniquity." Such an opportunity as this was of course not neglected: the letter was carried to the Lieutenant-Governor, who improved the occasion by bringing the letter with him to the next general parade, reading it aloud, and making it the text of a formidable harangue. No apology was offered for the unwarrantable meanness of the act which had placed the letter in his hand, or for his own dishonourable behaviour in taking advantage of the dirty conduct of his subordinate. It is right to add, that this did not take place under the rule of the present Lieutenant-Governor, who, we believe, would discountenance any such such proceeding.

or eighteen forging their parent's name on Saturday, that on Sunday they may spend their time between the tavern and the brothel.

But great as are the opportunities of evil-doing which the brief recreation hours afford to the student, cadet-life is emphatically a life of study; and, perhaps, in no scholastic institution in the country is there so much enforced labour. Of voluntary labour, too, there is much. See the cadet, slate-in-hand,—what a mighty instrument is that slate!—what battles does it fight!—what victories does it achieve! You may see him, if he be one of the most earnest competitors—one of the most strenuous athletes in that great conflict, to be crowned as victor in which is a reward of life's permanency, to be felt and valued every day—ever with that dark slate before him, bending over it, and with well-pointed pencil shaping thereon figures and signs, cones and triangles, and parallelograms and algebraical strokes and crosses. In the study-hall, save when at the professor's desk, with eyes intently fixed on the pedagogue's countenance, his hand is ever moving over the smooth surface of the slate—the click of the pencil is ever audible; he may have acquired an ungraceful stoop, his cheeks may be pale, and his eyes bleared, but he will "get the Engineers." Whilst others are playing in the field—or wandering in the dark—or, peradventure, enjoying the moonlight, he may be seen in that narrow compartment of the long barrack-room assigned to him by the authorities, which in Addiscombe phraseology is called a kennel, still armed to the teeth with slate and pencil, and printed books, and perchance a small manuscript volume, the experience of elder students, a "key" to unlock the difficulties of tough insoluble questions (Addiscombicè, a "fudge")—ever, for ever there he is, striving, struggling, by day,—by night, dreaming of dancing geometrical figures, and rampant algebraical signs, and professors' reports and places in "general merit"—What of that? Happy youth! he is secure of his reward. He will "get the Engineers."

There is work enough, and too much, without this voluntary labour. The confinement during the bright sunny hours of the day is irksome and dispiriting; and it may be fairly questioned whether less would be learnt if the study-hours were reduced from nine to seven, especially as the greater part of these nine long hours is devoted to *Mathematics*. The cadets have a shorter word for it; they call it *swat*—a monosyllable which may puzzle the etymologists, but we believe it to be a corruption of the word *sweat*, and as signifying that a knowledge of mathematics is only to be acquired with much toil—with much sweat of the brow; a sufficiently expressive word, it

must be aeknowledged. Of this one study there is a vast preponderanee. The day is begun with mathematies and ended with mathematies; and if it were not for sueh oecasional lighter pursuits as plan-drawing and landseape-painting, though in small proportions, the amount of elose attention to the interesting works of Hutton and Cape would ere long become unendurable. Next in importance to mathematies—but, judging by the time devoted to it, *longo intervallo*—stands *fortification*, which some years ago was only another name for the drawing and eolouring of unintelligible plans, but which now, under the improved system of that able and exeellent man, Captain Hector Straith, really demands from the eadet some seientific knowledge of the subjeet. Hindustani ranks next to fortification; then follow military drawing, surveying, and eivil (or landseape) drawing; and French and Latin bring up the rear. To these last a very small portion of time is devoted—about four hours in the week.

Now all these different studies have a specifie value attaehed to them; and the rank of the cadet in his elass* is determined by his general profieieney—the respeetive values of eaeh study being added up to form the total, which represents this profieieney. Thus only a few terms sinee, *mathematics* and *fortification*, whieh oecupy the highest place, were valued aecording to the number of cadets in a class—say thirty or thirty-five: so that the profieiency of the best mathematieian was represented by 1, whilst that of the worst was represented by 35—the object, under such a system, necessarily being to aehieve the lowest average. But the other studies were not thus valued according to the number of students in the elass; but were represented by a fixed figure. Thus military drawing and surveying "counted," as it was ealled, *twelve*—civil drawing, *four*, &c.—so as to admit of a certain number of students aequiring the lowest number—the second batch, the figure *two*, &c. Thus in a class of some thirty cadets, the eight best draughtsmen would all obtain a *one* in eivil drawing—and with the other studies in like fashion—the number of the students being pretty equally, but not imperatively, divided by the number that the study "eounted." The aequirements of the student in eaeh particular branch being thus represented by a certain figure, the total was then

* The cadet enters the lowest or fifth class, and rises gradually without an effort, at the commencement of each term, as new comers press on behind, and convert the fifth into the fourth class, the fourth into the third, &c. But as there are five classes, and cadets belonging only to four terms, there is one honorary promotion, which takes place, according to the proficiency of the cadet in his first, second, third, or fourth term. The object, of course, is to be promoted as soon as possible from the fifth to the fourth class—as the cadets who are promoted first almost invariably obtain appointments in the Engineers.

ascertained, and the cadets ranked according to their general proficiency, which was tested by the lowness of the numerals opposite to their names. The position of each cadet in his class was ascertained, from the professor's reports, every month; and the general balance sheet was open to inspection. A unit more or less was a grave matter; for by these little numerals were determined the future nature of the cadet's career. They sent him to join the engineering corps; or the less lucrative, but scarcely less honourable, regiment of artillery; or drafted him into the line—and a figure more or less might in a score of years make all the difference between a superintending engineer and a captain of a company of sepoys.

Recently the system, which we have thus endeavoured to describe, has undergone some modification. Formerly, the students in each class competed only among themselves. Their position in their own class was not affected by the proficiency of the cadets in other classes. Now, it would appear that there is to some extent a general competition. Thus the number representing the study of mathematics is no longer bounded by the number of cadets in each class; but equals the number of cadets in the whole institution. Under this arrangement, a cadet in one of the junior classes, attaining a lower average, may rank, in "general merit," above a cadet in the first class. The figures representing the subordinate studies have also been raised, but not in a like ratio—thus Hindustani counts 60—civil drawing, 40—military drawing, 40—surveying, 40—Latin, 20, &c.; showing an elevation of those most necessary branches of military education—the art of using the pencil and the brush; but still giving a preponderance to the value of mathematics and fortification, which can rarely fail to be decisive. We do not quite know the object of a change, which seems so entirely to destroy the old system of integrity of classes, and internal competition—existing not only at Addiscombe; but at almost every scholastic institution in the world.

Its tendency, however, unquestionably is, or ought to be, to ensure the greater proficiency of the cadets, selected for the scientific corps, in every branch of education. Under the old system a cadet, utterly ignorant of Latin,* or wholly incompetent to paint the most simple water-colour landscape, might still attain a commission in the engineers, for neither of these studies "counted" more than *four*—a number which could scarcely neutralise the advantages of a *one* in *mathematics* and *fortification*. Not, however, that the cadet, thus advanced

* Neither Latin nor French, however, counted in determining the rank of the cadets selected for the scientific corps.

in *mathematics* and *fortification*, ever did count *four* in *Latin* or *civil drawing*, for the professors were marvellously considerate towards those who were thus advanced in the leading studies; and the first mathematician in the class was nearly sure to count *one* in Latin, though he might not be able to write a sentence of the language without a false concord; or *one* in civil drawing, though he could not wash in a sky without half-a-dozen "cut-shades." Indeed, we have known a professor, when making out his reports, particularly inquire into the positions of the different cadets in the mathematical class; and we have little doubt that something of the same system obtains at the present day, to the entire neutralisation of the objects contemplated in the reformed plan. If the new system of enumeration were fairly carried out by the professors in the strictest good faith, each separate study being regarded *per se*, and no respect being paid to persons, it would be a great improvement upon the old plan, because it would in some degree diminish the great preponderance of mathematics and fortification in the general balance; but we feel so certain that a leading mathematician, though incompetent to translate a line of Ovid, or to draw a chimney-pot, would never be counted *twenty* in *Latin*, or *forty* in *civil drawing*, that we are somewhat sceptical of the actual benefits which are to accrue from the change.

But nothing could be fairer in itself—nothing better adapted to answer the object in view—namely, the ascertainment of the general proficiency of all the students, and the selection for the scientific corps of the most proficient, than the system which we have described, if the proper relative value were attached to the different branches of study. But we confess that on this point we entertain some misgivings. Without undervaluing the importance of mathematical studies in every scheme of education, and their peculiar importance in military scientific education, we think that it may reasonably be doubted whether, in a course of study extending over no more than some eighteen months, mathematics are not, under the Addiscombe system, allowed to occupy an undue share of the student's time and attention. Much that is now learnt is, in after years, turned to no practical account, even by the Engineers. There should be a soul of practicality pervading the whole educational course; and the advancement of the cadet should not be tested so much by what he can do in the study-hall, as by what he can do in the field. A good deal more out-of-doors work than there is at present would be advantageous both to the mind and body of the cadet—more surveying—more sketching—more of the practical adaptation of mathematics to professional

purposes—more of the details of the laboratory school, and of the science of artillery. Efforts should be made to render the cadet more familiar with things themselves, than with the pictured representations of things. It is not enough to draw the plan of a gun. A boy may make a very pretty gun on a sheet of elephant paper. The wood may be very nicely grained, and the iron may be very neatly shaded; and the whole thing may appear, when finished, as pretty a little miniature gun, or howitzer, as one would ever wish to see in a model-room; but the cadet may carry his pretty picture with him to India in a tin case, and yet when he finds himself in a battery not know the trunnions from the breech of a gun. It is an excellent thing, unquestionably, to be able to draw a gun—or anything else; indeed, we consider the utility of drawing so great, that we would willingly see greater stress laid upon the acquirement in the Addiscombe educational course; but we do not know that much would be gained by taking more pains to teach the cadet how to copy, with the aid of the professor, a pretty landscape or an elaborate building, out of the portfolio of one of the Fieldings. Not much is gained by washing in huge masses of hill and lake and shrubbery on a capacious drawing-board—the work of producing one picture generally occupying a term. A cadet may, with a beautifully-executed copy before him, with a good deal of labour and a good deal of assistance, turn out a very pretty picture in the course of four or five months, but, when left to his own resources, be utterly incapable of sketching from nature the simplest object—still less a group of objects. We would fain see less in-doors, and more out-of-doors drawing. The elaborate neatness, which creates pretty pictures, is far less valuable than the readiness of apprehension, and rapidity of execution which constitute a good sketcher. The pictorial art is one which it is most desirable to encourage in such a country as this, where, during the greater part of the year, out-of-doors recreation is entirely denied to us weak exotics; and, therefore, we by no means underrate, in a general sense, the faculty of creating pretty pictures on paper or on canvass—a good gift, as it is, and one on the possession of which any man may fairly congratulate himself: but, writing only with reference to the requirements of military education, we can recognise the value of but one degree of art—that which enables the professor to employ his pencil in the field in such a manner as to transfer accurately to paper the features of the country, or of objects seen on its surface. There is an objection we know to the out-of-doors employment of the cadets. The young gentlemen are, unfortunately, when abroad in the fields, more prone

to play than to work. The survey squads, we well remember, which were occasionally sent forth with banner-rolls, and baskets of bread and cheese, to survey the Norwood hill or the Brighton road, were generally better disposed to take the measurement of the parlour of the *Rose and Crown* or the *Surrey Drovers*, than to mark out the water courses and trace the roads and sketch the slopes of the hills. But it would be easy to exercise a closer supervision over the cadets, by sending out a (gentleman) corporal or two, with each squad; or if that were found insufficient, one of the orderly officers might be instructed to accompany the survey, or sketching party. In the latter there would be less necessity for the squad to be broken up, and not the same facility of escaping work, as in the survey parties, where half a dozen cadets were employed upon the same piece of groud, whilst one did the whole work; took all the bearings; measured all the distances and sketched all the features; and his companions, making a joint stock of his property, transferred to their own skins the labours of the one workman. A professor, out of his narrow class-room, has, we know, little authority; but when the country becomes the class-room—when the huge trees are substituted for forms and the wide fields for tables, it would be easy to impose other control than that of the meek professor. The out-door classes should always be under military supervision; and under such supervision, the cadet, whilst he is acquiring much which will be of real practical and professional use to him in after life, would be laying up a good stock of health by imbibing the pure air and taking active exercise, instead of stooping from morning to night over a desk, in the heated atmosphere of a crowded school-room.

We have alluded to the employment, on such duties as these, of the orderly officers. It occurs to us that they might do much more—both to their own advantage and that of the institution—than make a sleepy appearance on parade, and administer extra drills. Might not they learn much; and might not something of a senior (commissioned) class be established at Addiscombe, resembling the "Senior Department" at Sandhurst? It appears to us that a limited number of officers on furlough might, with very great advantage, be permitted, under restrictions similar to those imposed at Sandhurst, to study under the able professors at Addiscombe; and to derive from proficiency in these adult studies, especial and acknowledged claim upon the patronage of the Indian Government. Upon their proficiency in drawing, surveying, field-engineering, &c., might be founded a just claim—which should be duly registered—to employment, on their return to India, in the survey department — the department

of public works, &c. How profitably might a furlough, now often wasted in strenuous idleness, thus be spent, both to the officer himself and the Government, which he serves! It is more than probable that the formation of such a class might also become a great benefit to the cadets of the institution.

But to return to the scholastic part of cadet life, there is another objection to the existing test of qualification—but one which it is not very easy to obviate. A question may fairly be raised, as to whether, under the present educational system, the highest appointments are ordinarily obtained by the young men of the highest intelligence. The trial would be a fair one if the start were fair—but the start never *is* fair. Whilst one youth enters the seminary, without any previous knowledge of the "course," which he is to run, another makes his appearance, thoroughly imbued—or, in more expressively colloquial language, *crammed*—with the whole mathematical course from Vulgar Fractions to Nautical Astronomy, and the whole fortification course from Vauban's first system to the sections of Sapping and Mining; he can bungle through a Hindustani fable and perhaps, after a manner, he can shade a sketch of the Addington hills into something resembling a heap of sand-bags, and manage the vertical touch so well, that the "features" of St. Sebastian or Peniscola shall not be taken for lawyers' wigs. His parents, or guardians—probably, because they have had some experience in the persons of other children or wards, or have derived the valuable knowledge from some relative or friend—or possibly, by reason of a certain natural canniness, which tells them that four years' study are better than two, when a great prize is to be competed for—have taken the precaution to educate him expressly for Addiscombe. There is more than one very tolerable forcing-house in the near neighbourhood of London, Edmonton, Mitcham, or Wimbledon. It is not the object to learn mathematics; but to learn a particular course of mathematics. It is not the object to learn fortification; but to learn a particular course of fortification. The Addiscombe text-books are, of course, diligently studied. The Addiscombe series of plans is, of course, diligently practised. The end is not to understand, but to do. Whether equations are to be worked out, or systems of fortification to be traced, rapidity of hand is the great thing to be attained. So many figures and so many signs on the slate—so many lines and so many curves on the drawing board. This is the real cramming system; and it must be successful—for the immense strides in advance, which are made at the outset of the cadet's career, cannot fail to bring him in among the winners at the goal. The lead once taken is rarely

or never lost. In the novel, which we have several times quoted, we find an illustration of this truth, which we believe to be not much exaggerated :—

"What service do you belong to ?"

"The military," replied Peregrine.

"Bad ; why not go out in the civil ?—be a soldier and starve."

"You must ask my father," said Peregrine Pultuney.

"Hadn't interest, ah ! What branch of the army ?" continued the old gentleman, who was somewhat oblivious.

Peregrine informed him that he was going out in the artillery, upon which Mr. Havethelacks asked him why he had not procured an engineer's appointment.

"Because I couldn't," said Peregrine Pultuney.

"Couldn't !—*wouldn't* I suppose ?—idle—you don't look stupid."

"I hope not, sir," remarked Peregrine.

"How came it then ?" asked the old gentleman.

"I'll tell you," returned Peregrine. "There was once a gentleman, who laid a wager with a friend, that he would train a pig to beat a race-horse in a race of a hundred yards. The match was made, and the gentleman began in good earnest to train his pig. He measured out the hundred yards, shut up the pig in a stye at one end, and placed its trough at the other end of the course. Day after day, the pig was kept on short commons, until a certain time of the evening, when the animal was let out of its stye, and off it scampered as fast as its legs could carry it to the trough, a hundred yards off. The other gentleman had not thought of training his race-horse, so when the day of trial came, the noble animal was beaten by the pig, who had scampered to the end of the course long before the race-horse could get into its speed. It's just the same, sir, at Addiscombe. The race is not always to the swift. A number of fellows go there crammed chock-full of mathematics, fortification, and the like ; others go there perhaps with double talents, but acquirements of a classical nature. The stupid youth who knows Hutton by heart, and has done all the plans in what is called the 'fortification course,' is sure to beat the greatest genius in the seminary who has been fagging at Latin and Greek all his life. He has not time to get into his full speed before the other boy has reached the goal. In two years more he would pass the crammed one, but as it is, he is dead beat ; and that, sir, I believe, is the only answer that I can give to your question."

"Very satisfactory too," replied the old civilian, smiling.

This is not greatly overstated ; and outwardly the comparison would seem to be sufficiently just—but we are inclined to think that, in some cases, the untrained racer might distance the trained pig ; but that he loses heart at the outset. He assumes, somewhat too hastily, the hopelessness of the conflict ; and gives it up in despair. There have been cases in which considerable ability united with indomitable energy and unflagging industry have availed to overcome the disadvantages of an entire want of preparatory tuition. But such cases are very rare ; and it may be added that success demands something besides the talent, the energy, the perseverance to which we have alluded. It demands an almost entire absence of those finer feelings of sensitiveness and delicacy, which are often strongest

in the season of ingenuous youth,—feelings which recoil from the thought of the jostling, the finesse, the strife and the trickery, which are inseparable from such eager competition as that which must necessarily obtain, where a great prize, to be enjoyed throughout life, is to be struggled after, and every competitor rises by the downfall of his neighbour. The strength of the shoulder, or the swiftness of the foot, sometimes determines the position of the cadet in his class; and the jostling of which we have spoken is often more than a metaphor. There are some who naturally shrink from such boisterous competition, and cannot bring themselves to display this eagerness to outstrip, at all risks, their contemporaries. Under such a system as this, the more energetic cadets are but too likely to hustle on in advance of their understandings, whilst they who know more, but have done less, are left a long way behind. There is too much stress laid upon proficiency in a particular course of study, instead of regarding the acquaintance of the cadet with the general principles of the science itself; too much routine,—too much of the go-cart work,—too much reliance on the diligence of the fingers. If the Professors could but bring themselves somewhat to unharness the students, we should probably see greater proficiency in their classes. It would be well to vary the regimen. An unvarying course of Cape or Hutton is not the best means of securing anything beyond readiness of execution. The knack of working equations with rapidity is of more value to a cadet, as matters stand, than the deepest philosophical insight into mathematical principles; and we have known many sound mathematical scholars capable of carrying on original investigations, left far behind by mere tricksters, who have been working out results whilst others have been studying the principles upon which the process has been founded. The student who contents himself with knowing what is, without troubling himself to consider why it is, will be sure to make rapid strides in advance of the philosophic inquirer. In such a race as this the competitor has no time to think.

And yet, with all these drawbacks, the result is anything but unsatisfactory. In another article we have stated our belief that the Engineer corps, as a regiment of officers, is equal, in respect of scientific attainments, to any corps in the world. But this acknowledgment in no degree militates against our opinion, that if a more deliberate system of education were pursued at Addiscombe,—if rapidity of execution were no longer considered the first thing, and the second thing, and third thing—the regiment, now so strong in scientific ability, would be still stronger. The experience of many of our readers must supply

examples of great success at Addiscombe, unattended, in after-life, by any commensurate attainment of distinction—examples showing that "the bountiful rich promise of youth" may sometimes lead to disappointment. Indeed, the most successful competitors for the great prizes not unfrequently fail altogether to distinguish themselves in after-life. A judicious cramming may carry a youth through his four terms at Addiscombe, and enable him to figure at the public examination at the end of it, as "first engineer,"—but having disgorged himself on this occasion, he soon begins to contract into his natural dimensions; and pursues, on the greater stage of life, his journey to the end, without rising once above the level.

Along the Addiscombe course, harnessed tight into the go-cart of routine, the cadets make their way striving and struggling, toiling and panting—cantering quietly along at a decent orderly pace, with sleek sides not turning a hair, sure of being neither among the first nor the last, but in a very respectable position—or lazily sauntering on to the end, contented with the places in the rear; perhaps, obstinately refusing to go, and showing vice at every turning. Somehow or other, they all make their way up to the great goal—the examination-day, and are turned adrift with commissions in one branch of the service or another. The routine system has been maintained inviolate up to the closing fortnight of the last term, when there is a show of a mathematical examination by the senior Professor—designed, it would seem, for the express purpose of testing the actual acquirements of the cadet. *out* of the Addiscombe course. Some half-dozen—perhaps more—of the senior cadets are permitted to take a part in this final conflict, and it is possible that some slight change in their relative positions may be the result. The questions proposed are questions of no very easy solution; they are questions not in the beaten course; and as no reference to books is permitted—as the cadet sits on a stool with nothing but his slate before him—there must be some knowledge of mathematics to enable him to pass the ordeal. It is a nervous season, this private examination—and much previous hard study does it involve. Often have we known a cadet leave his bed, at midnight; and lighting the forbidden candle with a lucifer match, and making a shutter of his blanket, toil through the short hours, in puzzling solution of tough mathematical questions—collections made from the result of former examinations—till day began to dawn upon the wearied eyes and confused brain of the young student. Happy the youth, if his manuscript volume of examination papers stood him in good stead. Often was it a kind friend in the hour of need. Often did the luck

of a young competitor, in having worked up, from one of these collections, the very questions proposed, do more for him than his ability—and often, if the very problem was not hit upon, light was let in upon the solution of one question by an acquaintance with the mode of unravelling the intricacies of another of the same family. There was much chance-work in it; and at best ingenuity, in such a trial, was a steadier friend than a less ready profundity of knowledge. The great thing is not to have this knowledge in your head; but to have it running off your fingers. Still, all things considered, the last private examination was in reality a trial of strength; and that over, the work was done. The public examinations, whether in rehearsal or before the audience, were mere spectacles, got up for show, with parrot-like recitations—and a pretty sight it was, undoubtedly. A busy, bustling morning is that of examination day—everybody excited, everybody happy; some are launching into life, all are turning their backs upon the seminary, for a season, or for all time. The cadet is in a whirl; the whole institution is in a whirl. There is the Chairman of the Court of Directors to be saluted; guns to be fired; parades to be formed; marchings into the examination-hall and marchings out of the examination-hall; marchings in review order, general salutes, gun and sword exercises, out of doors; and indoors surprising exhibitions of wisdom, already briefly described, distributions of prizes and commissions—the latter causing many a heart-quake, as the India House functionary rises with the important list in his hand—then an address from the Chairman of the East India Company, and the curtain falls. The young actors scurry off to their barracks; throw off their stage-dresses; array themselves once more in their plain clothes; scramble for seats on the stage-coaches, of which an extraordinary number are put on the road for the occasion; and in a couple of hours are entering the streets of London. Many a good dinner—ordered, perhaps, a week before hand and unctuously discussed in anticipation—is eaten on that evening, and many a carousal is there, reaching into the short hours, and ending not very decorously—parties of ten or twelve being formed to celebrate the joyful occasion. After these jollifications, old friends are parted, perhaps for ever. One joins one service; another, another service. One proceeds to one Presidency; another to another Presidency—Cadet-life is at an end.

In less than three months the majority of the passed cadets are on the wide ocean. The engineers alone remain. They proceed to Chatham to perfect themselves in engineering and —morality. Our subject is Addiscombe, and not Chatham,

else something might be written on the character of the arrangement under which these young men, newly emancipated from the severe restrictions of scholastic discipline, are sent to spend the first year of their manhood, in the filthiest sewer of pollution in the country—surrounded by the worst conceivable influences, the contagion of which it is almost impossible to escape. Something of this was dimly acknowledged, a few years ago, when the engineer cadets of one term were ordered to rejoin the Seminary—but on a different footing, as a hybrid class, half-officer and half-cadet. The thing was a failure; and no wonder. Not because the plan was impracticable in itself; but because nothing was done to render it practicable. We have briefly spoken of the advantages which might be derived from the establishment of a "Senior Department" at Addiscombe. Of such a Senior Department the passed engineer cadets might form the nucleus. We believe that under such a system they would learn quite as much of what it is desirable to learn, and much less of what it is desirable to leave unlearnt; and if the relative position of the young officers on joining their regiments in India were to be determined by their good conduct and attention to professional pursuits, during this year of initiation, there would in all probability be much more of good done and much more of evil undone, than under the system which turns youths of eighteen adrift, in the most profligate garrison town in England, with scarcely any inducement to steadiness of conduct or application to study.

But contenting ourselves with merely throwing out this suggestion, in a few general words, and having brought the cadet's career to a close, we should consistently bring our article also to a close, if it were not that we feel called upon to consider a question, in connexion with Addiscombe education, of great concernment to all who are likely to profit by the patronage of the Court of Directors—the question of educational charges. The East India Company's Service is the finest service in the world. In respect of pay and pension there is no service comparable with it. The retiring regulations are extremely liberal; and promotion, though slow, is sure. It is by comparing it with other military services that we learn to estimate its true value. But the Court of Directors though liberal in great things, are niggardly in small. Their generosity is not consistent generosity. Whilst in many—nay, in most instances, their munificence far exceeds that of the Crown, in some it falls far below it. In nothing is this more striking than in their management of the Addiscombe institution, and the recent attempts which have been made to

force it—whether successfully or not we do not know—to pay its own expenses. Within the last ten years the cost of a cadet's education at Addiscombe has been nearly doubled. In 1834, the rates were 65*l.* per annum, including military uniform and other incidental expenses. In 1844, the yearly charge is 100*l.*—exclusive of the cost of uniform, books, pocket money, library subscription, &c., which raise the entire amount to at least 125*l. per annum.* This expense falls equally on all—on the son of the rich merchant or lordly land-owner; and on the orphaned child of the poor pensioned widow, whose husband has been slain in battle. This is not creditable to the East India Company. At no similar institution do the charges press so heavily upon the children of those who have a claim upon the liberality of the Government which they have served. The royal colleges do not deal in this niggardly spirit with the children of British officers. At the Royal Military College at Sandhurst there are three different rates of payment, under which cadets are admitted. They are (we quote from the *Military Annual*),—

"*First Class.*—The sons of all officers in the army, under the rank of field officers, including surgeons and paymasters and the orphans of officers of whatever rank in the army, and of commanders and officers of rank superior thereto of the Royal Navy, who have died in the service, and are proved to have left families in pecuniary distress, to pay 40*l.* per annum.

"*Second Class.*—The sons of regimental field officers and captains under three years' rank and commanders of the navy, 50*l.* per annum.

"The sons of colonels and lieutenant-colonels, having corps, and of captains of the navy of three years' rank, 70*l.* per annum.

"The sons of all flag and general officers, 80*l.* per annum.

"*Third Class.*—The sons of private gentlemen and noblemen, 125*l.* per annum."

At the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich the admission regulations are equally—in some respects even more, liberal. The payments (we again quote from the *Military Annual*) are as follow:—

"Sons of noblemen and private gentlemen, not being officers of the army	£125	per annum.
Sons of admirals and generals with regiments	80	„
Sons of generals without regiments.....	70	„
Sons of captains and commanders of the navy and colonels and regimental field officers of the army	60	„

Sons of all officers of the army and navy under the above ranks ..... £40 per annum.
Sons of officers of the army who have died in the service and whose families are proved to be left in pecuniary distress..... 20 „

In the graduation of these scales of payment is evinced a grateful and a generous appreciation of the claims of those who have served their country. The title of the son to benefit by the services of the father—and that in proportion as those services have been scantily or liberally rewarded—is here fittingly recognized; but the East India Company, in other respects so liberal, evince no such recognition. Education at Addiscombe must be paid for at its fullest value, no matter who is the recipient of it. The child of the soldier's widow fares no better than the child of one who now connects himself for the first time with the East; the hundred pounds—often, we grieve to say it, the prohibitory hundred pounds, swelled by its lesser tributary streams of attendant expenses, must be paid into the Company's coffers; or the gates of Addiscombe are closed for ever against the applicant.

We address ourselves, on this point, earnestly, but respectfully, and with a due appreciation of the generally liberal treatment of their servants, to the able and conscientious men—many of them well known and respected in this country—who constitute the Board of Directors. There are some members of the body, we doubt not, who, if they will tax their memories, may call to mind an array of facts illustrative of all that we are now writing on the subject of the hardships to which Indian officers—and in a still greater degree their widows—are subjected by the very illiberal treatment they receive in this matter of Addiscombe appointments. Hard indeed is the struggle—and to this we shall presently recur—to wring, unless private interest be great, an appointment from the Court of Directors, and the appointment obtained, if it be an Addiscombe one, then comes a further struggle to retain it. There are few Indian officers below the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, whose means will admit of their doing much more than to provide an outfit and passage for their son. An officer—we will for the nonce suppose him to be a Major, but there are many Captains, whose children are old enough to hold commissions—who has borne the burthen of a family, during sixteen or eighteen years, commencing at the season of regimental subalternship, finds it difficult, just at this critical period, to muster the means of equipping his son; and if, just before the date at which this equipment becomes necessary, he is compelled to increase instead of to diminish his

expenditure, the case becomes almost hopeless. We do not wonder that the majority of Indian officers, in spite of the very great advantages of the Engineer corps, and the less striking but still unquestionable advantages of the Artillery, look upon an appointment *direct* as a more valuable gift than an appointment to Addiscombe; since from the value of the latter must be deducted the 250*l.*, which is the price of two years of Addiscombe education.

The case of the widows of deceased officers is still more pitiable—still more worthy of the benevolent consideration of the Court. The Company are especially bound to extend their liberality towards the widows and orphans of the men who have died in their service, in as much as those helpless ones are supported not by the masters, but by the comrades of their deceased husbands and parents. The widow draws her pension from the Military Fund—the child becomes a ward of the Orphan Society. The pension of a Major's widow is, under existing regulations, 205*l.* per annum; of a Captain's widow 136*l.*—the child's stipend is, at the highest rate, 45*l.* per annum. Now, should the unfortunate widow, by dint of family interest, obtain an Addiscombe appointment for her son, the high charges for education at the institution necessarily amount to a prohibitory tax. Since we commenced this paper, an illustrative case, of peculiar pertinency, has come under our notice. An officer, a captain in the Company's service, was murdered at Cabool, in the winter of 1841, when in attendance on the British Envoy. He died leaving a widow and a large family, who, after enduring all the horrors of the retreat and captivity, were at length, by the blessing of God, restored in safety to their country. The subsistence of this large family was derived from the two noble institutions which we have named above,—but there was the work of education to begin upon, and education is grievously expensive. In a little time, however, the lady received the offer, for one of her boys, of a nomination to Christ's Hospital, and a promise of a similar appointment for another son on attaining the prescribed age. Reluctant at first to accept these offers, she was subsequently induced to do so, by the gift of an Addiscombe cadetship, placed at her disposal by a near relative of the British Envoy, at whose side her husband was cut down; for it naturally occurred to her, that if she had the means of obtaining a sound gratuitous education for two of her children, the amount thus saved from the little joint-stock might in some measure help to make up the sum necessary to defray, in behalf of her first-born, the educational charges at the Company's Seminary. Now, if

she had been the widow of a Queen's instead of a Company's officer; and if instead of an appointment to Addiscombe, it had been her fortune to obtain for her son an appointment to Woolwich, she would have been called upon to disburse no more than the yearly sum of 20*l.* The annual cost of Addiscombe education was at the lowest 120*l.* This was to be paid somehow. Even the peculiar claims of this widow and this orphan could avail nothing towards a mitigation of this almost insupportable tax. It was only to be met in one way; and that one way we have described. But here a new difficulty presented itself. The acceptance of the charity of Christ's Hospital involved a forfeiture of the stipend payable from the funds of the Military Orphan Asylum—that institution being, under the existing system now in course of modification, strictly a charitable institution; and its rules enforcing a withdrawal of assistance from orphans receiving support from other sources. Thus was the liberality of the Queen—for VICTORIA herself was, we believe, the patron—rendered nugatory, and the maternal management of the poor widow defeated. It was, in every respect, a very hard case; but the source of all the evil lay in the severity of the Court of Directors, which demanded from this distressed widow the heaviest rates of payment to the uttermost farthing, just as though neither she nor her children had possessed the smallest claim upon the generosity of the Company. Generosity do we say?—upon the *justice* of the Company.

The Court of Directors have ever incurred much odium on account of the selfishness evinced in the distribution of their patronage. The patronage of this vast empire is regarded in no other light than as the perquisites of office, and each director considers the writerships, cadetships, &c., which fall to his share in the division of the year's spoil, as much his own property as are the cast-off clothes of the aristocrat the property of his valet—or the suet and dripping, and various culinary remnants, the property of the cook. They take service on a small salary because the perquisites are great; and out of these perquisites are they able to supply the wants of a troop of hungry relatives and dependents. This is natural—and, so long as the present system obtains, it were hard to say that it is highly censurable. It has been so before, and is so now. The present Directors have taken things as they found them; and if they have not made matters better, they have certainly made them no worse. But the system is a system of rottenness and corruption. The entire patronage of the country is parcelled out among individual members of the court, who are in no way responsible for its just distribution, and who, so long as they do not openly sell it, may do with it just what they will. Now we would willingly compound for the

open and legalised sale of a certain portion of the annual patronage, if we could feel assured that the remainder would be fairly distributed among the children of those who have rendered, in peace or in war, good service to the country—the country in which they have spent their days, and, perchance, sacrificed their lives. Commissions in the Queen's Service are openly sold; but a portion of the army patronage is set aside for gratuitous distribution, and though we do not assert that family interest is altogether powerless, we believe that there are few instances of gross jobbery, and that the undeniable claims of deserving old officers in straitened circumstances—still less, of the widows and orphans of such officers—are seldom wholly disregarded, when the generosity of the country is appealed to in behalf of the soldier's child. A broad distinction is ever drawn between such claims, and those of men who have no title, either on the score of service rendered to the state, or of straitened pecuniary circumstances, to the charity of Government; but the East India Company draw no such distinctions. They recognise no claims.* The difference between one applicant and another lies in the relative amount of interest possessed by each; and the motives which decide the question, are seldom other than private motives. The director disposes of his own share of writerships and cadetships after his own fashion; and there is no patronage belonging to the general body. Old officers, toiling and toiling, wearing their lives out in this country, look in vain for a crumb of the great patronage-loaf. Thousands of miles from the India House, what can they do but look and long? They cannot make interest with directors, like the danglers about Leadenhall-street—they cannot, by ceaseless importunity, extort cadetships, like some who haunt the passages of the India House. They sigh in vain for what is their due, and deeply feel the injustice of this utter disregard of their claims. We know nothing which would more strengthen the loyalty of the army towards their masters, than the appropriation of a large share of the patronage of the Court of Directors to the children of deserving officers—nothing which would more surely raise the character of the East India Company in the estimation of the world. It would be a worthy, a just, and as such a politic act. An opposite course may bring ruin. The Company will never be respected, let them rule in other respects as virtuously as they may, so long as the India House is regarded as the great hot-bed of nepotism. Let them look to this; or when they fall, never to rise again, it will be set down in the page of history, that it was patronage which gave the death-blow.

* Some recent facts have been brought to our notice, since the earlier editions of this number appeared, which would induce us, in some degree, to modify these assertions.—*Note to third edition.*

ART. V.—1. *Journal of a march from Delhi to Peshawur, and from thence to Cabool with the Mission of Colonel Wade, including Travels in the Punjab, a visit to the City of Lahore, and a Narrative of Operations in the Khybur Pass in* 1839, *by Lieut. W. Barr: post* 8*vo. cloth, with six illustrations. London,* 1844.

2. *Map of the Western Provinces of Hindustan; the Punjab, Rajpootanah, Scinde, Cabool, &c., cloth in a case. W. H. Allen and Co. London*, 1844.

WHEN the British Army under Lord Keane, accompanied by Shah Soojah, advanced on Cabool by the Shikarpoor route in the beginning of the year 1839, a diversion was made, by the Khybur, by a contingent from the Seikh army, and a detachment of British troops under Lieut. Colonel Wade, consisting of four companies of Sepoys and three Horse Artillery guns,—mustering altogether thirteen European officers and three hundred and eighty British Indian soldiers, with three thousand two hundred and seventy Lahore troops, chiefly Mussulman Irregulars, but including one Goorkha regiment. To these were added a few hundred Irregulars entertained for Prince Timoor, the eldest son of Shah Soojah, who accompanied the force—the total strength being under four thousand men.

Some Affghans gradually joined the force; but their numbers are not given; and although Kour Nou Nehal Singh, with the flower of the Seikh army under Generals Ventura, Lena Singh Majetia, and most of the principal Sirdars, were also present, no record is given of their having fired a shot: and as the Goorkha regiment mutinied and went off bodily, and the Nujeeb regiment, under (the so-called) Colonel Jacob Thomas (a son of the notable George Thomas) behaved little better, the brunt of the fighting that occurred fell on the small British Detachment and a party of Moultanecs under Captain Mackeson.

Every thing was done in those days in a hurry. Colonel Wade had been nearly a month on his road, when Lieut. Barr was ordered to follow with his guns to Peshawur, at which place he joined the force. He marched by way of Lahore; and in the volume named at the head of our article has given us his first impressions of a new and interesting country. As, however, the journal has lain idle, during the last three years, it is more than probable that it might have been considerably improved by an after revision and comparison with the experiences of other

travellers. Had it gone through some such process, many errors might have been avoided and many crudities erased.

The military operations, in which the Lieutenant took an active share, are described with much modesty, and some well-executed illustrative sketches adorn the volume. That of Ali Musjid sufficiently shows the strength of its position, but it might have been shown in even a more formidable light by bringing into the sketch the beetling precipice to the north of the Fort. Lieut. Barr seems to have made his sketch from the Jubokee pass, up which Sir George Pollock did not advance; the hill on the right of the picture with the tower on it, is the one on which the British troops under that distinguished General encamped on the memorable day which saw the Khybur forced in 1842. The General's tent stood close to that very tower; at least so our recollections run, and posterity may feel interested in the fact. Having served with them in the field, Lieut. Barr's notices of the Seikh troops, and especially of their artillery, are valuable; he does not, however, sufficiently estimate any branch, for though it is quite true that their guns and all appurtenances are very bad, we hold that the men, especially the artillery men, are as good as our own.

Our author marched from Delhi to Kurnal, half a dozen miles beyond which city he entered the protected Seikh states. The first place which he notes down in his journal is Azimabad—more generally known by the people as Telouree; but Lieut. Barr calls it *Azimghur*. It is a large town, famed in the annals of the last hundred years, as the scene of a great battle. It has been in many hands, and is now in as unpleasant a predicament as any corporation can desire; that is, it belongs, in equal shares, to the Patan Nawab of Koonjpoora and the Shamgurh Seikhs. Partnerships everywhere induce trials of temper; but it is not easy to conceive the contentions, between Seikh and Patan copartners, each, and particularly the stronger party, always desiring to cut the matter short by a stand-up fight. These feuds often involve the loss of crops to both parties, and between them, the cultivators and traders fare most wretchedly. Three miles further is Leelokheree, which is thus described:—

"We reached Leelokheree, which is about eleven miles from Kurnal, at half-past seven, and pitched our camp just beyond the extremity of the village, which is small and protected by a mud wall. Two or three lofty buildings stand in the centre of it, and are evidently intended as watch-towers whence a good look out may be kept."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, p. 11.)

On leaving Leelokheree it is observed—

"Circular towers, similar to those at Leelokheree, constructed either of brick or mud, overlooked the neighbouring district, and stood in the midst

of every collection of huts, which as far as I could observe was invariably enclosed by a mud wall; thereby plainly indicating that the protected Seikh states, which we had entered this morning, are, or have been, at no distant period, subjected to the nightly prowlings of predatory marauders."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, pp. 11 & 12.)

Lieutenant Barr may well say so; and had he gone down the Loodianah-road to Ferozepore, or through Khytul, he would have been still more convinced of the original propensities of the inhabitants of the protected Seikh states. Such towers used to protect every well in the country; the three at Leelokheree were probably built in opposition to each other by rival holders of the little town, or rather village. It is now singly held by an old lady, as her principality, though yielding less than a hundred pounds sterling a-year. It was the chief place of a circuit of a dozen or so villages, held in copartnery by different Seikh chiefs and parties, but now divided off into separate states. The neighbourhood is a very bad one, and we wonder much that Lieutenant Barr does not make a note of his having been robbed. He must have been so—but perhaps, out of delicacy, omitted the entry.

His next march was Thannesur, of which he might with advantage have said more. A more ingenious hand at book-making would have given us at least a chapter of the Mahabarut, and told how, like the fabled Kilkenny cats, the Karu and Pandū combatants devoured each other, leaving only twelve survivors from the lakhs on both sides. Barring fable, however, Thannesur has much to interest the traveller; a thousand years ago it was the capital of a Hindoo kingdom, and lying on the track of invasion, has been alternately held by Moguls, Patans, Belochees, and numerous mongrel Moslems, until it became a bone of contention between the Bhayekean (Khytul), Shamgurean, and other Seikhs. It is now half under the Company, and half under the rule of a Seikh lady. The beautiful tomb of the Moslem Saint is still desecrated by the presence of a Seikh Priest, who, to the horror of the true believers, reads his Grunth, apparently as composedly as if the Khalsa were in the undisputed ascendant, hardly disturbed by the flittings about him of the descendant of one of the old Moslem keepers of the tomb, who still urges his claim, and begs every Christian traveller to help the assertion of his rights, and the cleansing of the tomb from Seikh pollution.

The Great Tank, called Korchetre, is an object of interest, as attracting Hindoos from the furthest quarters of India; as is the holy Saraswati * (pronounced Sursooti), as fertilizing by its

* Saraswati was a daughter of Brahma.

overflowings a large tract of country, and being considered throughout its course as sacred as the Ganges. The great Tank, or rather Lake, is called Korchetre; the name, however, more properly applies to the whole country around Thannesur, as the word Koru-chetre denotes the field of Koru, the opponent of the Pandūs. With Thannesur nearly as the centre, the country around, in a radius of twenty miles, is holy ground, and every Ghat on the Saraswati, and nearly every Tank within that area, is a Teeruth, or place of pilgrimage. The tomb of Tej Bahadoor, and other sites, are not without interest, but being somewhat inclined to utilitarianism, we gave, on our visit, the preference to the new bridge, extracted out of the Ladwa Rajah by Mr. Clerk, before the old Badshahi Serai; and to the rising shops and bazars, and the improving cultivation around, over mere matters of romance and antiquity. From Thannesur our author moves to Shahabad, which we are told is a large city, "and possesses some good houses. Amongst the "most prominent are the residences of four rajahs, whose "domains overlook the whole of the town, and are so polished "with chunam, that from a distance they glitter like marble."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, p. 26.)

Now this is an error; there are three or four petty Sirdars, and their houses are spacious white ones, looking down on the town; but were it not for our present interference, we should probably have Mr. Thornton, in the next edition of his Gazetteer, telling us, on Mr. Barr's authority, of "the city of Shahabad, which is large, &c., and further contains no less than four rajahs."

We should call the place a town of 6,000 or 8,000 inhabitants; or rather a large village, and certainly not a city; and for the information of the unlearned we may state, that neither Lena Singh nor the Aloowala chief is a Rajah, as called by Lieutenant Barr. Who Rajah Dyan Singh, mentioned at page 275 as sitting beside Nou Nehal Sing at Peshawur, is, we cannot conceive; but, probably, the late notable Sirdar Ajeet Sing, "who had such a merry twinkle about his eyes," showing that men may laugh and stab. As to rajahs generally, let us further state that there are only four in the protected Seikh states, viz., the chiefs of Puttialee, Jheend, Ladwa, and Munimajra; and that there is not a single *Seikh* rajah in all the Punjaub, except the Maharajah himself. Another march brings the detachment to Ambala, and a wearisomely heavy stage it is. Fortunately it rained, or probably Lieutenant Barr would be sticking in the sand with his howitzers up to the present time. He managed to advance, owing to the rain, and therefore calls the road good. Had he met General

Court at Kurnal last year, the General would have told him a different story, when he expatiated upon the gross absurdity of the British Government in not having a passable road to their frontier. The General spoke feelingly, for he had just travelled with his family in a palankeen carriage, and stuck in the mud *when* it rained, and in the sand when *it did not.* Though he too has "a pleasant twinkle about his eyes," he was actually fierce on the subject of British roads; the badness of which we may conceive, when we remember that the General could not have been very nice, not having been accustomed to the best in the Punjab. The matter is a serious one: we have known even dawk travellers stopped in the rains for three days by the overflowing of the Markunda, the Gugur, &c. Colonel Lockett, then a political agent going up to Simla to the Governor-General on important business, twelve years ago, was thus detained at Shahabad for three days. But let Lieut. Barr speak for himself.

"*January* 31*st*.—At half-past four we left Shahabad, this morning, but had scarcely proceeded a mile when rain fell; gradually increasing in heaviness until we reached the town of Ambala sixteen miles distant, and then, down it poured in torrents. Fortunately, our march was over a very excellent road, along which cultivation extended its cheerful aspect on either side, with scarcely an exception. A young plantation of trees, many being covered with straw to protect them from the frost, lined the approach for two or three miles before we reached the city, and close to the gate by which we entered it, is a large pucka tank, in excellent repair, having a flight of ornamental steps leading to the clear and translucent water with which it filled. The bazar is some miles in extent, and composed of two streets at right angles with one another; most of the houses in it being of late construction."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, pp. 27 & 28.)

The trees are Mr. Clerk's, and the bazaar his and Captain Murray's, and does much credit to both; but it can hardly be said to be "some miles in extent," though regular, well built, and clean. We like accuracy, when distances, numbers, and spaces are given. It is better to leave them alone, unless they can be correctly stated.

We next take up our author at Lahore, where his detachment is welcomed by "the Governor," who is elsewhere called by Lieut. Barr "Noormahal." It would have much shocked the decorous Fakeer *Nooroodeen* to have, with all his gravity, been taken for "a light of the Haram." Colonel Bellasis* calls Nooroodeen, a sort of commissary-general and master of the ceremonies, and introducer of Europeans. He so officiated for him, and was the medium of introduction to the Maharajah, of Generals Ventura and Allard, and in this capacity he evidently visited Lieut. Barr, and not as Governor. Indeed, we are not

* See the Adventurer in the Punjab.

aware that there is one, unless in emergencies. Sirdar Uttur Singh Kalewala, an active person, was entrusted at one time with the office, and with the duty of patrolling the city during one period of the late excesses of the Seikh soldiery; but Nooroodeen is essentially a civil officer. He lays in powder, shot, and grain at Umritsur as well as at Lahore, and he effects repairs in the walls, &c., and holds sweet converse with all Europeans. Here is Lieut. Barr's description of the Fakeer:—

"In the afternoon, the Governor of Lahore, who reigns supreme here during the absence of the Maharajah, paid a visit of ceremony to the commanding officer, and, being a man of consequence, was received with marked attention. His approach being announced, we walked about twenty or thirty paces to meet him; and on his alighting from a palanquin, and salaaming, we bowed in return, shook hands and led him to our tent, where we deposited our worthy burden on a cane-bottomed chair, as no costly ottomans formed part of our camp equipage. He here presented Captain F. with a "ziafut" of 250 rupees; and after having enquired respectively concerning our healths, the conversation turned upon our march, the state of the Maharajah, and such like topics. Our visitor was a short, elderly, and rather plainly dressed man, with an intelligent and somewhat amiable cast of countenance; and as he was the perfect gentleman in his manner, we were altogether much pleased with him."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, pp. 74 & 75.)

This Nooroodeen is not only called Noormahal, but his brother Azeezoodeen, a man known all over the world, is thus described:—"The individual whose opinion perhaps has most "weight with Runject Singh, is the Fakeer Azeemutoodeen, "the physician, interpreter, and general transactor of his business."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, pp. 117 and 118.)

Passably correct, but for the name. Foreign and confidential secretary, as well as physician, would, however, have been more strictly accurate. This corruption of names, as in the case of the Fakeers and of Tej Singh, who is misnamed Tejee Singh; the Aloowala Sirdar, called the Aloowur Rajah, &c., is not to be commended, for it does not look well, and is not well, coming from an officer who could have reported so much more accurately.

While at Lahore, Lieut. Barr sees several of the European officers in the Seikh service, and appears to have given credence to some rather marvellous stories told by them. Talking of their pay being kept in arrears, he says, "the same system is pursued "towards the men, and Captain S. complained bitterly of the "state his corps was in consequence reduced to, many of his "soldiers being only able to afford a meal every third day, and "numbers being without shoes to appear in on parade. The latter he invariably passes into the rear rank, to be out of sight; "but he has not yet found a remedy to conceal the attenuated "forms of the others."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, p. 77.)

Pleasant fellows for fighting with, on two meals and a third of another per week! Letting alone the bare feet, which he should have put in the front, the report has balderdash written on its face. No soldiery in the world would permit itself to be so starved, and none less so than the Seikhs: they have been six, eight, and even twelve months in arrears; but they did not eat their daily meals the less regularly, whether it was the bunya or the husbandman who paid the penalty. Captain S. has managed to figure a good deal in print, and did not always talk wisely either to his Seikh soldiers or to his own countrymen. We have heard that in the dark days, after Shere Singh's accession, when the regiment of Captain Forde, a very good officer, treated him so cruelly that he shortly afterwards died at Peshawur, Captain S. proposing some measure to his own regiment, the men told him to hold his tongue; that they despised him too much to touch him; but that if he did not keep himself quiet, they would drown him in the fashion in which we are told that Gulliver extinguished the conflagration at Lilliput. A graphic sketch of the passage of a river is given by Lieut Barr, at page 121:—

"At the Ravie, we had a specimen of the manner in which a Punjabee ferry is conducted, and where any thing but order and regularity was observed. As soon as the artillery had finished with the boats, a regular scuffle ensued for them, and of course strength and might won the day; those who had gained possession of them retaining it by thrashing unmercifully any individual who attempted to enter the boat except of their own party. One little fellow I observed making dexterous use of a short stick, with which he belaboured the heads and legs of those who, being no acquaintances of his, endeavoured to secure a seat, and the gentler sex, I am ashamed to say, were treated in no better manner; for those who got on board (and many did) had, after receiving their portion of thumps with the rest, to tumble in head foremost, or were dragged in by the feet or hands which ever limb was nearest to their friends, who had previously obtained a footing. Children too were in danger of being crushed: and I understand it is not a rare occurrence for two parties to draw swords and have a regular set-to for the precedence; indeed, Foulkes mentioned that not long ago a man deliberately levelled his matchlock and shot another who had disputed his right to a passage."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, pp. 121 & 122.)

We can vouch for the accuracy of this sketch. We have seen two or three horses' legs broken in one such scramble, and never did we elsewhere see boats crammed with cattle as Seikhs cram them.

Little respect of persons is entertained by Seikhs under circumstances where, if a man misses a boat, he may be compelled to wait for hours for another. We were once much annoyed by a gay Goorchura of Rajah Golab Singh's taking a boat from our servants at the Jhelum; we coaxed

and we threatened; and we spoke of the Maharajah's perwanah in our possession; but the man only smiled. At last we insinuated that we were proceeding to visit Golab Singh, and would assuredly report his insolence; he immediately brought back the boat, and begged forgiveness. We wished to improve the impression we had made; and so, to alarm him, refused the boat which he now urged upon us. A fortnight afterwards, while sauntering through Rajah Golab Singh's camp, our friend put his head out of a little tent, and smiling, made us a salaam, as much as to say, "you have not reported me, I hope?" Golab Singh and Sawun Mull were then the only names bearing weight beyond the Jhelum, and Dhyan Singh's to the eastward of that river. Maharajah Sher Singh might have got a boat for himself; his purwanah could not effect it for us.

The defection of the Goorkhah regiment is detailed at pages 294 and 295; and at 222 it is stated, that the Nujeebs refused to move their camp at the order of their commanders. The same Goorkhas once obliged Runjeet Singh to take refuge in Gobinghur.

We had marked other extracts; but have already made so many, that we must conclude with another specimen of discipline, which, though very consonant with Scikh practice, is less to their discredit than would at first sight appear:—

"I was to fire on a cantonment of Dost Mahomed's soldiers, situated at the base of the hill on which Ali Musjid stands, but concealed from my view by a low intervening ridge sloping from the right. The Goorchuras were then to gallop forward, plunder the place, and retreat with the spoil behind our position. On emerging from the defile, preparatory to wheeling into action, we were received by a shower of bullets fired fortunately from too great a distance to cause any serious injury, though sufficiently close to be unpleasant and disagreeable; one hit me on the bridle arm."—(*Barr's Cabool and Punjab*, p. 330.)

"Nothing was now to be heard on all sides but the roar of musketry, momentarily drowned by the louder reports of a zumboor, a mortar, or a howitzer, the discharges from which were re-echoed from the narrow chasms of the pass. Meanwhile, I had explained Wade's commands to the Goorchuras' officers, who replied, 'that it was the custom of their troops, when once they made an advance, never to retreat; that they were quite willing to seize upon the cantonments if it was the Colonel's wish, but they would also retain possession of it or fall to a man."—p. 339.

If the reader will look at Lieutenant Barr's sketch given in the frontispiece, he may judge of the locality up which the horsemen were to charge; and will probably concur with us in the opinion that the Seikh commander only displayed a proper discretion. Had the order been obeyed, the enemy would have been up the sides of the hills in an instant, and the whole

retreat of the cavalry would have been fearfully harassed from the rear and both flanks.

Thus it is that troops are disgusted, and made to distrust and disobey their officers. The Seikh commander acted rightly, but he answered falsely; for it is notorious that the reverse of what he said is the favourite manœuvre of Seikh horsemen, and that *it is* the custom of their troops to advance and retreat, rally and return to the fight—and a most useful manœuvre it is, as well knew the great Frederick, who desired to have the men "that could run and rally."

We part from Lieut. Barr and his book with friendly feelings, not unmixed with regret, that an officer of such manifest accomplishments did not think it worth his while to bestir himself more effectually. Such, however, as is his volume, with all its errors, it gives us, in one small octavo, a more real picture of the Punjab than Masson's or Burnes' ponderous volumes. Those travellers evidently neglected to make notes on the spot, and concocted their lucubrations afterwards, setting down fancies for facts, and dealing largely in whims and theories. Lieut. Barr has fallen into the opposite error. His pages bear evidence of daily notation; and of having been little, if at all, revised for subsequent publication. His is a rough sketch, thrown off on the ground, generally true to nature, but bearing evidences of haste, and of the absence of after touches; theirs are elaborate pictures, worked up from very scanty materials.

Putting aside the little volume, which has afforded the staple of these introductory remarks, we may now proceed, in the belief that at the present time the subject is one of no little interest, to offer some observations of our own on the Seikh country and people. The Punjab (Punj-ab, five waters in Persian) is literally the country contained between the rivers Sinde or Indus, Jelum or Hydaspes, Chenab (Acesines) Ravie (Hydraotes) Beah (Hyphasis), by some called Beas, and the Sutlej, called after its junction with the Beas, the Gharra;* all these rivers join a little above the town of Mithuncote, and contribute to swell the mighty Indus. These rivers, as elsewhere in the east, have religious associations attached to them, and though the inhabitants on their banks are now chiefly Mahomedans, they almost all spring from Hindoo converts; and we hear nearly as much of Chouhans and Rhatores, of Jauts and Rajputs, on

* It will be seen that there are in reality *six*, and not *five* rivers. Mr. Thornton, in his very valuable, but not faultless, *Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India*, surmises that it is the Beah, of which, being the least important in respect of size, no account has been taken. We incline to think that it was more probably the Seinde, which has been omitted, as less entirely appertaining to the Punjab.

the Jhelum or the Sutlej, as in Rajpootana or in the Bhurtpoor territory. In fact, the Jauts of Bhurtpoor have emigrated from Moultan, and though some are now Seikhs, some Moslems, they readily acknowledge their common stock; on the other hand, the converted Mahommedans of the Rajput tribes have come from the opposite direction, from Delhi and Northern Rajputanah. We have often been amused at hearing the Wild Goojurs, Dogurs, (not the Jumboo Dogras, who are Hindoos), and Rangurs tell tales of their Chouhan and Rhatore ancestors; to this day there are many villages on the north-west frontier having Mahommedan and Hindoo families claiming kindred, sometimes even intermarrying, and at particular festivals eating together, though not at the same dish. It is well known that there are times and places when even Hindoos are reduced to reason as to food; that at Juggernath, the Pariar cannot pollute the Brahmin; and in our own person we have found that, near the source of the Ganges, a Christian may be permitted to drink from a Brahmin's lotah (vessel) without offence: so is it with the Seikhs, that at the Gooroo Matta, or Council of the Nation, all, howsoever sprung (and some of them were low enough), freely partook in common, dipping their hands in the same vessels.

We may not inappropriately here offer a detailed account of the characteristics of the Sutlej, as a specimen of the Punjabee rivers. Though they all vary, more or less, according to the soils and localities through which they run, they nevertheless have much in common. The Sinde, or main Indus, may be considered the most rapid, the Ravee the most tortuous, and the Sutlej the most shifting of the six rivers that bound and intersect the country.

Burnes, at page 183, vol. iii. of his Travels, tells us the Sutlej is "called Shittoodur, or the hundred rivers, by the natives, from the number of channels in which it divides itself." Burnes evidently owes his derivation to Rennell, or Abulfazel, and the geographer (Rennell) allows he took it from the latter, telling us, at p. 102 of his "Memoir of a Map," that "Ptolemy names the last river of the Punjab (going eastward) the Zaradrus; Pliny, the Hesudrus. Arrian has the name of Saranges among his Punjab rivers; and says that it joins the Hyphasis (or Beyah). The Ayin Aebaree (Aboolfazel) says that its ancient name was Shetooder, from whence we may easily trace Sutlege, or Suttuluz." Aboolfazel's words, as translated by Gladwin, page 107, vol. ii. are—"The Seteluj, formerly called Sheetooder, whose source is in the mountains of Ghahlore," meaning Kuhlore.

It is true, that immediately after rounding the Nainee Debee ridge, and emerging from the hills, the river becomes, and con-

tinues for a few miles above Roopur, a complete network of streams, but neither Rennell nor Aboolfazel gives the origin of the name; and as we know no language in which Shittooder means hundred rivers, we offer what we consider a more accurate derivation—considering Shittooder and Sutlej to be each corruptions of Satrudra, and all Indian rivers to be connected with Hindoo mythology, we would explain the words as *Sat*, holy, true, best; and *Rúdra*, a name of the god Síva; the compound making Satrudra.

The source of the Sutlej has never been visited. Moorcroft and Gerard have, of all travellers explored nearest its source; the former having fallen in with the river at about latitude 31° and longitude 80°40′, Thornton's Gazetteer, at page 258, vol. ii. quotes Lloyd and Gerard as follows: "The most remote source of the "Sutlej is said by my informants to be at a place named Chomik "Tongdol, where a small stream gushes out of the ground and "runs into Goongcoo Lake. This place must be very much "elevated, for, allowing a moderate fall for the river, it will come "out 19,000 or 20,000 feet more than Lake Man Sarowar, which "I think I have a pretty good data for estimating at 17,000 above "the sea."—(Page 258, vol. ii. *Thornton's Gazetteer.*)

There is so obvious an error in these numbers, that we wonder it escaped the observation of the corrector of the press. The words in the volume, misquoted by Mr. Thornton, are, "This "place must be very elevated, for allowing a moderate fall for "the river, it will come out 19,000 feet or 2,000 feet more than "Mansarowur, &c. &c." There is a little difference between this and Mr. Thornton's account of the passage.

Mr. Thornton, using Moorcroft, Herbert, Gerard, Hutton, and Rennell, goes on to say:—

"This spot is, in the map of the authors just quoted, placed in lat. 31° 5′, long. 81° 6′, and appears to be on the south side of the Kailas, or 'Peaked Mountain,' on the north of which the Indus is thought to have its source. From this point it takes its course to Rawan Hrad, or Goongeoo Lake, situate close to that of Manas Sarovara, and supposed by some to receive its waters. It subsequently issues from the north-western extremity of this lake, being there in the dry season thirty feet broad, and takes a north-westerly course of about one hundred and fifty miles, through a country of awful and even terrific sublimity, as far as Nako, in lat. 31° 50′, long. 78° 36′. Close to this it receives the river of Spiti from the north-west. Above the confluence, the Sutlej is seventy-five feet wide; its bed 8,600 feet above the level of the sea. Gerard observes, 'It is not easy to form an estimate of the water contained in the Sutlej, for although the breadth can be determined, yet within the mountains there is scarcely a possibility of sounding it, on account of its great rapidity.'—The depth at this spot must be very great, as the volume of water is considerable even eighty miles further up, where, at Ling, the river is too broad to admit of a rope-bridge, and is crossed by *one of iron chains*: the breadth thereabouts being one hundred and twenty yards; depth, at the

lowest season, one foot and a half; the rapidity seven or eight miles an hour; the impetus of the stream such as that it can be forded by yaks or Tartarian kine if the depth exceed two feet. The bed of the river, a short distance below this, in lat. 32° 38′, long. 70° 4′, is 10,792 feet above the sea. Here the river is by the natives called Langzhing Khampa, or the river of Langzhing; lower down, Muksong; then, Sanpoo; lower still, Zeung-tee; lower down, Sumeedrung; in Busehar, Sutoodra, or 'hundred-channelled,' whence the name Zadadrus and Hesudrus of the classical writers; lower down, it is generally called Sutlej, by which name it is also known up to its source."—(Vol. ii. p. 259.)

Here is a fair specimen of the growth of error—Rennell, page 83 (in our edition it is page 102), is given in the margin as authority for Sutoodra, or "hundred-channelled;" but the fact, as we have already shown is, that it is not Rennell, but Burnes who erroneously translates the word. The quotation above given from Thornton is very indistinct; we read the passage half a dozen times, before we could understand that the Sutlej was not made to run up from 8,600 feet to 10,792.

Again, using Gerard as authority, Mr. Thornton observes,—

"Though the river is in the upper part of its course a raging torrent, falling in several places a hundred or a hundred and fifty feet per mile, with a clamorous noise, and displaying heaps of white foam, yet so severe is the climate, that for two hundred miles it is completely frozen for two months every winter. Where not fordable, it is crossed either by a Sango or wooden bridge; by a Jhoola or rope-bridge, which the traveller passes on a seat suspended by a loop made to slide along the rope, by means of a long string, pulled by men stationed on the further bank; or by means of a zuzum, or foot-bridge, formed of cables, stretched parallel to each other. These frail suspension-bridges frequently give way, and the passengers are dashed to pieces. There are also a *few chain bridges*. At the confluence of the Spiti and Sutlej, the bed of the river is 8,494 feet above the sea. The scene is described as awfully sublime."—(Vol. ii. p. 259.)

Gerard says that he "never saw any" chain bridges; but that there is "one over the Sutlej, near Thooling;" we know of only two on the western hills: one in Kamaon, over the Kali—another over the Jumna, beyond Mussoorie. Would that there were "a few" more. Continuing to condense Gerard and Moorcroft, and adding to them the authorities of Von Hugel and Vigne, it is stated:—

"From Rampoor to Bilaspoor, in lat. 31 21′, long. 76° 41′, its course is generally west-south-west. Forster, who crossed it here, describes it as a very rapid stream, about one hundred yards broad. Hence it holds a very tortuous course, but in general west-south-west to Rampoor, lat. 30° 58′, long. 76° 29′, where it makes its way through the low sandstone range of Jhejwan, and enters the plain of the Punjab. It is here thirty feet deep, and more than five hundred yards wide in its season of greatest fulness, and is crossed either in boats or boats of inflated buffalo-hides. As is the case with all the rivers descending from the Himalaya, it is far fullest in June, July, and August. At the ferry of Fulor, or Faloor, in lat. 31°, long. 75° 51′, it was

found, in the season when lowest, to be two hundred and fifty yards wide, seven feet deep, and moderately rapid. Burnes, who crossed it here in August, when fullest, found it seven hundred yards wide, with a depth, where greatest, of eighteen feet, but on an average of only twelve. Up to this point it is navigable at all seasons for vessels of ten or twelve tons burthen. Its confluence with the Beas is a little above Hurekee, and in lat. 31° 11′, long 74° 54′."—(Vol. ii. p. 260.)

Throughout this last quotation we can say, from our own personal knowledge, that there is considerable inaccuracy; the fact being that shortly after leaving Bilaspoor, the river makes a sweep north-west, for nearly twenty miles, then runs south-west for nearly half that distance, and then returns south-eastward to Roopur, whence it flows nearly west to Loodianah, where it is so narrow, because there it divides itself into two branches—the smaller one under the cantonments being navigable for any boats during the rains. We have fathomed it in August and found seven feet of water. To the above full description we may add from our own notes, that there are many rapids in the river during its course through the hills; but the falls are not so steep as to prevent timber being floated down. The navigation is, however, difficult, and not unattended with danger, as the river, often filling up the entire channel between the rocky sides, affords no landing-place to the raftsmen who may have lost their footing on the timber floats. The speculation of wood-cutting would, however, be a profitable one.

We calculate the stream to average four and a half miles in the hills, and two in the plains during the cold weather; but when the snows begin to melt in the mountains the rate increases, until in the height of the rains, about July, the average is double, or more than double, the above. But the rises and falls of the river and strength of current are very arbitrary. It will often rise six feet in a single night. The passage across the Sutlej between Loodianah and Ferozepoor is usually made in a quarter of an hour; but we have been six hours effecting it backwards and forwards, owing to the strength of the stream: and the voyage from Roopur to Ferozepoor, usually occupying three to six days, we have known effected in twenty hours.

In the plains, the Sutlej runs through a line of country averaging six miles in breadth, and from twenty to a hundred feet lower than the general surrounding level. This tract is on the Sutlej, as almost on all Indian rivers, called the Khadir, as the high adjoining lands are called Bangur. Through any portion of this bed of six miles the river is liable to force a new channel, and every year it does more or less change its course. The Khadir is divided into two or more steps, formed by new depo-

sits: and while the progress of destruction along the high banks of the river is very perceptible, the new formations can often be noted from day to day.

The river begins to rise in April, and is sensibly increased in May, and towards July comes down in so full a stream as often to inundate the villages on the adjoining bank. The rise of the river (called Rez, literally *flowing*) is hailed on the Sutlej banks as a good fall of rain is elsewhere, and the ploughings on the high lands are more or less extensive, according to the distance that the first great flood of the season has extended. Much of the low (Khadir) lands are completely drowned; but the loss of a crop is compensated by their giving a fuller harvest in the cold season. Those lands only flooded to the depth of two or three feet are sown with rice. The general influence of these floods is beneficial, but occasionally not only are villages swept away, but large deposits of sand are left over what had been a rich soil.

The river water is seldom artificially raised for irrigation. When it is so raised, as in the Bahawulpoor territory, it is drawn up by Persian wheels worked by bullocks or camels—the machinery being placed over a kureez, or cut in the river bank.

The Sutlej, after rounding the Nainee Debee ridge (there the outer Himalaya), spreads as it passes the village of Anundpoor Makowal into many ("a hundred") streams, but again closes into one channel as it approaches the Sewalie range, and quite loses its mountain character five miles below Roopur, and from a blue deep stream rolling over large pebbles, and confined within narrow limits, it expands into a muddy river running through a low swampy country (the Khadir) and varying from an occasional deep channel to repeated shallow nullahs separated by large sand banks. Three miles above Hurekee it is joined by the Byas. The Sutlej is here in December about three hundred yards wide, and the Byas two hundred. The depths are much the same. The volume, therefore, of the former is the greater, though, on the authority of Macartney, it is stated by Thornton to be otherwise. The stream of the Byas is comparatively clear, and the waters of the two rivers do not mix for nearly a mile below the junction.

In December there are several tolerable fords between Roopur and Ferozepore, and by taking a zig-zag course, a good guide could take an army over at many places, but all are more or less dangerous for the passage of troops. There are from twenty to thirty recognised ghats between those places, and among them about two hundred flat-bottomed boats could be mustered. These boats are perfectly flat, with a high projecting

peak, and have sides not above a foot high. Not a nail is used in their construction, and they appear, and are really flimsy vessels; but are admirably adapted for passage boats, are easily entered and left by cattle, and although liable to be swamped, they cannot by any possibility be upset. Their maundage averages from 150 to 300 maunds, twenty-eight of which go to the ton.

The boats of the other Punjab rivers, and now freely used on the Sutlej, are the *Zorak*, *Nawuk*, and *Dondah*. All are nearly flat-bottomed; they are clumsy, but strong and safe boats; the *Zorak* is square built both fore and aft, and the breadth is the same from stem to stern. The *Zorak* is the boat of the lower Indus, and carries from 1,000 to 1,200 maunds. The *Nawuks* and *Dondahs* have pointed bows and sterns, and differ only in the latter having a higher stern raised like the bows of the Sutlej boats. The *Nawuk* and *Dondah* are boats of the Chenab and of the Sutlej about Mobarikpoor and Bahawulpoor; they seldom exceed 800 maunds in burthen. *Berie* is the generic term for boats on the Sutlej.

The river may be considered to rise from twelve to fifteen feet at Loodiana, to be lowest in March, highest in July; fluctuating, however, very much from season to season and month to month. The changes in the river's course are so rapid and frequent, that no ford can be considered permanently safe, and all, owing to their zig-zag shapes and to the frequency of quicksands, require expert guides.

The narrowness of the deep channels is the great impediment to navigation. Three large steamers, however, have been to Ferozepoor, and the largest of them (the *Comet*) to Macheewala, twenty miles above Loodiana; and there can be no doubt that boats built for the purpose could navigate throughout the year to Roopur.

Captain Baker, of the Engineers, some years ago, took lines of levels along the Sutlej between Roopur and Ferozepoor, and showed that it has a fall of two feet per mile, being double that of the Ganges; the stream is proportionably rapid, and in the rains cannot be less than five miles an hour at Loodiana. In the hills it runs at from four to ten miles in the hour, according to the season and locality. The average breadth of the stream between Roopur and Ferozepoor is in the rains a mile, in the cold weather two hundred and fifty yards.

The Sutlej is called by the people Nai, being the generic local word for *river;* from the junction with the Byas, it is called the Ghara, to where it meets the Chenab, a little above Ooneh, and the conjoined waters became the Punjnud, flowing

in a broader and deeper stream, and merging its name and waters in the Indus above Mithunkote.

The trade on the Sutlej was, three years ago, rapidly increasing; but the Affghan troubles and Seikh massacres have put many hindrances in the way of commerce. Traders found it more profitable to follow commissariat officers into the field: and boats that had been taken up for loads of wool or sugar to Gorabaree, for the Bombay market, were wanted for military bridges; but now that duties are light, and the river safe (it has not been otherwise above Sukkur for several years), let us urge on the Bombay mercantile community how much may be done by the first capitalists that enter the field.

Mr. Masson asserts, that the Indus has been always open; that trade wants no protection in Central Asia; and yet in more than one place (page 323, vol. i., and 187, vol. ii., for instance) he himself minutely narrates the circumstances of the plunder of Kafilahs and of individuals. Indeed, we are not sure that although he only spent a rupee and a half during a journey of three hundred and sixty miles, and therefore could not have travelled *en Prince*, that he was not more than once robbed. We are therefore confident that traders, and all travellers who have anything to lose, are in constant danger of either wholesale or petty plunder beyond the Indus, and even beyond the Sutlej, and, however difficult it is to meet such questions, that they may be met by firmness, temper, and perseverance. Five years ago, *all* boats on the Sutlej paid to the Lahore Government 500 rupees per voyage; now, the whole duty has been altogether lowered, and small boats, as is proper, only pay rateably with larger ones. Extortion too and forced rates are now seldom heard of. The same system might be established on the Upper Indus; but would a trader on that river be now safe until an arrangement is effected, or would he have been so at any time since the days of Alexander?

Much may be done by British influence within the sphere of its control. Already has a road been opened from Bahawulpoor to Delhi, re-opening a long closed channel; and, if a little help is given, the Marwaries and Nouriahs will soon bring their own boats to Bahawulpoor, and there unload for Delhi and its rich neighbourhood, while their vessels will ply direct from the sea to Roopur, within fifty miles of Simla. Indeed, we conceive that the produce of our own and of the Punjab hills might, even without the aid of steam, be made to reach Bombay in two months, and the return voyage in five months. A large steam-vessel has penetrated as far as Machewala, twenty miles above Loodiana, and within thirty of Roopur. The voyage

from Roopur to Ferozepoor, in a boat laden with merchandize, may be made in from four to seven days; from Ferozepoor to Gorabaree in from twenty-five to forty days; and thence to Bombay in, we believe, from three to ten days. Certainly two months is ample space to allow for the downward trip. In respect of winds and waves, the river is incomparably safer than the Ganges. On the latter we scarcely know an individual who has made two trips without having been wrecked in one.*

Insurances on the Sutlej have not been effected, owing to the exaggerated opinions afloat as to the unsettled state of the Punjab. When a man travels among lawless people, he must, of course, make up his mind to suffer inconveniences, and need not be surprised if he be robbed. We will not therefore absolutely say that the Sutlej is as safe as the Thames; but we will say, that we know of no instance of plunder above Sukker during the last ten years. Doubtless, there have been some; but we feel certain that the number will fall short of those on the Ganges or Jumna.

Some apprehensions were entertained relative to the state of the lower Indus, owing to the proceedings of the Belochees, last year (we lost our thousand rupees' worth, which we could ill spare); and when it is told that at Lahore throat-cutting is the favourite pastime, we naturally expect that on the border river the police cannot be very safe, but as yet at least it has not been otherwise; and were we Bombay merchants, we should not fancy a safer or a pleasanter speculation than that which we are now about to describe.

Let one—or, better still, two capitalists—having the command of 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.*, start from Bombay about the end of October with a cargo of sundries (American *notions*), half for the Native, half for the European market; the former including broad cloths, chiefly coarse cotton goods, hardware, and cutlery of all kinds; flint guns and pistols; powder, flints, glass ware (chiefly ornamental), toys, haberdashery of all kinds; strong liquors; bar and sheet iron; spices; two or three good strong buggys, and nic-nacs of various sorts.

For the European community, all sorts of mess stores, such as are indented for by regimental messes, including stationery; blue, red, and dark grey broad-cloths; hardware, saddlery, &c. &c.

* In our own second voyage we were cast ashore, lost our little all after our stout Budgerow had buffeted for two days with an October storm, and was the sole survivor of a fleet of sixty boats. On our next Ganges excursion we certainly should have experienced a like fate, had we not been in a large strong pinnace, in which leaving the rocky and dangerous coast of Dinapore, where we were at anchor, we put well out and ran into a snug berth up the river Soane. We shall not hastily make a fourth trip on the same troublous waters.

Let all the stores for Europeans and Natives be of good quality, and the liquors and provisions of the very best kind; and, above all, let the beer be excellent, or you have not a chance with the Bengalees.

Two or three days before reaching Hyderabad, Sukker, Ferozepoor, and Loodiana, send on an intelligent native agent gifted in many tongues in a row-boat with printed circulars, and your cargo-boats need not be detained a day at any station; and having disposed of all or most of your freight, you will have reached Roopur before the hot weather has set in—when having brought your own saddles, you will buy a couple of ponies, and finding a bungalow at Budya, and another at each stage a head, will easily reach Simla in three marches over a most beautiful country.

You can there enjoy as fine a climate as any in the world. If you are sick, get well; if well, get better. You may at least regain the use of your legs, which you had doubtless lost in your Bombay counting-house. You may play billiards, visit the reading room, and hear more scandal in a day than in the course of your travels you had ever before heard in a year. You may see babies' heads held under cold water spouts at Anandale; you may take part in pic-nics there, and even ride Sky Races in the same Elysium; but are you idle all this time? Not in the least. You will talk to Gerard, and to Pengree, to Erskine, and to (General) Tapp; and you will hear of wool, and of honey, of dyes, and of timbers; and if you are wise, you will slip out to Kotgurh; going down towards the Sutlej from Maharoo, and other points beyond it; and if you do not fancy the trip back by the bed of the river, you will at least see it at two or three different points; and doubtless you will open your eyes and wonder what those magnificent forests were meant for; and you will turn over in your mind that the tree you can cut for five rupees (the smaller are only one rupee), and take to the river below for ten or twenty, may sell at Bombay for three hundred. Within a month, you are back at Simla. You have made your contract, and bound down the rogue of a contractor, under heavy penalties, before Mr. Hodgson, the magistrate, to furnish you with five hundred timbers (of fixed girths) at Roopur by the 15th of October; you are doing a little yourself in other ways, and your servants are preparing and loading at Roopur, Loodianah, and Ferozepoor, your return cargo of pushmenahs, wool, sugar, borax, iron, lac, ginger, turmeric, dye woods, indigo, horns, and hides. You may even take grain with advantage to Sukker; but this the bazar merricks of the day will tell you. Beyond a doubt, everything you had brought up will, by the

middle of October, be sold off: you will yourself be a new man—perhaps a married one; and can have prepared very comfortable mat (lined with sirhee and cloth) cabins for your wife; and taking your timber rafts in tow, you move down the Sutlej in triumph, having done yourself much good (not the least in having got a wife), opened out the resources of a mighty river for your country, and with the pleasing certainty before you that your speculation will within fourteen months of your departure give you a return at Bombay of cent. per cent. But suppose it is only fifty per cent. how better could you have spent your time and money?

You might either buy or hire boats—the price is one rupee per maund burthen or five hundred rupees for a boat of as many maunds burthen—such a boat would require five men, at four rupees each per month, to navigate it, with a steersman at six rupees; a thousand maund boat would require eight or nine men. By good arrangements the boatmen while at Roopur need not be idle, but employed in aiding your agents in collecting cargo. To hire boats you would not get them at less than four annas per maund per month, but not atdouble or quadruple that sum if any demand should arise for boats on the river for military purposes.

We have gone somewhat more than we intended into detail on the matter of this interesting speculation, and our only wonder is that what is so plainly profitable should have been so long untried—we trust it will not long continue so.

What has been said concerning the Sutlej may in a general way be said of the other rivers of the Punjab, as to their capabilities; but, alas, to nothing else. Wood comes down the Byas, above which there are even finer forests than on the Sutlej; but except as ferries, and in carrying Rajah Golab Singh's salt on the Jhelum, and in removing grain from one point of a large revenue farmer's district to another, we scarcely know of any use that boats are at present made of in the Punjab? Such of the Umritsur traders as get up Europe goods have agents at Ferozepoor, and some have got up large investments. We have seen a bill of lading direct from London in the hands of a Nouria agent at the Ferozepoor Ghat.

Four of the Doabs are called (says Major Browne) after the rivers between which they are situated; the Sindsagur being that between the Sinde or Indus and the Jhelum; the Jenhat or Chenat, that between the Jhelum and Chenab; the Retchna, between the Ravee and Chenab; the Bary between the Byas and the Ravee; the fifth and richest is called the Beit Jullunder; Burnes says from the town of Jullunder; but

the Doab was there before the town; and Major Browne, the oldest authority on the subject, in his map, spells the Doab as *Jalinder*, and the town as *Jeledur*, evidently not deriving one name from the other. This last is the smallest, but on the whole the best cultivated division of the country; it grows all grains and large quanties of sugar cane. Between the Beas and Ravee again (the Bary Doab) to the north-east is beautiful cultivation; and it is inhabited by a hardy race of Jauts, the stock from which the Manjah Seikhs sprung (this being the Manjah). As the traveller approaches Lahore, cultivation ceases and for miles north-east, south and south-west, except a little garden cultivation, there is little or no trace of the husbandman's hand. Indeed, it would almost appear as if purposely devastated; but no purposed plan was required where for fifty years has been a large standing camp of Seikhs whose foragers spreading across the country, even in the best and strongest days of Runjeet, carried with them desolation. This (the Bary) is the largest of all the Doabs except that of the Scinde. The Bary includes Moultan, which portion is tolerably well cultivated. The Ketchna and Jenhat Doabs grow good crops, but have extensive grass plains; the soil is light, but in many parts capable of producing any crops. The Sind is the largest, and at the same time the richest and the poorest of all the divisions; to the north and northern centre it is intersected by many ranges and ridges of hills, between which, however, are beautifully rich valleys; to the southward stretches the great desert to the bounds, one side of Moultan, on the other of Dera Ghazee Khan; southward again, towards Mithunkote, cultivation increases; but the chief produce of this Doab is from its salt mines, which are in lease to Rajah Golab Singh, who pays, we understand, twenty lakhs of rupees a year, and probably clears an equal sum himself. The principal mines are between Julalpoor and Pindadun Khan. We once descended one and a very picturesque sight it was. A shaft of a hundred or more feet took us into a gallery, whence, proceeding as far, we suddenly emerged into an arched hall of great height, and perhaps eighty or a hundred yards diameter; there we found the workmen by lamp light clearing great wedges of pure salt from the glittering wall; from day to day they carve their way, and when the roof appears dangerous, or water-springs become troublesome, the shaft is closed and another opened; the blocks are neatly cut into loads of a maund, carrying which the workmen safely toil their way up the steep ascent. On mules, bullocks, and camels it is then carried to Jhelum, Julalpoor and Pindadun Khan, or latterly we believe

only to the last place, and there sold at fixed prices to traders, or carried by Golab Singh's own servants to various markets for sale. It is a very pure salt; its monopoly is more closely guarded than that of the Company's salt, with whose sale it interferes on the Seikh border.

The Seinde Doab is a very strong country; south, as being a desert, without water; north, from its mountainous nature. We were never so much surprised as on one occasion, after crossing the Dunnee plains, to find ourselves entangled in ravines and ridges, not less formidable than those which obstruct the traveller to the west of the Indus.

The Derajat, or camps of Ghazee Khan and Ismael Khan, being the centre of productive districts, are beyond the Indus, as are Kohat and the Yusufzye country. The plains of all these the Seikhs occupy, as well as all Peshâwur. They send out detachments also, at fitting seasons, and make collections in Bunnoo Tank, and the other districts yielded by Shah Soojah; but if it were not for the honour of having the throats of a few of their troops annually cut, it would be as well to let alone such customers as the Vuzeerees and Kuttneks.

The northern hills of Kishtwar, Rajaore, Ramnugger, Chumba, and Jumboo, can hardly be called part of the Seikh empire. They pay nothing to it, or, rather, their present rulers prey on the Khalsa. Cashmere might pay fifty lakhs of rupees—has paid thirty; and now, we believe, pays eighteen. Its present Governor, as already observed, was placed there by Rajah Golab Singh, and we doubt not will be the last Seikh ruler of the country. We mean, of course, the last emissary from the Seikh government; for, as his name denotes, Seikh Golam Mohioodeen is a Mahommedan, and we have not a doubt will transfer Cashmere to Golab Singh, whenever the Rajah is prepared to hold it.

The eastern hills of Mundee, Kooloo, Sukeet, &c., have, as narrated, been lately brought under more direct rule, but whether as tribute, or let to farmers, the produce from them is trifling.

We have already shown, by a quotation, that though the Cis Sutlej possessions are estimated at twelve lakhs, not above four lakhs reach the Lahore treasury; and having now gone the circuit of the Lahore territory, we may estimate their total revenue at much what the province of Lahore is stated by Bernier to have yielded in the reign of Aurungzebe, viz., two hundred and forty-six lakhs of rupees, being somewhat less than two and a half millions of money. This is a curious coincidence, as the old province contained much that Lahore now does not, and

Lahore now enjoys many districts that were then beyond her bounds. In fact, in no part of the world have land-marks, the bounds of villages, purgunnahs and districts, been more entirely swept away than within the Seikh dominions; and it is even now difficult to trace in the Ayeen Akbery (Aboolfazel) any resemblance to the divisions of the country, though now often bearing the same names as of old.

Though two and a-half millions may be considered as the revenue of the country, one million at least goes to jaghердars, and other feudatories, so that not above one and a-half reaches the treasury. The rulers of the country, whether Mussulman or Seikh, have so long rack-rented it,—marauder after marauder has so long plundered it, and through the length and breadth of the land there has been so little motive for improvement, or rather for ordinary tillage, that the wonder is whence so much yearly treasure is derived, and no one can doubt that under a better system,—under one that established fixed rates, and enforced those rates against Tuhsildars and their myrmidons—the cultivation of the Punjab might in a twelvemonth be doubled.

Sir John Malcolm, in the year 1805, considered the Seikh country to have been that between 28° 40′ and 32° north latitude: if so, they must have then occupied much further to the south, and less to the northward than at present; and we believe that they did conquer, or at least plunder down to the very gates of Delhi. But now that country, including all dependencies, and the Seikh States under British protection, the latter occupying perhaps fifteen thousand square miles, mixed up, but generally lying south of the Cis-Sutlej, Lahore territory; that is all the Seikh chiefships. Malwa and Manjha are included within 30° and 34° 20′ north latitude, and 70° and 77° east longitude. This general statement takes in Peshawur, Cashmere, and all that part the Seikhs, on either side of the Sutlej, call or claim as their own; to the north-east their bounds do not quite reach 34° 20′, but S. W. at Mithunkote project south of 30°; the area, therefore, included between the parallels and meridians noted, will give a pretty fair idea of the space subject to the disciples of Nanuk and Govind; and will be found to equal half the area of Spain and Portugal.

The land throughout the Seikh territory is let out to farmers of one kind or another. Thus Rajah Golab Singh is renter of large districts between the Jhelum and Indus; Sooehet Singh was renter of Wuzeerabad; neither of them ever living on these lands, but employing their servants to collect the Government portion of a half or a third of the crop, according to circumstances—such

servants being ex-officio judge and magistrate, as well as collector; and invariably taking, in every case brought before them, a bribe from one or sometimes from both parties or as Prinsep observes a Shookuranu (thankoffering) from him who won; or a jurimana from him who lost. Sawun Mull manages Moultan in much the same manner—he pays his fixed quota at Lahore, and all else is left to himself.

The transit and town duties of the Lahore Government have long been under the same individual, who we sometimes see mentioned in the news-letters of the local press as a custom-house officer, but the fact is that Moor Rulla Ram is a man of great consequence; pays from twenty to thirty lakhs a year to the treasury: rules the ghats and ferries all over the country; and has relatives and dependants in various high offices under the government.

About Wuzeerabad and Jhelum, fine and hardy camels are procurable. The Dhunnee Horse, from between Julalpoor and Cuttack, is a blood animal capable of much endurance. The Seikh horsemen generally breed their own cattle, and often on the most distant expeditions have colts running at their heels. The Punjab mule is a hardy animal; they are chiefly to be procured about Moultan, where asses of a very large size are to be found. The majority of the Seikh Sowars are attended by a man of all work, who cooks for them, helps to groom their horses, and cuts grass, or corn, whichever may be handiest; and on the march sits perched on the top of his master's baggage, and horse-gear on an unfortunate mule, and keeps up at the rate of four or five miles an hour, being especially wide awake in the event of an enemy being on the flanks or in the rear, or plunder being in prospect ahead.

The Seikhs are admirable foragers, which is equivalent to saying that they are desperate plunderers—but even where they may happen to be restrained, or where no booty is to be obtained, it is astonishing how readily they adapt themselves to circumstances. We have seen a couple of British regiments sit for hours at a place for want of wood to cook, where in the course of an hour as many Seikhs would have had their pots boiling. Being very scantily supplied with carriage, the foot soldiers usually on a march carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of grain and clothes on their backs, or more usually on their heads. It does not, according to our notions, look very soldier-like to see long strings of soldiers on a line of march carrying burthens; but on occasions it has proved to themselves most useful—indeed has saved them from starvation.

The Seikh army at this time may be considered to amount to about seventy-six thousand men of all arms, being

Regular Infantry.....	35,000	
Irregular Infantry	10,000	The Irregular Horse
Regular Cavalry.....	4,000	might be doubled, and
Irregular of all classes ditto	25,000	the Irregular Infantry
Artillerymen	2,000	quadrupled in a few
		months.
Total	76,000	

In this we include Raja Heera Singh's Hill Troops, but not those of Raja Golab Singh, who has probably twenty or even thirty thousand men at command.

The Seikh Regular Infantry is composed of fine men, and in all respects we consider both Infantry and Cavalry to be equal to that of any native power in India—to be in no respect inferior to the Gwalior troops that fought at Maharajpoor. The Cavalry are in appearance inferior to the Infantry, and we consider are really so. Both have Hindustanis, Seikhs, and Punjab Mussulmans mixed up in the ranks—some regiments being formed chiefly of Seikhs, some having few of them.

The embodied Irregular Infantry are nearly as good as the Regulars—sometimes we consider, as observed of the Nujeebs and Ramgoles, superior; but with one or other their conduct depends mainly on their officers, and the majority of these are very bad—that is, they are ignorant persons mostly promoted for very different qualities than those which become the soldier.

The Irregular or Goorchura Horse is of various kinds. The strict Goorchura is the Seikh yeoman, often a man with a well or two of land in his village, or sometimes possessed of the whole village. He considers himself, in all respects, a gentleman, and has much of the feeling of a soldier. His horse is his own, and he can afford to feed it; he is therefore well mounted, follows the banner of some Sirdar, on the footing of a misuldar, tabidar or jaghirdar as explained elsewhere. If well handled, we doubt not that in the event of a war in which the Punjab Seikhs generally joined, fifteen or twenty thousand such horsemen could be added to the Cavalry now on the roll; and as many more of inferior sort—dependants of the above, or of Sirdars obliged to bring certain quotas into the field. These last are generally very inferior to the former. The men are often low Mahomedans, Rungreta Seikhs, and getting mere subsistence—often not more than a seer (two pounds) of flour for themselves and three seers of vetches for their horses, with fifty or at the utmost a hundred rupees a year, they cannot be expected

to be very efficient soldiers. The population of the Lahore territory, highland, and lowland, having long been accustomed to arms, the rulers have no difficulty in raising, on occasion, large bands of irregulars, whom they call Moolkeas, or Mookhyas. These men they arm with long matchlocks and swords, and though often disaffected, by putting them into positions where their own safety depends on their valour, their masters get good service out of them. Thus the Rajpoots of Kooloo and Mundee are sent to combat the Yusufzyes or Kyberees, while troublesome and refractory Seikh or Mahommedan tributaries are put to bridle the Kooloo and Mundee people. From all that are distrusted, hostages are required; or money security taken. Sooltan Mahommed and Peer Mahommed of Peshawur have always each a son or more at Lahore, and even the Khan of Mundote is occasionally requested to send his brother or attend himself at Durbar, although his unfortunate contingent, perhaps at the other end of the Yusufzye country at the time, are ample security for his fealty.

The Seikh artillery is very bad. The guns are almost worthless—the majority old and honey-combed, and the inner surfaces very uneven, from the practice of firing shot, which being prepared by the hammer and hand, are anything but round. The carriages are worse than the guns; they are made of unseasoned wood, and of all fashions, after the fancy of the carpenters attached to brigades. We have been told by an artilleryman engaged during the three days' cannonading at Lahore, previous to Sher Singh's capture of the citadel, that out of a hundred and fifty or more guns employed by the besiegers, not one in ten was in a serviceable state at the end of the three days' firing—the trail of one being broken, a wheel of another, and so forth. The harness is quite in keeping with the carriages; the gear of an Irish jaunting car gives the best notion of it; but, like such cars, it is astonishing to see how Seikh guns get over the road. When a gun breaks down, or the tackle gives way, the Seikh or Mussulman gunner is as ready and energetic as an Irishman. The carpenter who is at hand puts all to right for the time in a twinkling; or a piece of rope makes good the rotten thong; when away goes the team again; and at the next rut (and there are plenty of them) off goes a wheel and down comes the gun; again all hands are at work, not a man is idle; now they are right again, all ready, off at a gallop—and the column is overtaken.

From the above, it will be observed that we consider the Golundauzes proper fellows. Throughout India they are the best soldiers in the army; they have great esprit de corps; they idolize their guns; they do better, they deify them. The Punjabee gunners, always in difficulties, and having to trust to their own ingenuity and energy to get out of them, are real rough-

and-ready boys; nothing comes amiss to them, and with good materiel and good officers, they would be a most efficient artillery —but as to officers, it cannot be said that they have any. A Jemadar on a scale of pay a rupee or two above that of a Golundauze, is in charge of each gun; the man possibly was a very good gunner; but knows nothing whatever of the science of his business. Over every six, twelve, or twenty guns is a captain, a colonel, or a general, who perhaps never was an artilleryman at all until he reached the top of the tree. The artillery generals are certainly of this class, and few of any rank have any theoretical knowledge of gunnery. The best horses in the Punjab are given to the artillery, but as their horse-artillery ape our Bengal fashion of riding the off as well as near horses, their small cattle are borne down by the undue burthen imposed upon them.

The foot-artillery guns are partly drawn by horses, partly by bullocks; and the waggons of all are drawn by the latter, or often the ammunition is placed in boxes and laden on camels: the men, horse and foot, are of the same class, and are chiefly Mahommedans; but size and strength, not caste, is looked for in recruits throughout the Punjab service.

The powder is bad, and of unequal strength. Instead of having one manufactory, they prepare it all over the country. Sawun Mull is to-day ordered to send a hundred maunds of powder to the capital; the Kardar of Jhelum to-morrow; and Dr. Haningsburgh, at Lahore, gets a similar order, perhaps, on the third; all is delivered to the man of many duties, Faker Noorooden, the brother of Azeezoodeen, who does not know whether the powder is good or bad, and doubtless has cogent reasons for not prying too closely into the matter. We have seen cartridges, taken from the same pouch, some of the shot of which have ranged very well, whilst others have fallen almost at the feet of the Golundauzes.

Round shot is beaten by hammer and hand; grape and canister they prepare well enough; but their shells are made of copper, and they have little or no idea of fusees, or of howitzer and mortar practice.

There are few large guns in the country—perhaps fifty or sixty, chiefly at Lahore and Umritsur, of twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four pounders; and throughout the country possibly four hundred guns might be produced (exclusive of Rajah Golab Singh's). Many of these are four and three pounders, and the majority of not more than six-pounders; their weight of metal usually exceeds ours, and a four-pounder is often as heavy as our light sixes.

The Seikhs might bring a hundred and fifty pieces of kinds into the field; and, when in position, the guns would be well served—

better than we can conceive possible with such tools; and, doubtless, accustomed to their weapons and to their materials, the Seikh gunners would handle them better than could more scientific artillerymen.

They have also several hundred Purmeer men carrying long duck (like) guns, which they rest on the ground or on tripods; they also can bring into the field five hundred camel-swivels; which are fired while the camel is either standing or kneeling. We have seen an object of a foot square knocked over at the second shot with a swivel.

A word or two regarding officers. The bravest and best are gone,—General Court, and the other French officers, the Sindhawala Sirdars, Rae Kesree Singh, Rajah Soochet Singh, and others less known to fame. There are, therefore, few left but the men of the late revolutions. They may be good or bad; some are, doubtless, one, some the other; most will, however, fight for the rank they have so lately obtained. We have then the remnants of the old Sirdars, Futteh Singh Man; Utter Singh Kaliwaal, Tej Singh, Sham Singh Uttarewala, Chuttur Singh, Lena Singh Majetia, the Aloowala Sirdars, the Mumdote Khan, and some others, scarcely one of whom can be true to the Lahore Government, constituted as it is at present. For it is not a Seikh Government, but a Government of the Dogra Battalions in the Summun Boorj, supported by the regular troops, induced for the time to serve Heera Singh by the receipt of high pay, and frequent largesses; and above all by the consideration that no other man has yet arisen with ability, energy, and courage to rule the state. And they know full well that their existence as an army rests on the integrity and independence of the Punjab.

The first occasion on which, after his accession, Sher Singh was called on by the British Government to furnish troops, was when the families of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk and Zeman Shah passed through the Punjab to Cabool, in May and June, 1841. The Seikh escort, though commanded by a respectable but timid officer, Colonel Cheyt Singh, felt continually inclined to plunder their charge; and erroneously believing that with the Zenana was much treasure, probably might have done so, had they not found in Capt. (now Major) Broadfoot a strong spirit to cope withal. The Major was a bit of a diplomatist,—perhaps too much so,—though we are sure he was not aware of it; his politics, however, were of the sort that tell in the Punjab; and when, near the Jhelum or the Attok, he was not only threatened by his own escort, but his further passage impeded by another Seikh regiment or brigade, on the way to or from Peshawur. He parleyed with them, received and talked to their emissa-

ries (being a punchayut, or representatives, from the insurgents), and told them that he would oppose force to force. He had with him five or six hundred Goorkha recruits, and half a dozen excellent officers, the whole being the nucleus of that corps of Sappers and Miners, which, within the year, did such good service; and afterwards covered themselves, and their leaders, Broadfoot, Orr, and Cunningham, all Madras officers, with glory at Jullalabad, and during the operations of Gen. Pollock.

When Broadfoot found matters coming to extremity, he took his opportunity, and seized and confined the Punchayut. We do not mean that he took any unfair advantage over them, but believe that they were the captives of his spear. The boldness of the step, doubtless, astonished their constituents, and the kafila was allowed to reach Peshawur in safety; but it found General Avitabile in all the horrors of his military insurrection, and uncertain at the time whether to decimate his battalions, or himself to fly through the Khyber, and take refuge with the British in Affghanistan.

Towards the end of that year, when the insurrection broke out in Affghanistan, and British troops were required to be hastily sent up to Peshawur, the Durbar,—that is, the Maharajah and his minister,—offered every facility; but not so the underlings. It was clear to all, that few in the Punjab, besides Sher Singh, sympathised with the British; and when some Seikh battalions and brigades, and the Charyaree horse, were ordered up to co-operate with the British troops, every sort of excuse and delay, short of open refusal, was made. Indeed, we are not sure that further donatives had not to be applied to induce them to move. As it was, they advanced on Peshawur at the rate of four or five miles a day, abusing the Feringhees and declaring they would join the Affghans against them. The first brigade, which reached Peshawur, was that of Mahtab Singh Majetia, a young debauchee, who owed his rank of General to his being a boon companion of the new Maharajah. He had little influence over his troops, and what he had was misapplied: he and his four regiments sat down at Peshawur, and, when most wanted, failed in assisting Brigadier Wild in his attempt to relieve Jullalabad. The Charyaree Horse, always a troublesome set, wanted not Mahtab Singh's example to be as useless as he was. Twelve hundred Mussulman Jagirdar Horse, that had been employed in the Yosufzye country were also drawn to Peshawur, and with two Nujeeb battalions, and two Mussulman corps, the majority of the whole being of the faithful, formed what was called the Contingent, fixed by the tripartite treaty, to be at the service of Shah Soojah, if required. All these were placed under General Avitabile, and ordered by

the Maharajah to be especially at Brigadier Wild's service; but these very men had been employed under Capt. Wade in holding posts around Ali Musjid, after the capture of that place in the hot-weather of 1839, until Sir John Keane came down from Cabul in the ensuing cold weather.

In their stockaded positions, near the British post at Ali Musjid, the Nujeebs, as indeed did the English Sepoys, suffered severely from sickness. At a post within a mile of Ali Musjid, half the detachment of eight hundred men was ineffective, when the Khyburees made a sudden attack, and cut up several hundred,—doubtless, including many of the sick; for the routed party were driven pell-mell out of the Pass. The small garrison of Ali Musjid had not the means of helping them, further than with powder which they supplied them with; but a British detachment, being within sight of their overthrow, was a source of much bitterness. The whole duty of the Mussulman contingent at that time was tiresome and unpleasant, and their having received no reward for it, or commiseration for the massacre of their comrades, was stated to be the chief cause of their present shameful conduct towards Brigadier Wild. They had their grievances; what native state that boasts a hundred soldiers does not give them a thousand causes of discontent? Besides, the Nujeebs, Mussulmans, Ramgoles, and like corps in the Seikh service, are kept for dirty work; and, though containing as fine men, are not supposed to have as fine feelings as the regular Pultuns. Whatever may have been the cause, the four regiments behaved as ill as men could do—mutinying the very night previous to the attack on the Khybur; and, after thrashing their officers, marching off at midnight to Peshawur, and compelling Brigadier Wild to attempt the Pass unaided.

General Mahtab Singh's brigade was close by, and was asked to make a diversion; but he would not; and the Seikh troops then at Peshawur seemed generally to desire the destruction of the British. When, a few days afterwards, on two successive days, attacks were made by Brigadier Wild in order to cover the retreat of two of his regiments from Ali Musjid, General Avitabile's Ramgoles and some hundred of his personal retainers made a diversion in the Jubogee pass. These Ramgoles, under their commandant Doola Singh, are by no means bad troops; they for months did duty in the Khybur, after General Pollock's advance, and were the same who, on Sher Singh's murder, and on the distribution of largesses, not getting their share, marched *sans permission* to Lahore, and unfortunately for themselves arrived when Heera Singh happened to be rather strong, so were treated cavalierly, ordered to return, and were refused gratuity, or pay either, on which, after clamouring for a time, they went over

to Peshora and Kashmera Singh at Sealkote, fought well for them, and afterwards against superior numbers, when Utter Singh and Peshora Singh fell.*

General Court's brigade, to which he had very unwillingly returned, was now at Peshawur; and, shortly after General Pollock's arrival, some twenty thousand Seikh Regulars were assembled; but the several camps seemed more those of enemies than of friends. Their soldiery insulted our English officers, whenever they met them, and tried in every way to mislead and alarm the British Sepoys. General Pollock showed great tact and discretion; he remonstrated with Rajah Golab Singh, who had arrived as commander-in-chief; he took precautions to prevent the Seikhs coming into camp, as far as it could be done; and finally he induced them to move up the Jubogee Pass, while he forced the main, or Shadee-Bugiaree, entrance with the British troops.

General Avitabile always said that "the sight of the Khybur gave the Seikhs the cholera:" and now their fears were to have no salve, and they were required to fight for the hated and dreaded Feringees. It is therefore wonderful that they went at all; they had done all they could to intimidate the British, but now finding that the latter had fixed their day, and as it was not usual for them to do so and falter, the Seikhs expected an advance would be made without them, and their faces blackened before the Maharajah and before Hindostan. These motives worked within them; but, above all, they were induced by the timely arrival of Sirdar Boodh Singh, a favourite of Sher Singh, and afterwards killed by his side, who at Mr. Clerk's desire was sent up dawk, with positive orders. He must have brought a word or two likewise from the Warwick of the Punjab; for a sudden change came over his brother Rajah Golab Singh, on Boodh Singh's arrival. His fears, real or affected, for his own life from the Seikhs were thrown off. Orders were now not only given to advance the camps towards the Khybur, but the orders were acted on; and the whole plain of Peshawur was soon covered with baggage and straggling bands of horse and foot; and what surprised the British more than all was, that they were less insulted, less jeered at; English passers-by now, for the first time, got a salute or a civil speech, instead of gross abuse, or a "Well, are you come from Cabool?" or "That's not the road to Cabool," with varieties, all referring to the late disaster.

General Pollock gained his glorious victory, and the Khalsa came in for their meed of praise. They then occupied the pass up to

* We need not be so much surprised at "the Punjab of Lahore" figuring in London prints, when one of our local papers placarded poor Doola Singhs' corps of Ramgoles into "the Rebel Ramgoul, whose wife and family were ordered to be seized and imprisoned;"—a pretty capacious prison, forsooth, would have been required!

Ali Musjid, and very unwillingly kept it until the return of the British army in November. They despatched, too, the Mussulman contingent (the old recusants, now talked over by Golab Singh, instead of being flogged, or fusiladed into propriety) in June to Julalabad, where they behaved well, with the exception of, at an early day, evincing their displeasure at the Seikh General Golab Singh Povindea—one of the heroes of the attack on the citadel of Lahore—by burning his tent, and driving the poor old man in terror to General Pollock for refuge.

Five hundred of them, under Capt. Lawrence, accompanied General Pollock to Cabool, while the rest held positions at Neemla and Gundamuk, and altogether they were of more service to the British army than could have been expected. Their tone quite changed when through the Khybur, and they became as civil as they had been insolent. Of the five thousand, the majority were Mahommedans, with about a tenth of Seikhs and Hindoos, the former mostly from the British provinces.

We may here, not inappropriately, say a few words on the subject of the Akalies:—"The Ukalees, or worshippers of the eternal (Ukalu poorooshu)," says Mr. Ward, "under the double character of fanatic priests and private soldiers, have usurped the sole direction of all religious affairs at Umritusuru, and are consequently leading men in a council, which is held at that sacred place, and which deliberates under all the influence of religious enthusiasm. Agreeably to the historians of that nation, they were first founded by Gooroo Govinda, whose institutes, as it has been before stated, they most zealously defended against the innovations of the Voiragee Bunda. They wear blue chequered clothes, and bangles or bracelets of steel round their wrists, initiate converts, and have almost the sole direction of the religious ceremonies at Umritusuru, where they reside, and of which they deem themselves the defenders, and consequently never desire to quit it unless in cases of great extremity. This order of Seikhs have a place or Boonga on the bank of the sacred reservoir of Umritusuru, where they generally resort: they are individually possessed of property, though they affect poverty, and subsist upon charity; which, however, since their numbers have increased, they generally extort by accusing the principal chiefs of crimes, imposing fines upon them, and, in the event of their refusing to pay, preventing them from performing their ablutions, or going through any of their religious ceremonies, at Umritsuru."—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi.—This is now hardly correct. The Akalies (immortals,—deathless) have lost much of their influence since the cessation of Goroomatas; nor do we consider them now as priests, but as ruffian soldiers, who instead of being fixtures, are to be found all over the Punjab, indeed all over India. The Grun-

thees, or readers of the Grunth, and Poojarees, or priests, even at Umritsur, are not Akalies; and though they have a boonga, and a very handsome one, capped with gold, and still hold more influence there than elsewhere, it is because they are at that holy spot in greater numbers than at Lahore or other places. There are many boongas, all fine buildings, surrounding the Holy Tank; each missul has a boonga, and, if we recollect rightly, several chiefs have private ones.

We were slightly annoyed by the Akalies at Umritsur, but neither there, nor elsewhere, have we found them the desperadoes they are described. As Rajah Golab Singh would say, they mean no harm by their abuse, and we have often found that where four or five would come to our quarters and swagger a little, they could always be put into excellent humour by a little familiar conversation. Indeed, we can tell a story exemplifying this assertion. When General Pollock was at Peshawur, and all the Seikh soldiers were behaving as ill as they could, some Akalies visited ourselves. We gave them five rupees, and talked and joked to them; they boasted their prowess; we insinuated that the sight of the Khybur had frightened them, and that it had given the Khalsa army, as Avitabile used to say, "the Khybur cholera." They were indignant. "Well," was the reply, "I doubt not you are all heroes, and if you will only meet me at Ali Musjid, I will give you a zeafut" (literally, feast) of fifty rupees. "We'll do so," they answered. We doubted them much, but, laughing, called out to one, "I will call you Khybur Singh," and to another, "Ali Musjid Singh," and so on. They were much amused, and went away in high good humour; and, to our astonishment, we lost our rupees, for, when the time came, we were met with a shout by Ali Musjid Singh and Khybur Singh in the middle of the defile.

Another of our experiences was not so pleasant. We had made a very long march, and, coming up to our ground at Kurrukpoor, near Lahore, our tent not being pitched, got permission to go into a hut, and, lying on a charpae, were soon asleep, when we were summarily upset by the charpae being tilted over. Still half asleep, we arose, and found an Akalie standing over us, sword in hand. "There is your pistol," quoth he, very unceremoniously pushing to us a little double-barrelled one, which had been under our pillow; adding, "What business had you in our sanctified dwelling?" He was very insolent, and we were strongly tempted to fire; but we kept our temper, only warning him to keep his distance, lest he should have cause to repent his audacity. Kurrukpoor is chiefly inhabited by Mussulmans, and we had with us twenty Mussulman horsemen, who would have liked nothing better than to have belaboured him well; but as we found we had unintentionally intruded in his dwelling, we let him escape

after showing him how effectually we could have punished his insolence, and after the Thanadar of the place had offered to seize him.—We happened then to be in favour at Durbar, and could therefore have ensured the Akali being dealt with as we desired.

Almost every European officer of character has left the Punjab; but some few Eurasian and vagabond adventurers remain. The sketch of John Brown and Fyz Ally, as given by *Bellasis*, affords a good notion of what deserters from the Indian army have to expect in a Native service—at best a splendid slavery, but more generally a life of ignominy, and the death of a dog—cut down by a mutinous ruffian, or made away with by the man he served, if thought to know too much, or to be inclined to return to the colours he had deserted. There are said to be several Europeans at Jumboo and Ryasi, but we scarcely know with what truth; and Rajah Golab Singh is not likely to enlighten us, but much more so to verify his statement of none such being in existence by putting the wretches out of it. He is not the man to furnish guides to his fastnesses.

The conduct of the Sirdars and their numerous followers will, however, in case of British interference, depend on the hopes held out to themselves. If they are satisfied that they will be treated as have Pattiala and the other protected Seikhs, they may, for honour's sake—for the pride of the Khalsa—try one tilt with us; but they will be found quite ready to change their allegiance. But if such indulgence is not guaranteed, and they are not satisfied that we are honest in our intentions, we shall find the Seikhs a more formidable enemy than, in our self-complacency, we imagine them to be; and the campaign will be found only to have begun when their strongholds are taken; for they will return to their true tactics and *invaliding* their fat and their worn out leaders, they will, under bold and energetic chiefs, ravage the country, ours, probably, as well as their own; and at least give us a great deal of trouble.

The Seikhs* are separated into two great divisions; the followers of Nanuk or Nanukpootras (sons of Nanuk); and those who look only to Govind. The first, following the tenets of their founder, profess to be men of peace; the latter of war. The descendants of Nanuk are called Sodees, and those of Govind, Bedees. Both have large endowments throughout the Seikh States; and after all conquests it was usual to set aside a portion for the Church. The Soodees of Anundpoor Makowal, a few

* Captain (afterwards) Colonel Franklin tells us that Zabita Khan, the Patan chief, who figured so conspicuously in the Delhi territory between the year 1770 and 1780, "had embraced the tenets of this extraordinary sect." This we doubt; however he may have allied himself with them, as have many other Patan chiefs.

miles to the east of Roopur on the Sutlej, may be considered the spiritual leaders of the Seikhs, and the chief Gooroo is a man of wealth and consequence, endowed with many villages. He is called in, on occasions of births and deaths and the naming of children, by the Sirdars; but he and many other Gooroos are more in the position of the German bishops of the olden time, than of the peaceful Churchmen of the present. The Nanuk-pootras are the Seikh traders; and those descended from the Founder himself, have many privileges as such, not the least, that they only pay half duties. They consequently accompany caravans as agents, passing them through the Seikh States on half terms, and freeing them by their presence from undue exactions and vexatious detentions. They are the only wood merchants on the Byas and Sutlej; and throughout the Seikh dominions act the part that Syuds do in Affghanistan.

Nanuk was only a reformed Hindoo; his noble answer (recorded by Malcolm), in reply to the offended Mahommedan, who rebuked him for lying with his feet towards Mecca, "Turn them, if you can, in a direction where God is not," is a fair specimen of the man whose life was spent in doing good, and in teaching peace and unanimity to bigoted Moslems and senseless Hindoos. But, as observed in our historical sketch, the Seikhs were driven into disaffection, and the people who might, if gently dealt with, or altogether neglected by the authorities, have merged into one of the many purer divisions of Hindooism, were in their own defence impelled to arms, and acquired strength and courage in persecution, until they drove their Mahommedan tyrants from the land, and conquering towards Delhi, met the Mahrattas and then the British, whom like causes (the oppression and then the weakness of the Mahommedans) had brought from the south and south west.

If Nanuk was a man of peace, Govind was essentially a man of war. His injunctions to his followers are emblematic of his character. "It is right to slay a Mahommedan, wherever you meet him. If you meet a Hindu, *beat him* and plunder him, and divide his property among you. Employ your constant efforts to destroy the countries ruled by Mahommedans. If they oppose you, defeat and slay them."

And they did slay and conquer, and by turns were slain and conquered; and now that they have no foreign field on which to expend themselves, their arms are turned on one another. Indeed, this was very early their amusement, and it has often occurred that the two or more Sirdars holding a town or a fort, were at mortal feud; barricades divided the Muhulas (quarters) of each; and dropping shots during the day, or fierce rushes, one to over-

whelm the other, during the night, were of frequent occurrence.

The Seikhs originally conquered much in the fashion of the Mahrattas. They did not always at once subdue particular districts: but their cavalry swept the country at harvest; compounded for the crops; came, as opportunity offered, next year or in after years; repeated the game, and established what they considered a claim for Rakee, equivalent to the Mahratta chouth. Lands so visited became the recognised Shikargah (hunting-ground—considering men as games) of the misul or party that had originally entered, and interference with it was resented. In time, a part, or the whole of the hitherto ravaged lands, was formally occupied; the former proprietor (generally a rebellious servant of the Delhi throne, who had taken advantage of the troubles of the times to call himself Raja or Nawab, and withhold his revenue) was ousted, or permitted to retain a portion, large or small according to circumstances. Then arose the Seikh castle and the Seikh towers, opposed to the old ones, and at every crop-cutting a scene of dissension arose, worse in one sense than those already described; because it was now ended by the sword, and the weakest at once went to the wall. So far, perhaps, it was better; for the matter was quickly determined, and the cultivator, the only party who had any real right, was little molested, further than to carry the loads of both parties, and dispose of the dead.

Seikhs often ejected Seikhs, and both united to destroy the Mahommedans; though, sometimes forgetting their faith, even Patans and Seikhs would join in a particular scheme for getting rid of a Syud or a Seikh ruler, or *vice versâ*. A respectable Syud chief, not long since, discussing with us the relative merits of Seikhs and Patans, made little difference between them,—one were Shaitans, the other some other sort of demons.

It is not very easy to form an accurate estimate of the Seikh population. The author of the *Adventurer in the Punjab* perhaps under-rates, and Burnes over-estimates, the population of the Punjab. Mr. Thornton, in his Gazetteer, sets down the number, as an "approximate computation," at 4,740,000—this including the inhabitants of the entire Seikh country. The Punjabis themselves he estimates at three millions and a half. Of the entire population, probably, not much more than a tenth are Seikhs. In fact, it is astonishing how seldom a Seikh is met, in what is called the Seikh territory. Burnes gives agriculture and war as their callings: this is not correct, but rather trade and war. Their aboriginal stock, the Jauts, are splendid cultivators, and at first sight Hindoo Jauts are sometimes taken

for Seikhs. Soldiers, traders, idlers, and hungry dependents, comprise, in their various classes, all who have taken the pahul,*—not that agriculture is forbidden, but that its labours do not suit the habits of a new people, fresh from conquest. In the course of several years' acquaintance with these people, we could count the numbers of times that we have seen a Seikh at the plough, although we have often seen them attend at the division of the crop, armed with sword and matchlock, as the Patan Putteedars to this day do, with their lattees (clubs) in Rohilcund or Furrukabad.

Before bringing our article to a close, we must append to the preceding a few rough notes on the subject of the Protected Seikh states.

Ten years ago the eastern portion of the protected states under Mr. Clerk's management was a jungle, and habited by men of the worst classes—Goojurs, Brinjaries, and such like—who did not cultivate at all; but at one time grazed their own cattle, at another plundered their neighbour's.

Mr. Clerk endeavoured to get these lands cultivated, but was for a long time baffled, when he had the fortune to hear of Mr. Dawes,†—of his energy and respectability. They had some conversation; and the result was that Mr. Dawes took certain long leases: the terms he obtained were liberal, and, like a wise man, he gave as liberal terms to others. Contented to look to future profits, already his reward has arrived. Lands that gave him only a twentieth and a tenth, are now yielding to him the average purgannah rates of a fourth or fifth of the crop. True he has spent money in clearing away jungle, and even forest; and he has dug wells, where it was pronounced that wells could never be dug; but it has been less by money than by personal influence, and by personal labour, that he has achieved all this, and shown the rude people the advantages to themselves of industry, and in benefiting them he has advantaged himself. We learned from Mr. Dawes, that when he first settled at Dadoopoor (his residence) his kind employer, Col. Colvin, objected to his continued residence in such a place throughout the year, on account of its character for jungle fever; now the whole country is one sheet of cultivation, quite up to the Kadir Doon and the Nahn

* The ceremony of initiation of a Seikh is called taking the Pahul. The process is described by Dr. Wilkins, and by the author of the *Adventurer in the Punjab.*

† Mr. Dawes came out in the Sappers some twenty-five years ago, and was early employed on the Delhi canals; for the last twenty years he has had charge of the works at the head of the canal that passes by Kurnaul; and, as a canal officer alone, has done more good than half the men in India; but it is as an agriculturist that we here mention him.

hills, where Mr. Dawes has driven the tiger from what, a few years back, were its haunts.

We fell in with Mr. Dawes in our rambles through the protected Seikh states; and before we proceed to more general matters, we may not inopportunely offer a characteristic anecdote or two acquired in the same trip that gained us Mr. Dawes' acquaintance. We were riding one morning through a large village, when, as in those parts an European gentleman is a rare sight, we were considered to be a civil official of some sort, and were accordingly accosted by a smart chuprassie, who doing us the favour to salaam, we entered into conversation with him. We asked the name of the village, and what he was doing there? He told us that it was the chief village of a small territory that had lately lapsed to Government by the death of an old Seikh lady; and that he was in charge, on the part of the British Tuhseeldar. Perceiving our curiosity excited, he told us there was a nice Bagh (garden), and a Baraduree (summer-house), with twelve doorways in the old fort; but seeing a very high tower close by we said, "Cannot we ascend it, and from the top inspect the country?" The man said there was no ladder; so in we went and examined the garden, prettily laid out, and tastefully planted, more in the European style than that of a rude Seikh village. The summer-house and rooms in the fort were also all in keeping with the garden; and having heard many praises of the old lady during our inspection, and having seen the specimens of her good taste, we were mounting our horses and departing, with a strong feeling in favour of the deceased, not unmixed with pity that her estate should have gone to the stranger, when our friend the chuprassie cried out, "Oh Sahib! we have got a ladder, you can ascend the tower." The said ladder happened to be a rope fastened to the doorway, which was not less than forty feet from the ground; however, not being quite as heavy as Col. Davidson, who, carrying eighteen stone, boasted his feats of agility, we managed to ascend; the chuprassie preceding, and two or three villagers following.

Having entered the doorway, we were crossing a low room to ascend a trap-door to the roof, when, observing an opening in the floor, we called for a bamboo, and feeling downwards, found that the depth below was not above six feet. Here our bamboo came in contact with some substance, from which an offensive smell arose. Our suspicions being excited, we called for a light, let it down by a rope, and discovered the half decomposed body of a human being, who must have died there, perhaps of famine, perhaps by violence, and under the

order of the old woman then so near her own end. Our horror was great, and all commiseration was changed into execration; and charging the chuprassie to make all inquiries as to whose was the corpse, we rode off to our camp and wrote an account of what we had seen to the political agent.

Such towers and such cellars are common in the Seikh states. The latter are called Borahs, and are usd for the imprisonment of political rivals, generally kinsmen, sometimes for murderers, and not unfrequently for revenue defaulters. A trap-door let down over the wretched inmate, the single sentinel may place his charpae, or if he has none his rezai (guilt) or other bedding, on it and go to sleep.

The baronial castles and towers of England, or the robber towers of the Rhine, may give some small idea of the old Seikh and, we may add, the old Mahratta system. But they can give little notion of the frequency of forts and towers in the Seikh states, often used as robbers' dens, and often built to protect the village cultivation from marauding horse, or even more deliberate attack.

In a dry country such as Upper India, land is nearly worthless that is not liable to river inundation, or to well irrigation. Land in the Seikh states, therefore, is counted by the wells, not by the quantity of ground; and the man who tenaciously upholds his right to a thousand or even ten thousand acres, may only have a *well* of available land, or from thirty to forty acres—being the quantity that he can irrigate from the one well in his possession. To dig another would cost from a hundred to three hundred rupees, which the lords of a thousand acres cannot raise; or if he could, would forthwith spend it at a single marriage festival. Each of these wells, in many parts of the Seikh states, is, or rather was, protected by a tower, into which the husbandman fled on emergency, and whence two or three matchlocks could keep at bay a host of horsemen. In other quarters, the traveller will come upon such towers in the midst of desert wilds, or the small (Jhund and Bun) forest that prevails through the Ladwa, Khytul, and some other states. We recollect a friend once telling us he had entered such a tower; its door, which was close, was six or seven feet from the ground: he called out lustily, but could get no answer from within: he pelted the door with clods until it was half opened by an old crone, who asked his business—"Curiosity to know the name of the place, and that of the handsome young lady he was talking to," was the answer; our friend was a proper looking fellow himself, and soon made an impression on the aged damsel, ascended, and gazed around. "What, good wo-

man, you say you are alone in this solitary tower, in the midst of such a wilderness?" She assured him she was. "What," replied our friend, "is then this your spear and this your shield?" "Oh, they are my son's, who has gone to the neighbouring town: he is a chokedar, and those are his weapons." Looking further around, the visitor discovered in a nook a matchlock, with the marks of having been recently discharged. The old woman's eye was on him: she was now uneasy; but he, good-naturedly asked if that was her son's too, and while he spoke, up rose a shaggy head from the floor, and my friend found himself in the midst, and indeed in the power, of three stout ruffians, who perceived themselves more than suspected. There was, however, something in the air, we presume, of their unarmed visitor that daunted them, for they offered no molestation. A week afterwards the robber's hold was found vacated. The chance visit had doubtless been considered a domiciliary one, and their retiring place, no longer a refuge. Such towers, such dens, such deserts, are fast disappearing from the protected Seikh states. They have almost entirely vanished from the British Purgunnahs, many of which Captain Murray and Mr. Clerk found in an equally lawless and desert condition as is now the whole Kurnaul border of Jheend, Khytul, and Ladwa. Captain Murray commenced the reformation and reclamation, and was nobly followed up by Mr. Clerk; between them, they have made the village of Ambala into a large walled town, with streets and bazaars better laid out, and better built than any town with which we are acquainted in Upper India. The village lands all round are beautifully cultivated. It was Mr. Clerk's object not only to reclaim the land from pasture to grain culture, but to introduce cotton and sugar, and such remunerating crops. For this purpose he would make extensive tours, and give out seed to all likely to benefit by it; and the result has been that the value of land has doubled in the British Purgunnahs, within the last few years. Alone, he would ride for miles into the villages and fields, and converse with the people; and before they knew who he was, elicit information as to himself and his officials. We have described the "well of land" —often has a well provided the Khalsa with two or three Sirdars. Runjeet Singh's family were *raised*, as Jonathan says, on *well* patrimony. Lena Singh Majetia comes from the small village of Majetia, eight coss north of Umritsur, which alone has furnished half a dozen Sirdars, generals or colonels. Another but arbitrary division of land in the Seikh states, is still, as originally by horse-shares—having commenced by the rule, according to which every free Seikh horseman was entitled

to his puttee, or share of all conquests made by the common band. If a district then, or a single village, was acquired, a certain number of shares being set aside for the Sirdar or other leader of the expedition, all else was divided into equal portions, according to the number of Seikhs (originally chiefly horsemen) engaged in the enterprise, so that at this day many villages are divided into hundreds of portions or horse-shares, and the sovereignty is held by hundreds of families; for every Seikh in his puttee affected perfect independence. Great are the evils that have arisen therefrom in the protected states. According to the treaty, they were as long as possible not interfered with; and every Sirdar and every Putteedar, large or small, was his own magistrate and collector as far as his own internal arrangements went; the political agent only having authority in the quarrels and border disputes between one chief and another, or where robbers passed from one state into another. But it was soon found that, although some of the Sirdars managed their estates well enough, others and the petty Putteedars especially, harboured robbers, and tyrannized over their cultivators. Indeed, as their own families increased, and war and rapine decreased, there being no field left open but the Punjab army and agriculture for their sons, these Putteedars having tried every means of driving the sole cultivators from their lands, so that they might, through slaves or personal servants, cultivate the soil for themselves. Strictly speaking, we had no right to interfere, even under such oppression,* but having laid themselves open by harbouring thieves and robbers, they were deprived of magisterial powers. But thus, while it was thought that a double benefit was gained, the police improved, the ryot protected, a still greater evil arose. The cultivators now finding that their former task-masters had no longer power to fine, imprison, and beat them, completely turned the table upon the land-owners and refused to pay them their lawful quotas. Weeks and months in every year are thus lost to both parties by their mutual recriminations, and their never-ending appeals to authority. The cultivator *refuses* nothing and agrees before the magistrate to the correctness of the dustoor-ool-umul (or table of rules and rates) that has been prepared for both parties; but, again out in the village, he is as perverse and persevering as ever—he will not sow certain fields at all, and when the time for dividing the crop comes, he will not attend; or will not allow

* The reader will understand the Seikh Putteedar to have been in the position of sovereign, and will remember that however arbitrarily the rulers of India have squeezed the ryot, they have seldom, and never with impunity, taken on themselves the right to eject the hereditary cultivators, whose rights have remained amid the ceaseless change of rulers.

any but his own appraiser to make the allotments, so that the result often is that the crops are but scantily grown, and then literally allowed to rot on the ground, because one or both parties are contumacious, it now being generally the cultivator, as formerly it was the Seikh ruler. The latter tried to oust the former; now the other tries to starve the Seikh, and drive him out of the village into foreign service, when his petty but vexatious rights of grass, wood, personal service, periodical presents, &c. will cease, the cultivator become master of his own village, and pay only in long arrears in cash, the estimated value of the other's portion.

Both sides of this picture are grievous; the first is a sample on a small scale of a bad Indian Government, which, in Roopur and Ladwa in the Seikh states under notice, leaves not only fields, wells, and villages deserted, but converts whole districts into wildernesses—the people emigrating into better governed states, and biding their time for happier days and a better ruler. Often, after such abandonment, the second, third, or fourth generation will return, and, unopposed, resume their patrimonial fields; their rulers glad to welcome them back, and having, perhaps, intermediately offered them inducements to return.

The case of the ryot oppressing his ruler may be considered an unlikely one, and possibly altogether an unreal picture; but it is common enough all over India—indeed, all over the world, where the law does not protect the master, or where the sword is not in his hand. Nothing more clearly shows the misery engendered by British interference in native states, where either our bayonets must enforce tyranny, or, having taken the means out of the ruler's hands to enforce his rights, we leave him at the mercy of his subjects. Thus is it in Oude and elsewhere—the large Talookdars are just in the position of the cultivators in Seikh Putteedary villages. They are either harried and plundered, or they do not pay at all,—that is, they pay five or ten thousand rupees when they should pay a lakh, and their weaker neighbours are over-taxed to make up the deficiency.

We hear much of British oppression, and our pages contain much that is true of the evils of English rule in India; but we must in fairness offer the meed of praise where it is deserved, and nowhere can the contrast be better observed, between security and insecurity, than in the British purgunnahs of Rudour, Jugadree, and Ambala, as opposed to the best-managed states around. Rudour and Judagree are both clean, well laid-out towns, and in that quarter there is scarce a remnant of the old robber towers, though in the little white pyramids that often

cover the plain, we see too many relics of the Suttees, that *against* Seikh doctrines, the Seikh rulers permitted to their subjects, and warmly entered into themselves, as has been narrated on the deaths of Runjeet, Khuruck, Nou Nehal, and Shere Singh.

But Thunnesar, on the high road of our troops, though perhaps the worst-cultivated of our possessions, offers the best and readiest subject of comparison; half the town is ours, half a widow lady's—a perfect Catherine in her morals. She owns half the holy city, and half the principality, her share being perhaps fifty or sixty villages. The English portion of the town has beautifully laid-out bazaars, a handsome Kutra (or square), the old Badshahi Serai is kept in some repair, and altogether the place is clean, and looks thriving. A gateway divides it from the lady's portion, where you enter an old, irregular, dirty quarter; the traders subject to exaction, and certainly, in *this case at least*, panting for British supremacy. But in the country the contrast is much greater, the cultivators are all bad ones, of bad stock, and in a bad neighbourhood; but on one side of the road you see the British possessions daily progressing in cultivation—on the other side, the Sirdani's, daily deteriorating.

The territory of Thunnesar has, within the last fifty years, a dozen times changed hands, and has for several years been held by widows, the worst of bad managers. When the British took possession of their share, there was a feint made of opposition; the old castle was manned, and all looked warlike; but Captain Murray, taking a couple of companies, marched down from Ambala, and riding on in advance the last mile with a few attendants, the courage of the garrison failed; they opened the gates and capitulated.

The system of our Indian Government, on acquiring territory, has unhappily been, not only to let things alone, which would often have been a good rule, but to take for granted many important points, and often to register them as ascertained facts, on the *ex-parte* statements of interested witnesses.

An excellent rule was established regarding the Cis-Sutlej states, at the commencement of our connexion in A. D. 1809; but unfortunately the spirit of the treaty was never acted up to, and the British Government, contented that Runjeet Singh abided by its letter, and fought his Cis-Sutlej battles with the pen rather than with the sword, has permitted constant encroachment, and allowed Lahore supremacy over many Cis-Sutlej states, proved by Captains Ross and Murray to have, according to treaty, appertained to the protected Seikh portion.

As it would be unjust to encroach on Native States, so it is as

unfair to permit them to encroach on us. Forbearance under injury is no where less appreciated than in the East; the affront, plunder, or encroachment of to-day legalizes that of to-morrow. The first was induced by real or supposed weakness, and is repeated, or final conquest effected, according to the respective strength of parties. But for a strong Government to allow a weaker one to encroach is little better than laying a snare, permitting headway for a time with a certainty of sudden and sharp revulsion; allowing occupation one day that will be denied the next; increasing with the period of possession, the difficulties of diplomacy; ensuring bad blood, and even causing hostilities in the end, unless good sense prevails on both sides, forbearance on ours, reasonableness on that of the offenders.

The estate of the Sodees (descendants of Gooroo Govind) of Chumkour, ceded in A.D. 1763 by the assembled chiefs after their victory at Sirhind over Zyn Khan, and that of Anundpoor Makowal, partly so acquired, and partly purchased, but to neither of which Runjeet Singh had a shadow of right, were in the face of evidence yielded to his supremacy. The Cis-Sutlej Estates of the Aloowala Sirdar were declared protected; but the nominal protection has rather been an injury to him, subjecting the chief to increased exaction in his Trans-Sutlej Territory, so that the family of the great Seikh leader, Jusa Singh Qulal—almost the only old family now remaining—have frequently been nearly driven to desperation, and compelled to abandon their possessions in the Punjab; as the Sealba, the Chuloundee, and other chiefs actually did. The Whudnee estate, held by Sudda Kour, the mother-in-law of Runjeet Singh, was reported by Mr. Ross, the Resident at Delhi, to be liable to escheat to the British Government on her death. His opinion was coincided in by Government, and the occupation of the place ordered to be effected on the death of the old lady; when the rights of the old Zemindar's family, who had thrown off the Delhi yoke, and from whom Mai Sudda Kour had acquired the territory were to be considered. But in the face of the previous decision, of the prior rights of the Zemindar's family, and of the fact that either Sudda Kour had acquired the territory herself, by her own right arm, or that if obtained from Runjeet Singh, the latter had made the conquest after the date of the treaty with the British, and, therefore, contrary to its provisions, Whudnee was given up to Lahore; and to this day it is not clearly ascertained what estates are entitled to British protection, what to be under the Lahore Government.

The British Government is often accused of grasping propensities, but as regards the Seikh states, certainly without reason:

and the eagerness with which our protection, in preference to subjection to Lahore, has been claimed, is the best proof of the opinions of the chiefs themselves on the questions of their relative merits.

Every estate in the Punjab is at the mercy of the Lahore Government, and we do not know half a dozen now remaining in the families of the chiefs, who originally acquired them; whereas among the Protected States, out of the seventy or more chiefships (exclusive of the hundreds of Puttadaries and Missuldaries), not one-tenth have lapsed, and they only on failure of heirs, according to their own laws and customs, strained on several instances in favour of themselves. Widows have been allowed to inherit, which would never have been permitted under the Lahore Government, and all acquisitions by a common ancestor have been made over to the collateral heir, however distantly connected; escheats only occurring on those estates acquired by chiefs after they have branched from their parent stock. Thus the present Rajah of Jheend is now in possession of the territory of his own (the common) ancestor, Gujput Singh, but was not permitted to inherit what was acquired by the family of his predecessor, Rajah Sungut Singh, after the two families had separated and assumed independent positions. He gained two lakhs or more per annum, and failed to obtain another lakh, which has grieved him much, and he forgets that under any other government, European or Native, he would not have obtained an acre, but to this day have remained a petty Sirdar.

Barring his unreasonableness on this head, Rajah Suroop Singh is a sensible gentleman-like chief; he is a very fine-looking man, six feet high, and stoutly built, inclining to corpulency, with good features, and a fine flowing dark beard—altogether an excellent specimen of a *civilized* Seikh chieftain. He has three or four companies of pretty good sepoys and as many old guns, and can muster perhaps five hundred horsemen—one hundred well mounted, and the others of a very indifferent sort.

Rajah Surroop Singh found his territory in very bad order, overrun with robbers, and the portion around his capital (Jheend) a mere jungle. He has, in a great measure, cleared his country of highwaymen and cattle-lifters: and has actually given three-year leases to many of his villages, and thereby much improved and increased cultivation. He goes among his people, and, more than any other chief with whom we are acquainted, appears to be conversant with his own affairs. He has done something to encourage trade, and has built handsome regular bazars at his favourite residence, Sungrowr; and proposes to do the same at Jheend. His territory, like all the Seikh chiefships, is scat-

tered about, though to a much less extent than that of many others. He has, however, a single village of Nabha close to Jheend (town) which annoys him beyond belief. Exchanges of these scattered patches, and definition of the boundaries of chiefships on good maps, would be a blessing to the people of these states, whose time and blood are now freely expended on petty boundary disputes. In a single one, four years ago, between Khytul and Jheend, nearly a hundred men were killed or wounded, the authorities on either side bringing one or more guns and regular troops to aid their respective peasantry. As Rajah Surroop Singh is a good specimen of an enlightened Seikh chief, Sirdar Pahar Singh of Fureedkote is of a Jungle one; the estate lies to the south of Ferozepore, and contains sixty villages, yielding a revenue of about half a lakh of rupees; five-sixths of it are waste, and Pahar Singh is contented to levy all he can on the cultivated portion, without caring a jot about clearing the large tracts of culturable land; or he rather seems to prefer to keep the lands uncultivated for the supply of grass and wood, of which, though now sufficient to supply his wants tenfold, he seems to dread the scarcity. Such preserves (beers) are favourite portions of the lands of Seikh chiefs, though little respected by British subjects, accustomed elsewhere to the tacitly acquiesced-in right of grass-cutting; but the right of grass, and wood-cutting, is considered by the Seikhs as much a legitimate source of revenue, as transit duties, or as our forest rights of wood and water (julkur and bunkur) in the Goruckpore and Dehrah Doon forests.

Fureedkote was the first of the illicit acquisitions made by Runjeet Singh, when he summarily broke up his interview with Mr. (Sir Charles) Metcalfe at Kussoor, and commenced a new sweep of Cis-Sutlej conquests. Very unwillingly did he consent to restore the estate to the grandfather of Golab Singh, and the family have since remained in quiet possession, doing little good, and as usual quarrelling among themselves; but all professing, and we believe really feeling gratitude towards the British Government for rescuing them from Runjeet Singh.

The neighbourhood was a very lawless one, and surrounded by eight Lahore States. Fureedkote was cruelly pecked at; and encroachment made on all sides, alternated by an occasional forward move on the Fureedkote side; for, surrounded by enemies or rivals, the Fureedkotians had been hardy borderers. Captain Wade estimated that on the whole circuit of Fureedkote (about 200 miles), there had not been less than five hundred men killed and wounded annually for years. So bad was the case that on several of the boundaries, Ameens (Moonshees

employed as bailiffs) were established for the purpose of keeping the peace. Occasionally they would be beaten or frightened off, but scarcely in a single case were they able to settle the boundary, and perhaps preferred to sit idle, eating at the expense of the rival chiefs, and while fleecing both, contributing nothing to the security of either.

Mr. Clerk, therefore, shortly after he obtained authority over the Lahore Cis-Sutlej, as well as the Protected States, ordered a settlement of the whole boundary of Fureedkote, which was effected in little more than a month. Substantial pillars were erected, and copies of a map, showing every pillar, giving to the Fureedkote chief, and another to the Lahore vakeel; and we have never since heard of a man killed or wounded on the Fureedkote border.

The Naba Rajah, Debendree Singh, is a lad of about twenty years of age. His revenues amount to some four lakhs of rupees, and his estates contain three hundred villages. Rajah Juswunt Singh, the father of the present chief, was considered a very able man. He was one of the first that joined Lord Lake's standard, and, with Rajah Bhag Singh of Jheend, was, we believe, present at the last siege of Bhurtpore.

Rajah Goverdhun Singh of Manimajra, in the Sewalik range of hills, has a nominal revenue of sixty thousand rupees, and fifty-nine villages; but almost the whole are mortgaged, and the chief, who is a poor creature, lives chiefly at Pattiala, as a pensioner on Rajah Kurm Singh's bounty.

Rajah Ajeet Singh of Ladwa is, like the Jheend Rajah, a connection of the Lahore family. The Ladwa estate comprises a hundred and seventy-eight villages, and yields two and a half lakhs of rupees. It is one of the worst managed of all the Protected States; and Ajeet Singh, who was made a Rajah, to please Runjeet Singh, just before the latter's death, is a dissipated ill-disposed person, a tyrant in his own family, and as a chief perfectly reckless. He has, we believe, estates in the Punjab, and makes them the excuse for his neglect of the Cis-Sutlej possessions which are overrun with jungle and occupied by robbers.

We once asked a native what sort of a chief Sirdar Bhoop Singh of Roopur was. "He is a Shaitan, sir," said our informant, and we believe that the speech was not far from the mark, and that he behaves as badly as he dares to do. The standard of morality is not very high among either the protected Seikh ladies or gentlemen. Of the three Sirdars (Lieutenant Barr's Rajahs) of Shahabad, one was some years ago convicted of forging a will, and another of forging a document to disprove the first forgery. The son of the chief of Siknam was transported

for life beyond seas for murder, as was the chief of another small state, called Bhuddul, for the murder of his own mother. These are the bad specimens; but, take them for all in all, the protected Seikh chiefs are perhaps as respectable as any class of chiefs in India—certainly as those of Rajpootana or Bundlecund.

Rajah Kurum Singh of Pattiala is one of the ablest, and in his way best of the chiefs, as he is by far the wealthiest and most powerful. His family and those of Naba, Jheend, and Khytul, are from a common ancestor—a Jaut cultivator, by name Phool, hence the name of the Phoolkean misal. Rajah Sahib Singh, the father of the present chief, was long insane; his dissensions with his Ranee mainly induced Runjeet Singh's inroads, and but for British interference would have reduced Pattiala to the condition of the Lahore states. In the year 1812, Ranee Askour, an able ambitious woman, was appointed Regent, during the insanity of her husband and minority of her son, and soon afterwards, on the death of the former, strengthened her position and made arrangements for the continuance of her authority *ad libitum;* and it was not without difficulty that Colonel Ochterloney effected an arrangement between the mother and the son, on the arrival of the latter at man's estate.

The young Rajah behaved very well on the occasion, and dreading the disgrace of his mother taking refuge, as she threatened, beyond the Pattiala boundary, he not only confirmed her in the many villages she had usurped during the Regency, but granted her further concessions.

The Pattiala territory extends over two and a half degrees of longitude and about twenty-five miles of latitude. The town of Pattiala is set down by Hamilton as in lat. 30° 15′ N. and long. 76° 22′ E., and is stated to be surrounded by a mud wall, with a square citadel in which the Rajah resides.

The territory stretches nearly across the protected Seikh country from near Abohur in the desert to Bhar, at the foot of the Simla hills. It contains 2,450 villages* good and bad, some richly cultivated, others chiefly jungle, and altogether yielding twenty-two lakhs of rupees, being more than a third of the total revenues of all the Protected States. The Rajah therefore assumes the title of Maharajah, and desires to be considered as chief of the Cis-Sutlej states. His vakeel gave great offence, some years ago, when, at a durbar held by the Governor-General for the reception of all the chiefs, the Maharajah was announ-

* Cultivated villages may require explanation to English readers, though not to Irish; the village divisions, so familiar to all who have studied Indian statistics, are very similar to the town-lands (usually for shortness called towns) in Ireland, where we often hear, "Our town is all bog," "Half of our town is under potatoes," "Our town is fit for nothing but grass."

ced as "King of the Cis-Sutlej Seikhs." The Jheend and Nabha Rajahs are (as was the Bhae of Khytul) most jealous of him, as they approached nearest to him in wealth and dignity.

The Pattiala state is, on the whole, not ill governed, though unequally so—depending a good deal upon the character of the people of the different districts. The well-disposed Jaut cultivators, with those of the gardener and other industrious classes, are well treated, and not very unduly squeezed; but little care is taken to improve the habits of the predatory classes; the Goojurs, the Rangurs, and others.

The Pattiala Rajah has in every way gained by the British connection. He has been protected from foreign enemies without paying a rupee, and as a reward for the aid of his troops during the Nepal war, he was endowed with several of the conquered purgunnahs in the Western Hills, as also with the valley of Pinjore, all at a mere nominal price.

Mixed up among these Seikh Protected States are three or four Mahommedan and Rajpoot ones. Of the latter, Mean Debee Singh, Chief of Ramgurh, is a specimen. The family was originally from Belaspoor on the Sutlej; as servants of the Nahn Rajah, they made themselves independent in the troubled times, at the beginning of the present century; and were themselves saved from being swallowed up by one or other of the contending Seikh chiefs, by the timely interference of the British. The estate contains thirty villages, but is already divided into two—nay, three portions; and bids fair to be soon split up into patches; and unless present and very stringent measures are taken, the arming and threatening of uncle against nephew, brother against brother, and cousin against cousin, will continue to distract the country. Koonjpoora and Mulair Ketla are two substantial Patan states; the first of 53, the second of 96 villages, and yielding respectively half a lakh and a lakh of rupees revenue. The present chiefs are descended from the local petty governors of the Mogul times, who have managed by courage and diplomacy to weather the storms on the breaking up of the empire, and, by opposing mere Seikh marauders and coalescing with more powerful leaders, they have saved for themselves pretty estates out of the wreck of what was under their management.

Koonjpoora is on the Jumna within six miles of Kurnaul, and its ghat over the Jumna was the scene of many a contention in the wars at the breaking up of the Delhi empire. The present chief is an ignorant, litigious person, quite in the hands of his servants, and at deadly feud not only with his Seikh copartners, but with his own relations. The Mulair Hotla Patans are not much more rational in the management of their domestic affairs.

As a specimen of their litigiousness and of the trouble they give the local authorities, we may observe that Mr. Andrew D'Cruz,* whose compilations we have freely used in preparing these sketches, gives six pages to Koonjpoora and its coparcenery dependency Indree, while he allots scarcely a page to Puttiala and only half a one to Nabha; the information given regarding Koonjpoora being chiefly regarding domestic squabbles and decisions. These two Patan chiefs have each a small, well-mounted body of horsemen, the best paid, and consequently in all points the most efficient troops in the Protected States. We mentioned, in our last number, that the Mulair Kotla Horsemen had more than once proved useful in acting against bands of Akalis, and only last year, when Kurnaul was denuded of troops to act against Khytul, the Koonjpoora chief sent his horsemen to patrol the Kurnaul cantonment.

From the bands of military retainers in these states, two thousand Horse, as well mounted as our Irregular Cavalry, and double that number mounted on smaller but even hardier cattle, might be selected, and at least an equal number of Infantry; or 12,000 men in all—hardy, undisciplined troops, available for Government purposes, without by their absence affecting the safety of their own districts. But, in the event of operations on the frontier, it is even more by carriage, supplies, and cash, than by troops, that the chiefs, especially the Rajah of Puttiala, could assist the British Government; and, as all who have ever moved a finger for us have been richly rewarded, and all enjoy security and honour under our rule, it is manifestly their interest, as we believe it generally to be their desire, to keep on good terms with our authorities. They will undoubtedly give all the assistance we ask for, as long as we are in a condition to dispense with it. In short, as long as we are strong, and put forth our strength, we shall not want auxiliaries.

* Mr. D'Cruz contributed the items on the protected states to Rushton's *Gazetteer* for 1841, and we observe that the contributions have been republished in an enlarged form under the title of "Political Relations of the N. W. P." The book only fell into our hands after this article was nearly written, or we should have more largely noticed the work, which, though defective on some points, is, on the whole, very creditable to the compiler. If, however, a second edition is required, we recommend a careful revision, when not only may some portions be compressed, but others with advantage be more elaborated. We observe, under the head of Bahawulpoor, that "this principality, situated on the left bank of the Sutlej, extends from the Loodianah territory to the River Indus." Now, what does the Loodianah territory mean? For Bahawulpoor really begins one hundred and fifty miles below Loodianah, and immediately west of the Mumdote estate. The Nuwaub is stated to be "styled the chief of Daoodpootra (a place some miles below Bahawulpoore." We write under correction, but we never heard of the *place* Daoodpootra, though we have heard of the chief and his clan *being* Daoodpootras, or sons of Daood (David).

We have already stated that the possessions of the Rajah of Puttiala were largely benefited by the sale to him of hill Purgunnahs at low rates. The Khytul, Naba, and Jheend chiefs also received life-grants of Purgunnahs in the Delhi territory, for aid given to Lord Lake.

Mr. D'Cruze, in a tabular statement signed "G. Clerk," estimates the revenues of the British possessions at three lakhs; the Lahore Cis-Sutlej states at seventeen lakhs; and the Protected States at fifty-nine lakhs. In these last Khytul is included as six lakhs; but though six lakhs were probably collected by the late Bhae, it should now be rated at four and a half lakhs; three as an escheat, the rest to the collateral heirs and to Lahore.

The British possessions are the small detached Purgunnahs of Belaspoor, Jagadree, Khadir Booreah, Majra, Morndah, Rudhour, Ambala, Thannesur, Loodianah, and Ferozepoor, altogether yielding about three lakhs. The cultivation of the earlier acquisitions, Ambala, Belaspoor, and Rudhour, must have augmented four-fold, and except by increased culture of sugar, cotton, tobacco, and indigo, is not much further improveable, as at this moment the people are hardly pressed for grazing land for their few cows and oxen; but the other Purgunnahs, Thannesur, and Ferozepoor especially, are capable of producing five-fold their present out-turn; which, however, can only be effected by a first outlay on the part of Government in sinking wells, bunding up the rain water, and cutting small canals from the Sutlej, Chittung, and Suraswati rivers. The people are unable, and, we may allow, unwilling, to do what is needful; but there cannot be a doubt that, as on the Delhi, Dooab, and Rohilcund canals, a large interest on the original outlay would be secured, in addition to the more material point of ameliorating the condition of the people, and converting them from their present mixed occupation of grazing their own cattle, and stealing their neighbours', to profitable habits of industry.

What has been said of Ferozepoor and Thannesur, still more strongly applies to Khytul, especially to its southern Purgunnahs bordering on Thannesur, Kurnaul, and Jheend. This portion of country, occupying not less than five hundred square miles of high, dry land, with the water at not less than a hundred cubits from the surface; without a single stream, and only bordered by the Chittung river; is liable to fearful droughts, and consequent famines. The inhabitants are a very fine race; about a third of them, Hindu Jauts, excellent cultivators, but in hard times and dry seasons *as excellent* marauders. A single Jaut village of Khytul has been known to drive off, in open day, a thousand head of cattle from Nabha, Jheend, Puttiala, or Kurnaul;

and within the week the herd are scattered among the villages of Meerut or Saharunpore a hundred miles off. The other two-thirds of the population are Rangurs (Mussulman Rajpoots), Goojurs, and others, some Hindoo, some Mahomedan, but all cultivating very little, grazing and cattle-lifting a great deal. We have seen a Rangur village, with fifty or sixty pucka (bricked) wells, all but one in ruins, and thousands of acres of fine land allowed to run to waste. Indeed, except in a few Jaut villages, the cultivation in the midst of the forests of small stunted Jhund (a mimosa) and Bun-trees, as seen from the top of any of the robber towers, seems as little islands in the midst of the ocean. The people in fact live by stealing, and by the sale of ghee and milk, the produce of their flocks, and are, or rather were, as ready for a raid as ever were the MacGregors and Campbells to harry their lowland neighbours. We happened, shortly after the lapse of Khytul, to be riding along the Jheend and Khytul border with Rajah Suroop Singh, when seeing a party of villagers singing merrily, while with their cattle, treading out the saturated fields for rice cultivation,* he laughing said, "Ah, Sahib, they dared not have been thus employed a year ago."—"Why not?" we asked; and were answered, "Because their neighbours would have been down upon them, and driven off their cattle."

In Khytul great quantities of rain-water are lost. By a skilful application of bunds and small canal-cuts, all might be drawn off from waste-lands and applied to cultivation. A small canal from the Suraswati might be made to intersect the worst lands; one already comes down to Khytul town, but another is required from a higher level. One from the Delhi canal, and the old bed of the Chittung cleared out—all of which might be done for a couple of lakhs of rupees—would be the saving of those wild lands and their wilder occupants. Even if the water could only be supplied for six months (a period when much water is wasted in the canals and mountain-streams for want of proper bunds and regulating sluices) it would ensure one crop, flood the lands for the winter sowings, and would generally raise the water-level so as to decrease the expense of well-digging. This is not a place to enter into minute details, but we may briefly say, that there are remains of fine villages, nay towns, now utterly desolate; there are traces of old canal-cuts; there are hundreds of ruined wells, many old tanks; and there is, in short, in every quarter,

* Half the rice cultivation in these parts is thus effected; not a plough is used; but herds of buffaloes, oxen, and even (by low castes) of asses and pigs, are driven through and through low swampy levels, where the water lies until the soil is well turned up, and the water is well thickened, when the rice seed is literally thrown on the waters, and allowed to take its chance.

proof of a former flourishing condition of the people, showing that it wants but fostering for a time to bring the wilderness at least on an equality with adjoining districts.

There is not a tope of trees in all these Purgunnahs, though Thannesur and Kurnaul abound in mangoes; wherever wells or canals are dug there should be plantations of babul (mimosa), sissoo, burkeen, mulberry, and such like quick-growing trees, as well as mangoes. The droughts of these districts are mainly attributable to the absence of trees; for the stunted jhund and bun, seldom rising above eight feet, can only be reckoned as shrubs. We may be considered as wild speculatists, but what is there impracticable in our schemes? If any sensible man purchases an estate, his first inquiry would be for the map; and if the answer be, "There is none, sir:" "We must have it surveyed," would be the rejoinder; and after the survey, if the means are forthcoming, would we not make roads, drain, irrigate, and civilize? Would we not, in short, endeavour to ascertain what we had, and what its condition? And would we not be willing to spend, for the first few years, half or more of the produce, to ensure double proceeds for the future, and leave a rich instead of a barren heritage to our children? Thus should it be with Government. A road to-day costs no more than it will to-morrow, or after a lapse of ten years; but the want of that road between to-day and this day year, may impede the traffic of the country—may, during an outbreak, prevent the passage of troops or materiel, and entail disaster on the Government. The same may be said of all improvements: if the great Ganges canal, or our petty Seikh cuts, are proved, on all ascertainable data, to be likely to remunerate ourselves as well as to benefit our subjects, surely it is better to commence, and finish them as quickly as possible, even if a four per cent. loan is the consequence. No result is obtained until the work is finished; and, between ten years or one year employed, the difference of expense is only that of four per cent. interest paid on the money at once drawn from the treasury; whereas, there is to the credit side of the account the difference of pay of the general superintendence for one instead of ten years; and the difference of ten or fifteen per cent. profits on the irrigation so much sooner obtained, over the four per cent. interest to be paid. But enough,—we have said our say, and trust it may hasten some little improvement in some one quarter; and nowhere is it so much wanted, or can it be so easily affected, as in the Protected States.

A word or two on the justice-shops among the Seikhs. As elsewhere shown, all crime is punishable, or rather commutable by fine; the robber pays his dund (mulct) and goes to rob again,

and only when making himself very notorious, or unduly plundering his master's subjects, instead of those of his neighbours, he may have his right hand cut off, or be chained in an outer room, or verandah of the thannah, fort, or castle of his ruler, until his friends ransom him. Throughout the Seikh states, the farmers of the revenue are the judges and magistrates, or the appointers of them; and when the revenues are paid direct to Government, Tuhseeldars and Thannadars are so, as was often the case in Khytul, and is now in Puttiala. At Lahore, Peshawur, and some other Punjab cities, as at Puttiala, Khytul, &c., were judges called adaulatees (justice-givers), more frequently Mahomedans and Hindoos than Seikhs, often Kazees and Kayuts. At this time Lallah Gomanee Lall, a respectable Kayut of the British provinces, and in 1837 the Lahore Vakeel at Ferozepoor, and afterwards constantly deputed on settlement of border disputes, is now chief Judge of Lahore; but we observe that he is told to make over Mahomedan disputes to the Kazees, and Lena Singh Majetia's brother, the other day, took the judge to task for interfering in a case of Majetia ryots. It will therefore be readily understood that the Lalla, who is a timid man, has a hard time of it, and if he is not to judge between Seikh subjects or Mahomedans, he will have clear enough files. The fact is, that justice is a farce in all native states; the gainer pays his Shookeranah, and the looser his Jooremanah; and while the latter (the fine) is only a mulct upon unlawful gains, the former (the grateful present), added to delays and expenses, may entail ruin; making the injured always prefer private arbitrations, and yielding up half their flocks to preserve the other half. We watch Gomanee Lall's career with interest, and wonder at his having so long escaped being cut down by his clients, or put in irons by his Government. In Khytul it was, and in Pattiala it is still, the fashion for the judges to pass as many years in imprisonment as on the bench; probably as a means of eliciting for the Sircar (Government) a portion of the bribes supposed to have been given.

A year has elapsed since the murder of Shere Singh, and the Dusehra again approaches,—that season which, in every native court, is now the period of domestic strife, as of old it was the time of mustering their strength for foreign aggression. During the last quarter, little of consequence has occurred at Lahore; a boundary dispute between Moultan and some of the villages under Shaik Imamoodeen, has enabled Sawun Mull, the able dewan of Moultan, to show his spirit, and evince his disposition, towards the present motley administration. It seems that his people gave battle to the troops, sent against his villagers by order

of Rajah Heera Singh, and repelled them, and that the Rajah has since been obliged to coax rather than threaten him.

There cannot be a doubt that Sawun Mull has, like Rajah Golab Singh, been long looking for a day such as the present, when he might throw off the Seikh yoke. His last visit to Lahore was paid about four years ago, when he went to the capital only on repeated orders, and after he had received information that further recusancy would draw on him the whole strength of the Lahore army. He was not then prepared for resistance, and the Khalsa was still entire; he, therefore, after making some previous arrangements for his safety, by purchasing friends at durbar, came to court, without any state or show, where he freely, though quietly, threw about his rupees. Within a few days of his arrival, came the astounding news of the inroad of some Beloch marauders from the Scinde border, which before his departure he had arranged should happen, but which was now believed to have occurred owing to his temporary absence. He was therefore bustled back, post-haste, to his government, and there has since remained unmolested.

In some such fashion, we have heard that Sirdar Huree Singh Nuloa (killed at Jumrood), used to pocket the proceeds of his frontier government, by reporting constant raids by, or against the Yuzufzes—the result being that he left eighty lakhs of rupees, which Runjeet Singh seized, thus getting *his own*, though by a rather round-about process.

We are, however, inclined to believe that Sawun Mull's sponge will retain all it has absorbed. His character for good faith is high, and, contrasted with the chiefs around him, he may be considered a respectable man. His prudence and ability are great, and as in his neighbourhood, so long as he has the cash to pay, he will never want able-bodied recruits, he may be said now to be in a condition to declare his independence; and although we should hardly have hit upon Rajah Golab Singh as his ally, the Jnmoes having always been his enemies, yet in a strife for royalty by both chiefs, neither one nor the other would regard family ties or enmities, or look to anything more than the furtherance of their personal views.

We have long been of opinion, that while Rajah Golab Singh is permitted to pursue his way unmolested in the hills, and be the virtual ruler of the plains north of Moultan, that lie between the Jhelum and Indus, he would affect all loyalty and devotion to the Khalsa; but that as soon as his independence was threatened, or he found it no longer his interest to farm the salt mines, or to appoint farmers of the revenue of the upper Sind Sager Doab, that he would defy the Lahore Government.

The outward pressure removed, and the cry of Feringhee invasion having for a time subsided, more scope has been given to home dissension among the Punjab authorities, and matters are therefore drawing to a conclusion, even more rapidly than might have been anticipated.

The Seikh army is said to be crossing the Ravee with intent to invade Jumboo, and while Sawun Mull and other chiefs are reported as either neutral, or openly advocating Golab Singh's cause, many of the Lahore regiments are said to be in his favour. It is out of the question that they can really be so; but Golab Singh is just the man to make them be suspected, and therefore useless to his nephew, if not directly supporting himself. We stated in our last number, that his arrangements had long since been in train for effecting his views on Cashmere; and when once the sword is drawn, and no more is to be gained by dissembling, we shall not be surprised at his declaring himself monarch of the northern hills, including Cashmere.

It is, however, idle to speculate. Time, and that a very short time, will give the result of the present commotions. We have shown what blood has been spilt during the last four years, when common sense would have dictated unity. Many of the Seikhs, however, feel that, like other states, they are doomed to fall, and as Sir Walter Raleigh wrote of the Greeks when cognizant of Philip's designs, "the Greeks grew even then more violent in devouring each other." So has it ever been with weak and barbarous states. They are well aware that dissension is ruin, but they must and will fight. Fascinated, as it were, by the serpent's gaze, they run into the destruction they would avoid. And so it will be with the Seikhs. They may unite—many at least would do so in the event of actual invasion, and as our Akali friend said, "the Kalsa will do battle;" but, in the interval they will freely cut each other's throats whatever are the consequences. If it were politically honest to rob, that murder might be prevented, we would advocate interference, but as until we are attacked or our own positive safety demands the step, it would be unjust to cross the Sutlej—as too we have ample experience of the evils of interference, and have on the contrary side only *ifs* to offer as advantages—our voice is urgently for peace. We can see the advantages to ourselves of a strong government under Sawun Mull, in Moultan; and another under Golab Singh, in the hills, and a British Protectorate over a dozen or twenty Seikh chiefs in the Punjab east of the Jhelum, but if our Government has recognized Duleep Singh, it can never be a party to the dismemberment of his kingdom, even if called in by the Seikh chiefs; and we must therefore let

things right or wrong themselves; and keeping ourselves in a position to resent and punish any insult or injury, rest content with improving our own ample possessions, instead of coveting those of our neighbours.

It may be safely asserted that no chronicler ever experiences greater difficulty in keeping pace with his subject, than the writer of Punjabee annals. The ground is constantly shifting under him. Ere the ink is dry with which he has recorded the names of living men, they are blotted out from the scroll of life—actor after actor disappears—and the speculations of the future are converted into retrospects of the past. During the passage of this sheet through the press, the death of Sawun Mull, of Moultan, has been announced. He died on the 20th of September, from the effects of a wound which, a few days before, whilst sitting on the judgment-seat, he received from a notorious offender arraigned before him. The assassin, it appears, drew forth a pistol and shot the Dewan in the arm. The wound was not supposed to be mortal; but the work of death was done, and in furtherance of the great scheme which Providence seems to be accomplishing for the entire revolution of the Punjab, by the removal of all the leading spirits who have exercised or seemed likely to exercise an influence over the destinies of their country, in rapid succession, from the scene of strife, the name of Sawun Mull was added to the long list of murdered men. This able and energetic chief has been succeeded in the government of Moultan, by his son, Lalla Moolraj, who is said to inherit much of his father's ability; and it is hoped that he will tread in the footsteps of one who has shown, in the government of the Moultanee province, a combination of energy and moderation rarely to be found in a semi-barbarous chief.

ART. VI.—1. *General Register of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Servants on the Bengal establishment, from* 1790 *to* 1842, *comprising the dates of their respective appointments, &c. &c., compiled from authentic sources, under the direction of the Honourable H. T. Prinsep, by Ramchunder Doss.—Calcutta, printed at the Baptist Mission Press*, 1844.

2. *Papers relating to Affghanistan. London*, 1838.

3. *The Military Operations at Caubul, which ended in the retreat and destruction of the British Army, January* 1842, *&c. &c.—By Lieut. Vincent Eyre, Bengal Artillery. London*, 1843.

IT was long a subject of complaint with the British residents in India, that an empire which embraced the interests of a hundred millions of people, and yielded a revenue of twenty millions sterling a year, excited so little interest in the country to which it belonged. It was remarked, with regret, that the most petty parish squabble in the neighbourhood of London, obtained greater attention than the most momentous political occurrence in India. But this feeling of indifference began to wear away when it was announced that the security of this distant empire was menaced by the intrigues which a great European power had gradually pushed on to its very threshold. This new-born interest, which was coincident in point of time with the establishment of a regular monthly communication by steam with England, was deepened by the intelligence, which successively reached our native land, of the bold measures which the local Government had adopted to meet this new danger; of the despatch of a grand army beyond the Indus to regions of which the very name was unknown; of the installation of Shah Soojah, and of the flight and eventual surrender of Dost Mahomed. But the interest was increased to a degree of the most painful intensity, when the mail conveyed the melancholy tidings that our Envoy had been murdered and a British army of five thousand men annihilated by the insupportable rigours of winter, and the weapons of hostile Affghans. Every account of this great national calamity was, of course, welcomed with eagerness; and as disaster is commonly supposed to originate in misconduct, those narratives which reflected most severely on the delinquencies of the chief actors in these scenes, obtained a pre-eminent share of public attention. Works, which a quarter of a century hence, when truth has triumphed over exaggeration, will be referred to only as evidence of the credulity of the community when its passions have been excited, were welcomed with more than usual avidity.

The officers who had been selected by Government for politi-

cal employment in that country, on account of their ability and experience, were held up by public writers—and by none more virulently than by Mr. Masson—to public detestation, as the basest of mankind. By far the greater number of the public servants he calumniated had descended to a premature and bloody grave, before these imputations on their character appeared. The work was therefore published with apparent impunity. In one instance, however, a successful attempt has been made to rescue one of Mr. Masson's victims from the infamy to which his memory had been consigned. Dr. Buist has triumphantly refuted the charges brought against Sir Alexander Burnes by this writer, and exposed the worthlessness of his testimony. In defending the character of one, Dr. Buist has, in effect, thrown a shield over the character of all the political officers employed across the Indus, so far as they could be affected by the slanders of a man whom he has shown to be so utterly unworthy of credit. In this category will, of course, be included the reputation of Sir William Macnaghten, which Mr. Masson has assailed with peculiar virulence. Indeed, the vindictive feelings which are so manifest in his notices of this eminent public servant, more especially when in alluding "to the subsequent career, and miserable end of this functionary," he exclaims, "Grand dieu, tes jugemens sont pleins d'equité," are of themselves almost a sufficient antidote to his slanders; for truth is utterly incompatible with such feelings. But Sir William's whole career in the public service, and more especially his conduct in Affghanistan, is the most appropriate and decisive refutation of the calumnies which have been heaped on him. We are disposed, therefore, to think that a more acceptable service could scarcely be rendered to the public, and to those who feel an interest in his reputation, than to place in their proper light the proceedings of one who, partly from the force of circumstances, and partly from the strength of his own character, has obtained so prominent a place in the public eye. In the following brief narrative of his public career, we have availed ourselves freely of the fragments of his own correspondence which escaped the wreck at Cabool, and which have been kindly placed at our disposal.

William Hay Macnaghten, the second son of Sir Francis Macnaghten, for many years one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, was born in the month of August, 1793. He was sent at an early age to the Charter House, where he was contemporary with some who have since risen to great eminence in England. He came to India, at the age of sixteen, in September 1809, as a cavalry cadet on the Madras establishment. Shortly after his arrival, he was appointed to do duty with the

body guard of the Governor of Madras, in whose family he continued to reside for some months. From the earliest period of his Indian career, his mind was eagerly bent on the pursuit of Oriental literature; and he devoted the leisure of his easy appointment to the study of Hindoostanee and Persian. In May 1811, he obtained the prize of 500 pagodas, which was held out to the junior officers of the army as an encouragement to the study of Hindoostanee. There was no reward appointed at that time for the successful study of Persian; but with the view of establishing his qualifications for employment in the political department, to which his aspirations were directed, he passed a satisfactory examination in that language. Soon after, he was appointed to a cornetcy in the 4th Cavalry, then stationed at Hydrabad, and in June 1811 he proceeded to join his corps. He remained with it for nearly a year, during which time he was invited to join the Resident, Mr. Henry Russell, in his visits to the Nizam and his ministers, and thus obtained an early opportunity of becoming acquainted with the policy and feelings of native courts. Being desirous of acquiring some knowledge of mathematics, he was permitted, about the middle of 1812, to join the Institution founded by Lord William Bentinck for imparting instruction in that department of science, and made considerable progress in it under the tuition of Captain Troyer. Six months after he had entered on this study, he proceeded on survey duty, and returned to Madras on its completion, and continued his studies in the Institution for six months longer. During this period, Government offered a prize of 500 pagodas for eminent proficiency in Persian, and he passed a second examination in it, and secured the reward. About the middle of 1813, he joined the escort of the Honourable Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore. He had already made some progress in a knowledge of the Tamul and Teloogoo languages, and he now embraced the opportunity of his residence in Mysore to add to them an acquaintance with the Canarees and Mahratta tongues. Shortly after his arrival at the Residency, he was employed by Mr. Cole, in the capacity of a Political Assistant, though not formally recognised as such by Government; but he was now to quit the Madras Presidency, and enter upon another sphere of employment.

About the middle of 1814, he received an appointment to the Bengal Civil Service. He arrived in Calcutta with the most flattering testimonials from the Governor of Madras and from Mr. Cole. The Chief Secretary at that Presidency was instructed to "notify the appointment to the Governor of Bengal, and at the same time to enclose the honourable testimonies of the pro-

ficiency of Mr. Macnaghten in the Hindoostanee and Persian languages, and also to forward letters of a similar tendency from the Resident at Mysore, under whom Mr. Macnaghten had been employed." Mr. Cole's letter, coming as it did from one who was so well qualified to judge of merit, and who had enjoyed the best opportunities of estimating Mr. Macnaghten's attainments, must have been peculiarly gratifying to him. It ran thus: "Mr. Macnaghten having received information of his appointment to the Bengal Civil Service, and being consequently about to leave the situation in my family, to which he lately stood appointed, I consider it to be an act of justice to this gentleman to submit to Government a testimony of his merit and diligent conduct since I have had the assistance of his service at this Residency. Mr. Macnaghten has continued to employ himself in the acquirement of Oriental literature, and has made a considerable and practical progress in the Mahratta and Canarees languages, and I am sure will always prove himself deserving of the utmost confidence and support. Were it not, therefore, for the benefit which he will experience by this change, I should most sensibly regret to be deprived of his valuable services."

He arrived in Calcutta in October 1814, and entered upon the study of Oriental literature with a degree of ardour which has seldom, if ever, been surpassed. It is scarcely necessary to say that with the knowledge he brought with him, and his habits of intense application, he soon became one of the most distinguished students in the College of Fort William. The government of the country was then in the hands of Lord Hastings, who took a particular interest in the credit and usefulness of that Institution, and made it his business to foster the rising talent which it developed. It would be tedious to detail the various public encomiums which Mr. Macnaghten received for the successful study of the Oriental languages; and it may be sufficient to observe that he received, at different times, six degrees of honour, and ten medals of merit, in addition to rewards and prizes of books for his proficiency. At the sixteenth anniversary of the College, Lord Hastings, in noticing Mr. Macnaghten's exertions, stated, that "there was not a language taught in the College in which he had not earned the highest distinctions which the Government or the College could bestow." From a careful examination of the annals of the College, it may be safely asserted, that no student ever earned greater distinction by the depth and variety of his attainments, and that if it were required to point to any one name as the brightest ornament of that Institution, there are few who would hesitate to fix upon that of Macnaghten.

On quitting the college in May 1816, he was placed as an assistant to the Register in the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, the highest Court of Appeal in the Presidency; an appointment eminently calculated to improve and mature his knowledge of the languages and laws of the country, and in which some of the most distinguished servants of Government, Butterworth Bayley, Thoby Prinsep, Robert Bird, Holt Mackenzie, James Sutherland, and James Thomason, also began their public career. The subsequent abolition of this office cannot be reckoned among the improvements of our administration. In November, 1818, he was deputed to officiate as joint magistrate of Malda, and continued there a twelvemonth. In February, 1820, he was appointed to act in the higher capacity of judge and magistrate of Shahabad, and during the two years of his incumbency afforded the greatest satisfaction, both to the inhabitants and his superiors, as the following testimonial will show:—"The reported excellent state of Shahabad is consistent with what his lordship in council always anticipated from the services of Mr. Macnaghten, and has afforded Government much satisfaction." He now returned to Calcutta as Deputy-Register of the Sudder Court, to which he was appointed in January, 1822, and, in the course of the year, requested that a committee might be appointed to examine him in Hindoo and Mahomedan law. The reports of its members, Captain Lockett and Mr. Lumsden in the latter, and Dr. Carey, Dr. H. H. Wilson, and Captain Price, in the former, speak in the warmest terms of the extraordinary proficiency he had evinced during a very searching examination. We need not load this article with a transcript of these testimonials; it will be sufficient to quote the flattering mention made of Mr. Macnaghten by the Marquis of Hastings, in the last address which that statesman delivered to the College of Fort-William:—"For these distinctions a successful candidate has recently presented himself, and enrolled a name already honourably familiar in the annals, and associated with the best eras and efforts of the Institution. Mr. William Macnaghten has shown, in his bright example, that even amidst the engrossing duties of public station, industry can command the leisure, and genius confer the power, to explore the highest regions of Oriental literature, and to unravel the intricacies of Oriental law. The committee of examination appointed to report on that gentleman's proficiency in the study of the Mahomedan and Hindoo law, have expressed a very high opinion of his attainments, and have pronounced him eminently qualified to consult, in the original, any work on the subject. It is true, indeed, that his labours have been prosecuted beyond the walls of this Institution; but within them was the foundation laid

on which Mr. Macnaghten has reared so noble a superstructure. The parent source, therefore, of his knowledge, and of his success, may justly assert its pride in his matured eminence." Within a fortnight after this commendation, on the 5th of September, 1822, he was gazetted as Register of the Sudder Dewanny, within six years after he had quitted the college.

This important appointment he continued to hold for eight years and a half. The same extraordinary diligence which had raised him to public distinction, was now exhibited in discharging the duties of the office with which he was rewarded. In addition to the daily labours of the Court, he was enabled to carry through the press three volumes of the reports of decided cases. The reports, which had been allowed to run into arrears, he was enabled to bring up almost to the date of publication. Of the cases published, more than two-thirds were reported by himself. They are remarkable for their fulness and accuracy, and are considered a standard authority on all legal questions to which they refer. They enjoy the same reputation in our local courts, which the most esteemed and authentic reports do in the courts at home. While occupying this station, he employed his knowledge of Sungskrit and Arabic for the benefit of the public, and compiled two works—the one "Considerations on Hindoo Law," the other on Mahomedan law—which have proved eminently useful in abridging and guiding the labours of the Judges. These monuments of his erudition and industry will long continue to render his memory grateful to all who are employed at the bar or on the bench in this country.

At the close of 1830, Lord William Bentinck determined to make a tour through the upper and western provinces, for the facility of examining many questions of great interest and importance relative to the revenue, the police, and the judicial system, and more particularly to expedite the survey and settlement of the north-west provinces. He was anxious to take the Council and the Secretariat with him, with the view of establishing a Government on the spot, and discussing and deciding the important questions which passed on the attention of the public authorities. But it was discovered that the letter, as well as the spirit of the law, was opposed to such a proceeding, and that the powers of the Governor-General in Council could only be exercised in Calcutta. The new charter, which was soon afterwards passed, provided for such a contingency, and enabled the Governor-General to proceed on deputation to any part of the Presidency with the full powers of the Council-board, except in matters of legislation. Lord William Bentinck was constrained, therefore, to proceed on his tour without any other assistance

than that of an intelligent secretary; and it reflects no small credit on Mr. Macnaghten that he should have been selected by so excellent a judge of character for his confidential adviser, in the circle of difficult and important duties on which he was about to enter. Mr. Macnaghten's political career, through which he reached the highest distinction open to the ambition of the civil service in about eleven years, may be said to have commenced in January, 1831. He accompanied the Governor-General in his progress through the provinces, and assisted at the investigations and deliberations which then took place. He afterwards went with his lordship, as the official secretary, to the meeting with Runjeet Singh at Roopur, where he obtained his first insight into the mysteries of Lahore policy. This training in the school of one of the greatest statesmen ever employed in the Indian administration, was eminently beneficial to Mr. Macnaghten in his subsequent career, and it placed him at once in the foremost rank of political functionaries. On the return of Lord William Bentinck to the Presidency at the beginning of 1833, Mr. Macnaghten was entrusted with the Secret and Political Departments, and continued to occupy this post in the Secretariat, both of the Government of India and of Bengal, for more than four years.

Lord Auckland succeeded to the Government of India in March 1836, and in October 1837 proceeded on a tour to the North-West Provinces. He resolved to take with him the individual in whom his predecessor had reposed confidence on a similar occasion; and it would have been difficult to point out any individual, with the exception of Mr. Prinsep, better qualified, from his knowledge of the internal machinery of the government, and its political relations with subordinate or independent states, to give his lordship sound and salutary advice. In October 1837, he left Calcutta, which he was never destined to revisit, but in which he was to find a melancholy but honourable grave. He proceeded to Simlah in the suite of the Governor-General. In the following year, Lord Auckland deemed it necessary to despatch the expedition across the Indus, to avert the dangers which appeared to menace the empire from the machinations of Russia, and the hostile movements of Persia; and he entrusted the political management of it to Mr. Macnaghten, in the capacity of envoy and minister to his Majesty Shah Soojah. It was in connection with this enterprise, which opened with the most brilliant success, but was subsequently marked by the most signal disasters, that he has obtained so conspicuous a place in the history of India; and it is upon his conduct, in this difficult and responsible post, that his character as a public man hinges. In this personal memoir, we do not

profess to enter upon the broad and much debated ground of the political expediency or justice of the expedition, which involves so great a variety of considerations. Our object is limited to the individual conduct of the Envoy, in this new and untrodden path, during the last three years of his life. But as he is well known to have approved of the policy which led Government to provide for the security of India, by sending an army into Affghanistan, and was probably among those who suggested it, his official character is, to a considerable degree, implicated in the origin as well as the progress of that measure; and the present sketch of his public life would be incomplete if we were to avoid all reference to the political events, on both sides of the Indus, which preceded that resolution.

The year 1838 was marked by a deplorable change in the feelings of our own subjects, and of the princes of India, towards our authority. The confidence they had been accustomed to repose in the permanence of our supremacy was displaced by a feverish anxiety, which was accompanied by an evident impatience of it. The relations between the governed and their rulers, and between the princes of India and our Government, was violently disturbed. A general opinion began to pervade the minds of our own subjects, that the empire was about to be assailed by an overwhelming force from the regions beyond the Indus, under the guidance of an invincible power. For eight hundred years, India had been overrun by successive expeditions from Central Asia. All the revolutions in its government, from the days of Mahmood of Ghuzni, to those of Nadir Shah, had originated across the Indus. Another expedition, from the same cradle of commotions, was immediately expected; and it was supposed that our Government, although it had triumphed over all opposition within the Indus, would be unable to stand the shock of this new irruption. At the beginning of the present century, the invasion of India was attempted by Zeman Shah, the King of Cabool; and Lord Wellesley, in his despatches to the Court of Directors, on that occasion, described it as having "created the strongest sensation throughout India;" and affirmed that, "every Mahomedan, even in the remotest region of the Deccan, waited with anxious expectation for the advance of the champion of Islam." In the year 1838, the same hope was revived throughout the land, and the Mahomedan press began to assume a tone of treasonable defiance. The Persian journals, published in Calcutta, and in Behar, were filled with the most open and scandalous abuse of the *Kafirs:* the British Government was threatened with an irruption of two or three hundred thousand true believers from the other

side of the Indus, under the direction of the irresistible Russians and all good Mussulmans were called on to prepare themselves for the crisis, which was to transfer the sceptre of India to the followers of the prophet. A general feeling of mistrust was rapidly spread through the country, and with it was combined, in many instances, that longing for a change which all conquered nations are apt to indulge in, partly from an undefined hope of benefit, and partly from a feeling of envy. In the "remotest Deccan," according to the testimony of the late Edward Bannerman, the natives began to bury their jewels and money in the ground. Burmah and Nepal openly threatened invasion; and at this latter court, the astrologers were sent to ascertain the period indicated by the planetary movements for the termination of our rule. The public securities, which in India as in England form the gauge of public confidence in existing institutions, were palpably affected by these rumours.

This universal panic was occasioned by the siege of Herat by the Persians under the guidance of Russia, and the avowed declaration, so industriously propagated, that it was the precursor of a larger expedition for the conquest of India. The attitude assumed by the princes of Central Asia towards the British Government served to increase the ferment. The designs of Russia in the East had for more than thirty years been an object of solicitude to our political authorities both at home and in India. It was universally believed, by men of all parties, that the movements of Russian policy in Asia were directed against the tranquillity, if not the existence, of our Eastern empire. No one was perhaps so silly as to expect that a Russian army would be able to march from the Caspian to Calcutta, with the encumbrances of modern warfare, and plant the Muscovite standard on the ramparts of Fort William; but it was evident that Russia was feeling her way to the Indus, and gradually consolidating her influence through Central Asia, with the ultimate view of being able to form a combination of its various chiefs against our power in India, whenever Russia and England might be brought into collision in Europe. Within the present century she had advanced her frontier a thousand miles nearer India, and had already succeeded in establishing a paramount influence over the Persian Court; and a Persian army was laying siege to Herat, under Russian influence, in the very teeth of our remonstrances. The British Envoy in Persia had pressed on our rulers the danger of permitting the city to fall a prey to the Persians, because this would have advanced Russian influence still further toward India, and endangered the tranquillity of our Eastern empire.

While these apprehensions were yet comparatively remote, Lord Auckland was forming plans for the extension of British commerce in the regions of Central Asia, and had deputed Captain (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes to Cabool, to examine and report on the commercial capabilities of that and surrounding states. He was encountered by a Russian Envoy at Cabool, who had come to enlist Dost Mahomed in the confederation of states west of the Indus. In his letter dated July the 5th, on the Indus, Captain Burnes says, "I came to look after commerce, to superintend surveys and examine passes of mountains, and likewise certainly to see into affairs, to judge of what was to be done hereafter—but the hereafter has already arrived, and I have all but deserted my ledger for treaties and politics." While he was moving up the Indus, the Affghans took advantage of the opportunity which presented itself, by the withdrawal of a great part of Runjeet's army on the frontier for the sake of display on the marriage of Nou Nihal and the visit of Sir Henry Fane at Lahore, and defeated the Seikhs at Peshawur. Runjeet Singh, with his vast resources of men and money, was little likely to brook this reverse, and he was preparing to chastise the aggressors. At this critical period, Captain Burnes presented himself at Cabool as our accredited agent, and was cordially received by the Dost, who is said to have fallen into our views. His commission was limited to commercial negotiations, and a promise of protecting the Affghans from the further aggressions of the Seiks, on condition that the tribes west of the Khyber would engage not to appear as aggressors. It had been framed without any view of immediate danger from Russia. But on his arrival at that city he learned the full extent to which Russian diplomacy had been carried, and the views with which Russia was urging on the siege of Herat. "In pushing on Persia to Herat," says he, "the Emperor but insinuates his own power in the very direction he desires. But for our deputation at the time it happened, the house we occupy would have been tenanted by a Russian Agent and Persian Elchee." Notwithstanding the deputation, however, his apprehensions were confirmed by the sudden apparition of a Russian Envoy. On the 20th of December he communicated to the Governor-General "the very extraordinary piece of intelligence hat an agent direct from the Emperor of Russia had arrived in Cabool on the preceding day." On the 9th of January he wrote to a friend, "We are in a mess here. Herat is besieged, and may fall, and the Emperor of Russia has sent an envoy to Cabool to offer Dost Mahomed money to fight Runjeet Singh. I could not believe my eyes or ears, but Captain Vicovitch, for that is

the agent's name, arrived here with a blazing letter three feet long, and sent immediately to pay his respects to me. The Ameer came over to me, and offered to do as I liked, kick him out, or any thing, but I stood too much in fear of Vattel, &c. The chiefs of Candahar are gone over to Persia. I have detached them, and offered them British protection and *cash*, if they would recede and Persia attacked them. I have no authority to do so; but am I to stand by and see us ruined at Candahar, when the Government tell me an attack on Herat would be most unpalatable?"

This startling intelligence of the extension of Russian outrage from Herat to Candahar, and from Candahar to Cabool, to the very threshold of our empire, was immediately communicated to Lord Auckland; and his lordship was soon after informed that the despatches of our ambassador in Persia, communicated to Captain Burnes through the Bombay Government, "proved all previous conjectures to be well-founded, and that M. Vicovitch was what he had given himself out, an agent from the Emperor of Russia." "The necessity," he adds, "for a good understanding with this chief (the Dost) has thus become more apparent as the dangers from such an alliance are no longer imaginary, but fairly developed." Lord Auckland, however, was neither prepared to enlist the chiefs of Affghanistan in our interest by money, nor to march an army across the Indus and put an end to these intrigues. Captain Burnes was sharply rebuked for having, wholly without authority, taken on himself the grave responsibility of promising the Candahar chiefs his own presence with their troops, and promising aid from the British Government. He had stated that our offer of mediation with Runjeet Singh was treated slightly by Dost Mahomed, who declared that he had no apprehensions in that direction. To this his lordship replied, that the Dost's own applications, to every quarter open to him, for succour against the danger, manifested the alarm which he himself entertained; that the immense resources of Runjeet would enable him, at any time, to consummate at least the ruin of Dost Mahomed; and that the offer of our good offices for the peace and security of his remaining territory, was the utmost demand we could make on Runjeet Singh. The most important part of this despatch, however, is contained in the following sentence:—"Positive engagements to assist opposition to actual invasion from the westward, by arms or subsidies, have not been contemplated by his lordship. Not to speak of the exceeding inconvenience of political engagements at a distance so great from our own resources, these measures might raise questions of serious national difficulty, which ought if possible to be reversed,

for the unfettered consideration of the Government of England." There can be no doubt, that when the first report of the danger from Russian intrigue, which had been thus unexpectedly brought to our own doors, came under discussion, the project of a military demonstration, in connection with Shah Soojah, was mentioned among the remedies which might be resorted to; but it was at once rejected by Lord Auckland, as too hazardous; and the temporary, or rather temporizing, expedient was adopted, of simply offering to guarantee Dost Mahomed from all further aggression on the part of the Seikhs in the east, in return for which he was expected to refrain from all intercourse with the powers to the west. An Affghan war was debated, and negatived. Captain Burnes was directed to suggest to the Ameer, that if the Russian Envoy had already gone from Cabool, he should be dismissed with courtesy; and to state distinctly, that if the Dost should seek to retain the agent, and to enter into any kind of political intercourse with him, his (Captain Burnes') mission would retire; that our good offices with the Seikhs would wholly cease, and that such an act would be considered as a direct breach of friendship with the British Government.

This communication, as might naturally have been expected, was anything but satisfactory to the Ameer, who, though he had offered to "kick out" the Russian Envoy on the 11th of December, had allowed him to remain in Cabool to the 5th of March, the date of Captain Burnes' reply, "to make use of him against us." Dost Mahomed, though well affected to the British Government, and much more anxious for the honour and advantage of its alliance than for any connection with remoter allies, was ill-disposed to meet the Governor-General upon the basis of the terms offered. As the price of his adherence to us, he claimed British support as a means of protection from the west, and he demanded the restoration of Peshawur, which had in strict truth never belonged to him, having been left, on the ultimate partition of the Dooranee empire, to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, by whom it was ceded to the Seikhs, he becoming by treaty their feudatory. It became evident to Captain Burnes, that without these concessions we could not "carry his heart with us." The Ameer was also mortified to find, that when the importance of his position in "Affghanistan, the door of India (durwajuh-i-Hind)," was rendered so manifest by the solicitations of the Russian Cabinet through its Envoy, the Governor-General should look with indifference (be purwaee) to any connection with the Affghan nation. One of the first individuals, whose counsel he sought, advised that he should take the British Government at its word and dismiss its agent, as there was nothing to be expected from

his presence in Cabool. But the Ameer had not yet made up his mind between a Russian and an English alliance. Nightly meetings were held in the Bala-Hissar; and "the Ameer on more than one occasion gave vent to very strong expressions both as to his future proceedings and his disappointment at the slight degree of appreciation entertained by Government regarding him." Captain Burnes also informed Lord Auckland that there was little "hope of establishing a friendly connexion with him on the terms proposed by Government, and that if it could be brought about, before a change of opinion took place, the friendship would be delusive, and that no dependence could be placed on the chief." Every man at all acquainted with the Oriental character must perceive, that after the arrival of a Russian Envoy, with the most direct offers of assistance for combating Runjeet Singh, and after Dost Mahomed's mind had thus been inflated by the brilliant prospect of conquests beyond the Indus, the repetition of the meagre proposal which we made before the arrival of the Envoy was known, and which assured the Dost of nothing beyond protection against further aggression, must have appeared in his eyes contemptible. We question whether an European monarch would have hesitated so long as the Dost did between the parties. At length, however, he made up his mind to accept the higher offers of Russia. "The game is up," says Captain Burnes, writing from Peshawur, the 6th of May, "the Russians gave me the *coup de grace*, and I could hold no longer at Cabool, so I have fallen back on Peshawur, where I arrived on the 4th. Our Government would do nothing, but the Secretary of the Russian Legation, M. Goutt, came down with the most direct offers of assistance and money, and as I had no power to counteract him by a similar offer, and got wigged for talking of it at a time when it would have been merely a dead letter to say Affghanistan was under our protection, I was obliged, of course, to give in." And thus ended Captain Burnes's ill-fated mission, which was sent in search of commerce, and brought back war.

The retirement, under such circumstances, of Captain Burnes threw the Government of India into a state of embarrassment. Far better would it have been that he had not made his appearance at Cabool, than that he should be obliged to retire by the preponderance of Russian influence and intrigue. We believe it was much about the time when news of the disastrous termination of the mission reached Lord Auckland, that he received the despatches of the ministry at home, urging the most vigorous measures to counteract the machinations of Russia, and advising that the danger which menaced our Indian empire should be warded off by our Indian resources of men and money. His lord-

ship had now, therefore, the resolutions which had been formed by the "unfettered consideration" of the Government in England, and began to contemplate "those positive engagements to assist opposition to actual invasion from the eastward by our arms or subsidies," from which he had turned with alarm five months before. The door of reconciliation with Dost Mahomed had been closed by the retirement of Captain Burnes, and to have revived our negotiations with him would only have served to heighten his vanity, to induce him to rise in his demands, and give him additional reasons for "making use of the Russian Envoy against us." It would have been tantamount to putting up the peace and security of our empire to auction, to be knocked down to the highest bidder. The coincidence, in point of time, of Captain Burnes's return, with the arrival of advices from home, characterized doubtless by Lord Palmerston's usual vigour, led to the renewed consideration of the plan for establishing a British influence at Cabool by the restoration of Shah Soojah; and the expedition to Affghanistan was resolved on.

It is no part of the duty we have undertaken to enter on a defence of this unfortunate expedition, which proved the grave of our treasure, our army, and our national honour. But those who took a share in suggesting it,—and more especially the subject of this article,—are entitled to an equitable consideration of the circumstances in which they were called to act, and of the motives which regulated their conduct. It is always deemed a matter of historical justice, when the merits of those who have taken the lead in public affairs in past ages are examined, to give due weight to the circumstances, the feelings, and the impulses of the times. Equity demands that the benefit of the same principle should be extended to those who have been entrusted with the direction of public measures in our own day, and that the fullest regard should be paid to the circumstances upon which they are thrown, and the inevitable influence of those events on their judgment. There can be no hesitation in saying that the expedition was injudicious and hazardous. Had those who were at the head of affairs at the time been as fully apprised of the natural difficulties of the country, of the impossibility of marching a Russian army and its commissariat to the Indus, and of the state of public feeling in Affghanistan, as we are, they would never have adopted the alternative of this expedition. But, in 1838, the danger to our Indian empire, from the combination which Russia had succeeded in effecting among the powers of Central Asia, appeared most imminent and pressing; and the means adopted to avert it were such as

seemed, on the maturest contemplation, to be most suitable to the emergency, and best calculated to roll back the advancing tide of invasion, and to revive the confidence of our subjects and the princes of India. It was supposed that the present attempt to establish Russian influence in the neighbourhood of the Indus, could in no way be so effectually and so conclusively counteracted, as by establishing a Government at Cabool which should be firm to our own interests. We might have bought off Dost Mahomed from the Russian alliance by subsidies, but this would have afforded us no certainty that he would always be proof against higher allurements from St. Petersburgh. And probably it appeared in the light of a degradation that the empire, which we had won by our statesmanship and valour, should owe its tranquillity to the forbearance of a mercenary chief, whom we were required to keep in good humour by the punctuality of our payments. The peace of the country must always, it was supposed, be insecure while it continued to be subject of hucksterage with the prince who held the gates of India. When once we had begun to purchase his favour by subsidies, we gave him an advantage over us, which he must have been a fool not to use for the extortion of larger subsidies under the threat of admitting another Russian Envoy. It was felt that the security of our empire would be irrecoverably compromised whenever we were obliged, like the Emperors of Rome in its decline, to buy off the barbarians on our frontier. Neither was it exactly in accordance with our national spirit, to wait calmly till we were invaded, and to sit down on the banks of the Indus with an army of fifty thousand men in expectation of our enemies. It was natural that we should determine to do as we had always hitherto done in India,—carry the war at once beyond our own territories, and anticipate the design of our opponents. The effect on the minds of our own subjects, and of the princes in our alliance within the Indus, of a bold course of policy was not, perhaps, without its weight on those who were responsible for the peace of the empire. Had we averted aggression by subsidies, or even waited for the enemy on our frontier, the disaffected would probably have been emboldened rather than discouraged, and plots would have been multiplied. But the despatch of an army to the scene of intrigue and danger was calculated to strike awe into the minds of all those who were speculating on our imbecility. The motives which dictated the expedition were therefore above suspicion. It was from no impulse of passion, from no lust of territorial aggrandizement, but simply to ward off a great national calamity, and secure the tranquillity of this

empire, that we took up arms and marched into Affghanistan; and even the warmest and ablest of Tory advocates, the *Quarterly Review*, applauded, for once, the wisdom and spirit of its political opponents in thus endeavouring to meet the danger half way, instead of waiting for its approach. And here we may be permitted to remark that the effect of this resolution was magical. It repressed at once the hostile expectations which the discontented had begun to cherish; it confounded the rulers who were waiting to take advantage of our weakness; it raised the public funds, and gave fresh assurance to those whose safety depended on our energy.

The measure which appeared to the public authorities at this crisis the most advisable for carrying this plan into effect, was the establishment of a government in Affghanistan bound to us by the ties of gratitude and a common interest, by the substitution of Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabool in the room of Dost Mahomed. The title of this latter chief to the Government was inferior to that of the Shah. There were abundant proofs before our Government of the tyranny of Dost Mahomed; and it was asserted by officers who professed to know the country —and the assertion was supported by invitations to return from every chief of note, Newab Jubber Khan, the Dost's brother at their head—that the legitimate monarch would be received with open arms by the Affghans. He had on one occasion attempted the recovery of his paternal throne without our aid; he had been joined by many chiefs of note, and was within a tittle of success. It was felt that Affghanistan, in his hands, would cease to be the theatre of intrigues against our power. On the political morality or turpitude of this measure, there has been a wide diversity of opinion. It has been denounced with an energy almost amounting to ferocity on the one hand; on the other it has been defended by a reference to the crisis of the times, to the magnitude of the danger, and to the general practice of states on all such emergencies.—Having thus stated the circumstances under which the Affghan policy was adopted, without, however, attempting to pronounce an opinion on the propriety or impropriety of that policy, we take leave of the subject, with this simple remark, that the attack on Tippoo Sultan by Lord Wellesley, under circumstances nearly similar, was condemned at the time as severely as the expedition to Affghanistan, and by no one more inexorably than by the historian Mill. Yet in the evidence he gave before Parliament, we find the following singular assertion: "I consider that we have nothing now between us and the most desirable frontier every-

where but the territory of Runjeet Sing. If we were threatened on the north-west, for example, by an invasion of the Russians, we should in self-defence *be obliged to take possession of the country to the foot of the hills*, as we could not leave an intermediate space in which the enemy might establish themselves,"—that is, we should be obliged to take possession of the Punjab in self-defence, whatever might be the sentiments of the ruler towards us. And thus have we been apparently acting in self-defence, from the time when our factory was plundered, and our public officers put to death by Suraja-Dowlah, till our factory has swelled into an empire, and our frontier fort now overlooks the Sutlege.

When the expedition had been determined on, Mr. Macnaghten was deputed to Lahore to conclude the tripartite treaty between Runjeet Sing, Shah Soojah, and the British Government. This was the first negotiation in which he had been employed, and the skill with which it was managed earned for him the warm commendation of the Governor-General. On his return arrangements were made for the assemblage of an army, intended to raise the siege of Herat, and to accompany Shah Soojah to Cabool. The command of it was to be entrusted to Sir Henry Fane, the commander-in-chief. While these military movements were in progress, it occurred to Lord Auckland that it would be necessary to place a minister at the Court of the Shah to represent our interests, and to watch over the progress of events in Central Asia. Mr. Macnaghten was selected for this arduous duty. Some of the least scrupulous of the writers who have discussed Affghan politics have asserted, that the expedition itself was undertaken to gratify Mr. Macnaghten's ambition, and to "get rid of him." It is scarcely necessary to observe that the infamy which this charge reflects on the Envoy and the Governor-General is altogether gratuitous. The appointment of Mr. Macnaghten had not been fixed, as we learn from Capt. Burnes, on the 25th August, that is, two months after the treaty had been completed. He says, "I believe the chief (Sir H. Fane) and Macnaghten will be made a Commission; as for Macnaghten, he is Secretary for all India, and goes *pro tem.*" Several eminent names suggested themselves to Lord Auckland for this post; but Mr. George Clerk was required to watch over the complicated web of Punjabee politics, and could not be spared. Col. Pottinger was not personally known to his Lordship; and it appeared necessary to employ on this difficult errand one who was in possession of the Governor-General's views of Central Asian policy, and to whom, from personal knowledge, he could entrust the completion of them with confidence. No man ap-

peared fitter for this duty than Mr. Macnaghten. He was intimately acquainted with the native languages, and with the habits, and feelings, and policy of the natives. He was an officer of large experience in public affairs, and of sound judgment; and the caution of his natural disposition had been improved and matured by his connection with the prudent Lord William Bentinck. He had assisted at the discussions which terminated in the resolution to make Affghanistan British, and he was fully master, to all appearance, of the various bearings of the question. A fitter agent could not have been selected. On the 1st of October he was gazetted as Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Soojah, and accompanied Lord Auckland to the great gathering of the troops at Ferozepore.

While the army was encamped there, it was announced that the Persians had raised the siege of Herat, and retired. It has been urged that the *casus belli* terminated with the relief of this place; and that, if this event rendered it advisable to reduce the army by one-half, it also pointed out the necessity of relinquishing the expedition altogether. Had the object of it been simply the relief of Herat, and the retrogression of the Persian bands, our army might have been disbanded with great propriety. But Government sought not simply temporary relief, but permanent security. The danger had blown over for a time, but it was not extinct. The disposition of the chiefs of Central Asia to entertain the proposals of our European rivals, and open or shut the gates of India to them as their offers might appear more or less tempting, was likely to be encouraged rather than checked by the important efforts we had deemed it necessary to make on the first appearance of a rival envoy. It still seemed advisable to extinguish these intrigues at once and for ever, by placing a monarch in our interest on the throne, and establishing a paramount influence throughout Affghanistan. Besides, there was a treaty already signed, sealed, and delivered, by which our Government was bound to assist in the restoration of the Shah, without any reference to the relief or capture of Herat. This treaty it would have been infamous to have violated. The army was, therefore, reduced in number, and sent out on its long and dreary march, through untrodden deserts and mountain defiles, to seat the Shah on the throne of his ancestors, and Mr. Macnaghten accompanied him as envoy and minister. The military arrangements were modified. Sir W. Cotton was directed to march with the Bengal column to Sukker, and there to cross to the left bank of the Indus, over a bridge of boats; while Sir John Keane, who was appointed General-in-chief, moved up with the Bombay column from Kurrachee.

A more difficult and delicate office than that to which Mr. Macnaghten was now appointed has seldom been confided to a subordinate functionary in the east. He was the chief political agent in an expedition sent on a hazardous errand, through unknown regions, where the military or political experience acquired in India could be of little avail. He was to accompany a prince, whom our presence was likely to render unpopular, through a country of the most impracticable character, which had been the grave of many previous expeditions, and to seat him on the throne of his ancestors. He was in a difficult position as to the people of the country, and in a still more difficult position as to the military authorities with whom he was associated. The diplomatic arrangements were placed in one hand, and the military direction of affairs in another. In these circumstances, it was scarcely possible that the two classes of offices should not come into collision, on the numerous occasions in which either negotiations were to regulate military movements, or those movements to assist negotiations. It required no small tact and temper to prevent the interruption of the object of the expedition by misunderstandings. Few expeditions have ever been despatched under the direction of co-ordinate authorities, military, or naval, or diplomatic, which have not been exposed to the risk of failure by dissensions. Our recent enterprizes in China and Affghanistan furnish no exception to this rule. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise, that in an expedition of so peculiar a character as that in Affghanistan, discord should have early made its appearance. Unfortunately, on all occasions in which the military and political officers clash, it is the fashion to throw all the blame on the diplomatic functionary, and on his interference.

Mr. Macnaghten has been censured severely for meddling with Sir Willoughby Cotton's movement upon Hydrabad; but it must not be forgotten that in this instance it was not with arrangements strictly military that he interfered. He protested against the diversion of the force from the great object of the expedition. He was deeply impressed with the necessity of an immediate and uninterrupted advance on Candahar; and the departure of Sir Willoughby towards Hydrabad to assist Sir John Keane in an enterprize which it was believed he could accomplish single-handed, appeared an unnecessary sacrifice of a whole season. In his letter of the 6th February, 1839, he says, "If Sir Willoughby's entire division is to move all the way down to Hydrabad, it is quite clear that it can take no part for the present season in the operations in Affghanistan." At the same time, he expressed himself with no little distrust. "It is with diffidence I state my notions on this subject, but I feel that I

am placed in a very responsible situation. I do not find that Sir John Keane has called for any support from this quarter."—"I can therefore have no hesitation in expressing the opinion I entertain. Sir W. Cotton will, I am sure (and I expect the same indulgence from Sir H. Fane, should his Excellency be with the army), pardon the freedom with which I have ventured to discuss topics not within my peculiar province, and I will attribute my doing so to the earnest desire we all feel of contributing to advance the cause of our Government. I have stated my political views, and, in doing so, have unavoidably touched upon matters not strictly within my province. I shall, of course, be freed from the responsibility if the Major-general, on military grounds, should not think fit to adopt my suggestions."

These quotations will serve to show the good feeling with which Mr. Macnaghten was actuated in these delicate circumstances. They also demonstrate, that one great cause to which our expulsion from Affghanistan is to be attributed—the defect, rather the non-existence, of any intelligence department—was already in fatal operation. Sir W. Cotton actually made a diversion of his troops towards Hydrabad without having received any orders from Sir John Keane. On the 25th January, he wrote from Roree to the Governor-General, to say that, "in the absence of any intelligence from Sir John Keane, it had become absolutely necessary to consider how the force under him could be disposed of most usefully to assist the pending negotiations of Sir John Keane or Col. Pottinger. He had determined, therefore upon making an immediate demonstration with the cavalry brigades, the horse artillery, Brigadier Sale's brigade, and the camel battery;" adding, "should Sir John not want us we can countermarch." Sir Henry Fane, who was then with Sir W. Cotton's division, was greatly in favour of this movement. "My opinion," says he, "is that a stronger demonstration be made towards Hydrabad." This was also the course which Sir John Keane himself directed, though his letters appear never to have reached either Sir Willoughby Cotton or Mr. Macnaghten. For on the 6th February Mr. Macnaghten writes, "the state of our intelligence department is lamentable in the extreme. We are utterly ignorant of Sir John Keane's movements and motives,"—thirteen days after he had written for reinforcements,—"whether he is at Jurruk or Tatta—whether he has retreated—and if he has, whether from deficiency of means, or to lead the enemy on; and we know nothing as to what the Ameers are doing, where they are, or what terms have been offered them." It was in this state of uncertainty that he wrote to Mr. Colvin on the 5th February to say, "Sir Willoughby is clearly gone

on a wild-goose chase. He cannot possibly, I think, be at Hydrabad under twenty-five days from this date, and he seems to be travelling by a route which has no road. He will soon, I fear, find himself in the jungle."

On the 6th February, Mr. Macnaghten received despatches from Lord Auckland, in which he stated his anxious desire that a portion of the Bengal army should be sent into Affghanistan in support of the advance of Shah Soojah. Fortified by this opinion, the envoy wrote in most decisive language to Sir Willoughby,—"I, therefore, in virtue of the powers vested in me by his Lordship, require you to furnish me with such a force as shall be sufficient to enable me to give effect to his Lordship's plans in Affghanistan. I have already urged, in the strongest terms, your crossing over to this side of the river with your whole force. Of Sir John Keane's army there can be no apprehensions." These expressions gave great offence, and the matter was referred to the Governor-General, and his Lordship expressed himself not satisfied with the language of Mr. Macnaghten's communication. His reply to Lord Auckland throws much light on his character:—"It is needless now to occupy your Lordship's time with any attempt at a defence of my proceedings. My first wish is to gain your approbation; and I can safely say that I am no less solicitous than your Lordship to preserve the most perfect understanding with the military authorities. Of this I trust you will have been convinced by my subsequent correspondence. Nothing could have induced me to hazard a collision with the authorities but the overwhelming importance of the crisis which I (it now appears erroneously) thought was of such a nature as imperatively to require my interposition, believing, as I firmly did, and still do, that your Lordship's grand objects in Affghanistan were on the point of being defeated without the existence of any emergency to justify the risk." At the same time he wrote to a friend:—"I fully expected the unqualified approbation of the Governor-General. In this I have been disappointed; but if I am to be blamed, do not charge me with that of which, on reference to my letter which you quote, you will find I am perfectly innocent. I repeat that I never did presume to use the language of *direction* in *military* matters, and that of my *counsel* in such matters I have been particularly chary, except upon one occasion. Excuse all this. You have ripped up an old sore, and it will run. * * *" We have dwelt more largely on this transaction, because it is the solitary instance we can find of Mr. Macnaghten's actual collision with the military authorities. The experience which he obtained on this occasion of the inflammability of their disposi-

tion enabled him, by his admirable tact and management, to prevent any farther clashing of orders.

Several days, however, before this correspondence between Mr. Macnaghten and Sir Willoughby Cotton, our disputes with the Ameers of Scinde had been brought to a close without any intimation of the approach of the Bengal column. On the 1st of February they agreed to the terms dictated by the British Government, and the Bombay and Bengal contingents were at length at liberty to pursue the original objects of the expedition. The Bengal column reached Shikarpore on the 20th of February, and led the way towards the Bolan Pass on the 23rd. The Shah's troops and camp did not move before the 7th of March. Although the army did not encounter the opposition of an enemy for four months and a half till it reached Ghuzni, yet the hardships to which it was exposed from the natural difficulties of this region of wild deserts and stupendous mountains from the want of provisions and the loss of camels, were such as an Indian army had seldom, if ever, experienced before. The envoy had no sooner broken ground at Shikarpore than he learned that his hopes of provision and forage on the line of march were to be miserable disappointed. "Captain Johnson," says he, writing from Wagun, "has just received the melancholy intelligence that not a grain of any sort had been laid in for us at Dadur." On reaching Baugh, he found that the necessity of using the green crops for the army had ruined the inhabitants. "Their crops have been destroyed, and the water intended for the irrigation of their fields diverted for the use of our armies. I went out this morning to see what damage had been done. The devastation is grievous. My most strenuous endeavours have been directed day and night towards reconciling all persons of influence to our operations. Our officers and our measures are alike unpopular in this country." Three days after this letter was written, on the 22nd March, he says,—"The Bombay force is nearly on the point of starvation. This is a wretched country in every respect. It may be said to produce nothing but plunderers; but with the knowledge we now have of it, we may bid defiance to the Russian hordes as far as this route is concerned."

Of the difficulties of the terrific Bolan Pass it seems that neither the political nor military authorities had any adequate idea before they were called to encounter them. "It is really quite miraculous," says Mr. Macnaghten, "that the army has not been opposed when every inch of our way might have been disputed. That it would have been so next year, any one who has heard of the activity of Captain Vicovitch alone can hardly

doubt." After these formidable passes had been surmounted, Mr. Macnaghten's first care was to determine how our communications with the Indus could be kept open, and he immediately proposed to Lord Auckland the formation of a local corps to consist of the various tribes of mountaineers—a project which was speedily effected by the organization of a corps of Bolan rangers. The mountaineers were thus reconciled to us by high and regular pay, and from that time forward the Pass was effectually kept open, free from all danger. The army at length reached the valley of Shawl, and there the envoy learned that the mission of Sir Alexander Burnes to Khelat had entirely failed. There is no reason to believe that the Khan had taken any steps to oppose our progress through the Pass, for even his rabble army might have effectually blocked it up. The robberies which had kept our troops so constantly on the alert might be referred to the larcenous disposition of the mountain tribes, who required no stimulus beyond that which was afforded by the magnitude of the prize presented to their view. But the Khan had withheld all supplies of provisions, and reduced our army to extremity by the scarcity he created. Sir Alexander obtained nothing from him but an "impertinent lecture" about the errors of our policy, in all which, strange to say, he acknowledged that he had himself fully concurred. Yet it is worthy of remark, that when our difficulties in Affghanistan were at their height, Beloochistan, owing to the successful exertions and the influence of Colonel Stacey, remained tranquil. Mehrab Khan is said to have asked Sir Alexander, "how we were to get out of Affghanistan now we had got in?" He forgot how much easier it was to manage the people of Khelat than those of Affghanistan. The retiring portion of our troops under General England, in fact, got out of the country by the same route by which we entered it, and with infinitely greater ease.

At Quetta, the same distress for provisions was felt. "The resources of the country," says the envoy, "are hermetically sealed to us, and our troops are starving on quarter rations, while the British Mission is compelled to purchase their means of subsistence by stealth. . . . The fact is, the troops and followers are nearly in a state of mutiny for food." Three days after, on reaching Hykulzie—since rendered so memorable by the unaccountable defeat of General England, and the influence of this reverse inducing Lord Ellenborough to sound a retreat from Affghanistan—Mr. Macnaughten writes in the following strain,—and we make the quotation to show the amazing difficulties of his position, and the firmness of mind which he displayed in these arduous circumstances,—"The whole of the force, from

Sir W. Cotton downwards, are infected with exaggerated fears relating to the character of the King and the prospects of the campaign. They fancy they see an enemy in every bush. The Khan of Khelat is our implacable enemy, and Sir J. Keane is burning with revenge. There never was such treatment inflicted on civilized beings as we have been subjected to in our progress through the Khan's country. I will say nothing of Burnes's negotiations. His instructions were to conciliate, but I think he adhered too strictly to the letter of them. The Commander-in-Chief is very angry. I would give something to be in Candahar, and there, Inshallah, we shall be in about a week; but, in the meantime, this union of strictly disciplined troops with lawless soldiers is very trying to my patience. With a less tractable king than Shah Soojah the consequences might be fatal. I have reference every minute in the day, and we are compelled to tell his Majesty's people that they must not touch the green crops of the country. This they think very hard, and so I believe does the King; but he has nevertheless forbidden them."

The army reached Candahar on the 25th of April, and Mr. Macnaghten announced to the Governor-General that the Shah had been received with enthusiasm. This statement has been represented by those opposed to the war as an instance of duplicity. It is possible that the envoy may have been mistaken in his observations, and have allowed his wishes in some measure to influence his judgment, but that he was perfectly conscientious in his belief that the reception of the Shah was cordial is abundantly manifest from his private correspondence. "The Shah made a grand public entry in the city this morning, and was received with feelings nearly amounting to adoration. I shall report the particulars officially. I have already had more than one ebullition of petulance to contend with. The latest I send herewith, and I trust that a soft answer will have the effect of turning away wrath. There are many things which I wish to mention, but I really have no leisure. Of this your Lordship may judge when I state that for the last three days I have been out in the sun, and have not been able to get breakfast before three in the afternoon." The army was detained at Candahar waiting for provisions more than two months. This period was employed by Mr. Macnaghten in taking those measures which appeared necessary to carry out the great objects of the expedition—the establishment of British influence and the erection of a bulwark against invasion in Central Asia. Evidence of the perfidy of the Khelat chief had crowded on him as he advanced to Candahar, and he now proposed, as the slightest penalty which could be inflicted on him, to annex Moostung, Shawl, and Cutch

Gundava to the Shah's dominions. The project of despatching a large portion of the force to Herat, which had been uppermost in the envoy's thoughts, was now laid aside; and Major D'Arcy Todd, who had acquired singular perfection in the Persian language, and had acquitted himself with much credit in the difficult political negotiations which had been entrusted to him in Persia, was sent to Herat to negotiate a treaty with Shah Kamram, and promote British interests. Major Sanders, of the Engineers, whose subsequent death on the field of battle at Maharajpore was so deeply deplored by the whole army at this Presidency, was sent to repair and improve the fortifications of Herat, on which no less than thirty lacs of rupees were expended. The sum proved a dead loss; but we should have probably sustained a far greater and more deplorable loss if, at the period of our disasters, a British army had been unfortunately locked up in that city.

Nothing particularly worthy of notice occurs, for some time after this, in the career of the Envoy. The military memoirs of the war have told how Ghuzni was taken through the skill of Major Thompson, and the valour of the army, after the siege train had been so unaccountably left behind; how the Dost fled, and how the Shah was installed in the Bala Hissar, and how a considerable portion of the army was then sent back to India. We are anxious to touch chiefly upon those events which served to exhibit the character of the Envoy, and more particularly on those which are exemplified by his own letters. At the beginning of 1840, he was honoured with the most substantial token of the approbation with which his conduct in Affghanistan was viewed, by being raised to the dignity of a baronet. The Envoy was, about this time, relieved from the anxiety naturally occasioned by the Dost's hovering on the northern frontier of Affghanistan, by his departure to the court of the Khan of Bokhara. This circumstance led eventually to the surrender of the Dost's family into our hands, which was the most important event in the early half of the year 1840. The "Commander of the Faithful," as the Khan styles himself, received Dost Mahomed with cordiality, and pressed him to send for his family, to whom he promised every kindness. But the Dost knew the character of the Khan too well to place the objects of his affection within the reach of that prince. He accordingly wrote a letter to his brother, which was shown to the Khan, requesting that they might be sent on to the friendly court of Bokhara; at the same time, he wrote privately to authorize him rather to put them to death than to allow them to set foot within the territories of

Bokhara. Long and anxiously did the Commander of the Faithful look out for the Dost's Zenana and their jewels and ornaments, which he intended to transfer to his own treasures; but when he found that he was mocked by his guest, he cast both the Dost and his sons into prison, saying, "There shalt thou remain till thy family is brought to Bokhara." Jubber Khan was now at a loss to know how to act, as his own residence, and that of his brother's family, ceased to be safe in Koolloom, after the sentiments of the Bokhara chief were known. Negotiations were, therefore, opened with the Envoy, who was, above all things, anxious to obtain possession of the Dost's family, as, "in that case, the Khan of Bokhara could make no use of him." The proposal made to Dr. Lord, our political agent in the north, on the subject, was, therefore peculiarly acceptable, and he was instructed to offer a safe and honourable asylum to the whole of the family, on the condition of their residing where our Government might think proper. This resolution was ill-relished by Shah Soojah. "He does not understand," says the Envoy, "upon what principle he can be expected to grant them an asylum, or maintenance:—nothing short of absolute force will induce him to contribute a rupee to their support." But in spite of the Shah's reluctance, the negotiation proceeded, and Jubber Khan arrived at Urgundee, on the 15th July, with a long cavalcade of the wives, daughters, and servants of the fugitive Dost, to the number of two hundred and thirty-nine. This step was taken with his full knowledge and sanction; and the confidence which he thus reposed in the honour and good faith of those who had dethroned him, while he refused it to one of his own creed, reflects no small credit on our national character.

At the commencement of 1840, it had been announced that the Russian Government had despatched a large army to Khiva. This expedition naturally served to confirm those suspicions of the designs of Russia in Central Asia, which had originally suggested the idea of marching into Affghanistan. The magnitude of the armanent, and the terms of the Russian manifesto, combined to show that our apprehensions were by no means chimerical. The army consisted of twenty-four thousand men, and seventy-two pieces of cannon, and could not have been intended simply to subdue the insignificant state of Khiva. The manifesto adopted the very same language which had been employed in Lord Auckland's Simla Notification, and declared that the object of the expedition was to chastise the Khan, to liberate the Russian slaves, and "to establish the lawful influence to which Russia has a right in that part of Asia;" and that "the

troops would be withdrawn as soon as an order of things conformable to the interests of Russia and the neighbouring Asiatic states, should be established on a permanent footing." This army was driven back by the extreme cold of those regions, to which nearly all the cattle fell victims; but until its discomfiture was known, the anxieties of Sir William Macnaghten were in no small degree excited. Sir Alexander Burnes, in whom the *Russophobia*, inspired by the unexpected meeting with Vicovitch at Cabool, had not subsided, was a prey to deep alarm. The Envoy repeatedly alludes to this invasion as increasing the difficulties of his position, though he doubted the possibility of Russia bringing an army to the banks of the Oxus. "I confess," says he, "I am rather sceptical as to the power of the Autocrat to push anything in the shape of an army so far, in one or even in two campaigns. Burnes, however, is alarmed. He says we are altogether deceived as to the strength of the Russian army; that it is now actually in possession of Khiva, and will shortly be at Bokhara. You may imagine the anxiety with which I am looking for authentic intelligence from the north." This letter is dated the 1st of April. On the 14th, he alludes to the possibility of the Russians being in force on the Oxus as a reason for reinforcement, and as showing that the case contemplated by the Home Authorities had risen. On the 10th of May, he proposed that Sir Alexander Burnes himself should proceed on a mission to the Russian camp; but the idea was abandoned. "He said he would willingly go, if ordered; but that," says the Envoy, "is not the spirit which should animate our Elchee." All these apprehensions were dissipated by the failure of the Russians. We cannot dismiss this subject without noting the singular and significant fact, that when the actual progress of the expedition was announced in India, it produced no sensation; whereas, the mere rumour of the approach of a Persian army, with the assistance of Russia, two years before, had thrown the whole country into a state of the most feverish anxiety. This enigma may be satisfactorily solved by the consideration that our expedition across the Indus, whatever might be its policy or justice, was a bold and energetic measure, calculated to show the people and princes of India that we were prepared for every emergency, and that the spirit which had achieved the conquest of India was yet in its vigour. Our empire was, therefore, considered safe, whatever force might assail it from the West.

The project of marching an army beyond the Hindoo Koosh, into Koolloom, and probably to Bokhara, which had been entertained and abandoned soon after the capture of Cabool, was

resumed in the following year; but chiefly for the benevolent object of releasing Col. Stoddart from the confinement to which he had been so basely subjected by that model of Mahomedan virtue, the Khan of Bokhara. "Let us examine," says the Envoy, "what we are to gain by such a movement, and upon what principles it should be conducted. The first thing to be gained is the punishment of the Shah of Bokhara, for his frequent and outrageous violation of the law of nations, and the release of our agent, Colonel Stoddart, who without some exertion on our part will, it is likely, be doomed to incarceration for life. I suppose the expedition to be conveniently feasible, if entered upon at the proper season of the year. What Tymoor Shah effected, we can do; and with proper arrangement we may either enlist on our side, or keep neutral, the chiefs between us and Bokhara. If we compelled the Shah of Bokhara to release Stoddart, to evacuate all the countries on this side of the Oxus, and to pay the expenses of the expedition, we should have achieved all that is desirable." The plan seems to have been communicated to Mr. Robertson, the Governor of Agra, who questioned the propriety of undertaking so distant an expedition, while we were not masters of the Khyber behind us. The following is Sir William Macnaghten's reply to this objection: —"Doubtless, it must have appeared to you an inconsistency that I should think of sending troops across the Hindoo Koosh, while we have not the power of subjugating the Khyberies; but I regard the former undertaking as infinitely easier than the latter. We know tolerably well what we should have to contend with in Toorkistan, whereas we are utterly ignorant of the fastnesses of the Khyberies, and of the means of resistance possessed by their chiefs. All we know is that the country is fearfully strong, and that each individual is a soldier and a good marksman, behind his native rock. Besides, in sending a force into Toorkistan we should be able to turn to account the strength of the Affghan nation, which consists in its cavalry, and which would be utterly useless in the Khyber." He does not appear, however, to have formed anything like a determination seriously to propose such a movement, for within eleven days after this letter to Mr. Robertson, he writes to Lord Auckland, "I am glad to find that the resolution I have formed of keeping on this side the Hindoo Koosh meets your Lordship's approbation;" and from that time onwards, we hear nothing more on the subject. Although he was anxious to despatch Captains Conolly and Rawlinson to Kokan to procure intelligence, he says, "As to military movements, I am decidedly opposed to them, especially while we have subtle and inveterate enemies

in our rear. I would rather expend the money which such expeditions would cost in fortifying the strongholds of Affghanistan. Cabool, for less than two lakhs of rupees, might be made very formidable." He then alludes to strengthening the fortifications of Ghuznie and Candahar. But the Envoy did not remit his exertions to extricate Col. Stoddart, when he gave up the idea of sending an army against Bokhara. In June 1840, he prevailed on the Shah to make a last effort for the release of that officer, and to secure a better understanding with the Ameer, by sending to the latter a holy man, "whom he would not dare to treat with indignity, and to whom he must listen."—"The disgraceful treatment," says he, "which poor Col. Stoddart still suffers, is an opprobrium to our nation." The number of holy men was soon after doubled; the Shah was prevailed on to send two, and Mr. Macnaghten promised 10,000 rs. to each, in the event of their succeeding in the liberation of Col. Stoddart. The result of this mission is not stated in the correspondence; but we know too well that although it may probably have led to some relaxation of the rigours of confinement, it did not procure the liberation of Colonel Stoddart, who was barbarously executed soon after intelligence of the murder of the Envoy, and the annihilation of the army, reached the 'Commander of the Faithful.'

The anxieties of Sir W. Macnaghten's position in Affghanistan, were such as British officers in the East have seldom been called to encounter. He was required to maintain the authority of a prince seated on the throne by our interference, and maintained by our bayonets; at the same time, it was necessary to allay the national jealousy, and to shape every measure so as to refute the idea that the Shah was not an independent but a foreign king. Writing in March 1840, the Envoy says, "We must, even where there seems to be oppression, avoid, as much as possible, interference in these petty concerns, and endeavour, by all the means in our power, to show that his Majesty is really the king of the country, and that the rule does not rest with the Feringees: that it does so, is the eternal burden of the song of our enemies." It has been affirmed that he was totally unfit for the high duties of such a charge in such a country; that the tendencies of his own mind, and his previous pursuits, fitted him only for the bench of the Sudder court; and that his attention was absorbed in judicial and fiscal details at Cabool, when he ought to have devoted his time to the political management of the kingdom. There can be no doubt that he would have proved a bright ornament to the Sudder court, and revived the remembrance of the days when

Colebrooke, and Harington, and Courtney Smith presided in it; but it is altogether an error to suppose that, while in Affghanistan, his mind was engaged in those pursuits which he had prosecuted in his earlier days with so much ardour and success. In writing to a friend, about this time, he said, "We are solemnly bound to refrain from interfering with the internal administration; and in my advice I have been cautious to urge no innovations which could, at this early stage of our connection with them, shock the prejudices of the people." His energies were exclusively devoted to the complicated political relations of the country, to the conciliation of the chiefs, to the repression of domestic hostility, and to the anticipation of external danger.

The political responsibilities of his post were of so novel and anomalous a character, that he could derive no benefit from our political experience in India. In India we have the advantage of dealing with a population professing different and hostile creeds, and might always calculate on support against Mahomedan bigotry in the feelings of the Hindoos. In Affghanistan, for the first time in our Indian career, we were thrown in the midst of an unmixed Mahomedan population, bound together by the strongest bonds religious union, and animated by feelings of inveterate hostility to us, and without the smallest support from the votaries of a rival creed. On whichever side the Envoy looked, he beheld none but open foes, or fawning and treacherous sycophants. There was no body of men, and no chief in whom he could place confidence. He was disposed to think that Shah Soojah might have been stronger even without our aid:—"Though our presence here doubtless strengthens the Shah, it must be remembered that in some sense it weakens him. There is no denying that he has been supported by infidels, and were we not here, he would adopt Affghan means of suppressing disturbances, such as we could not be a party to." It was, however, Dost Mahomed's opinion that the Shah's presence weakened us; and perhaps both opinions may be right. Had we withdrawn from Cabool after he was seated on the throne, leaving with him only a British resident and a subsidy, it is quite possible that he might have been able long to maintain his authority; although this was doubted at the time. On the other hand, had we taken the country for ourselves, and made the administration British in principle, and at once announced to the chiefs and people that we had come to re-annex Cabool to the empire of India, and should endeavour to make our rule as advantageous as possible to them, it is equally possible that we might have encountered

less hatred and opposition. It was the double Government established in Affghanistan, which proved so great a source of embarrassment. We carefully abstained from all interference in the internal administration, except in that mode which made us the object of particular hatred. Of the extent to which the misconduct of the king's officers brought odium on us, a fair estimate may be formed from the fact that the inhabitants of Kohistan, who detested Dost Mahomed for his oppressions, and among whom we were most likely to have met with cordial support, were turned into our most bitter foes by their misconduct.

The military and political reforms, which the Envoy found it necessary to introduce, served also to alienate the minds of the Chiefs and to increase the irritation of our presence in the country. It was part of his policy to render the Government of the Shah independent of the support of the Chiefs, whose armed retainers and followers had heretofore formed the bulk of the army of the Cabool Ruler. The Chiefs had thus been enabled to exercise a powerful and pernicious influence on the administration, which indeed may be said to have existed chiefly through their concurrence. To consolidate the Government of the Shah, and give it a sound constitution, it was indispensable to break up this influence; and the Envoy endeavoured to accomplish the object by organizing a national force. We had been enabled to conquer and retain India by employing the troops of the country and bringing them under the exclusive influence of our Government, and moulding them according to our own wishes and interest. The same policy was expected to produce corresponding results in Affghanistan; and the Envoy was not without hopes that the throne of the Shah might be so strengthened by this national army as to render the presence and the expense of so large a body of our own troops unnecessary. To this task, therefore, Sir W. Macnaghten directed his earliest attention. "Khyberies," says he, "the Juzailchees and the Putheera corps are all national troops, which have been raised in lieu of Colonel Wade's useless levies. In addition to these we must have a small corps of Kohistanies, and another of Hazareh's." The Janbaz came also within this denomination. "If we can get his Majesty to set apart a portion of the revenue for the payment of the Affghan Horse, and fix the number within moderate limits, we shall soon have a good National Force." The Chiefs felt that the success of this plan would be death to their own consequence—that it would weaken their influence over the tribes, and attach them to the throne by the strongest ties. Thus the very means used to establish a compact and independent Government turned the most influential nobles into our inveterate, though concealed opponents, and prepared them to

join in any movement which held out the prospect of our expulsion from the country. Such an opportunity was apparently presented to them a little more than a twelvemonth after we had occupied Cabool.

Dost Mahomed, after his flight from the Capital, took refuge with the Wullee of Khooloom. From hence he was induced to proceed to Bokhara, where he was incarcerated. With the romantic incidents of his escape, which are fully detailed by Dr. Atkinson, we need not detain the reader. On the 27th of July, the Envoy received accounts of his escape from Bokhara, but as his family was now in our hands, and the Wullee of Khooloom, with whom his intrigues might be expected to commence, professed the most devoted attachment to the Shah, and had sent his prime minister and son to Cabool, little or no apprehension was at first entertained. But our embarrassments soon began to thicken, and even the Envoy admitted that the difficulties of his position were overwhelming. On the 7th of August, information was received that Khelat had been captured by the Beloochees, and the resources of that principality turned against us. The rebels in Bajore, a district in the immediate vicinity of the capital, had obtained some advantage over the Shah's troops and captured a gun. The Seikh Government was covertly but actively encouraging its feudatories at Peshawur to annoy us. So strongly was our danger from this quarter impressed on the mind of Sir W. Macnaghten, as to lead him to propose the most stringent measures in reference to the Punjab: "Dost Mahomed is at our threshold; we are surrounded by traitors on every side, and the Seikh Government is doing all in its power to effect our ruin. Nothing short of extracting the venom from the tooth of the Punjab snake can do us any good. There can be no doubt that the Seikhs intend to supply money to be used against us. If they can only pour a sufficiency of cash into the Kohistan, and raise the country between Peshawur and Cabool just at the time that Dost Mahomed makes his appearance, our situation will be sufficiently perilous." On the 21st of August, he writes, "that the Dost's appearance had caused considerable excitement; and that the state of affairs required all their vigilance." Indeed, the Dost was proved to be in active correspondence with the Seikh feudatories at Peshawur, who were our inveterate enemies.

On the 5th of September, intelligence reached Sir W. Macnaghten that the whole country between Cabool and the Oxus had risen in favour of the Dost; and that he was advancing on Bameean, to which post our troops had retired. The position of the Envoy may be conceived from his brief letter to Mr. Robertson. "My back is broken by eternal writing, and I have no

cessation from labour day or night. The crisis which I have long foreseen is arrived, and I trust there will no longer be any delay in dealing with the Seikhs." A week afterwards, he writes again, "affairs in this quarter have the worst possible appearance. The whole of the Kohistan is said to be ripe for revolt." But the most alarming intelligence which reached the Envoy was that an entire company of the Shah's newly raised levies, commanded by Captain Hopkins, had gone over to the enemy. Thus seemed to perish at once all the hopes he had formed of raising a national army for the support of the Shah's throne. It was a broken reed on which he had been leaning for support. "I have pointed out," says he at length, "that there is no such thing as an Affghan army—I have just had a note from Sir Willoughby Cotton, in which he observes, 'I really think the time is now arrived for you and I to tell Lord Auckland, *totidem verbis*, that circumstances have proved incontestibly that there is no Affghan army, and that unless the Bengal troops are instantly strengthened we cannot hold the country.'" But the fears generated by the inauspicious approach of Dost Mahomed were checked for a time by the splendid victory gained over him at Bameean by Brigadier Dennie on the 17th of September, in which that chief lost his tents, baggage, kettledrums, standard, and his only gun, which he originally carried with him in his flight; in short, everything but his resolution.

This defeat convinced the Wullee of Khooloom that Dost Mahomed's case was hopeless, and he resolved to save himself and his territory by a timely submission. The Dost was obliged to remove his forces to a distance; but our dangers were not thereby removed. Cabool was filled with traitors, ready to betray the city; and the Kohistan chiefs, not forty miles from the capital, were ready for a revolt. Dr. Atkinson relates that they were summoned to the capital, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths of fidelity to the Shah, and then proceeded to the house of one Hafiz-jee, a prime mover of sedition, and took equally solemn oaths to devote their lives and property to the Shah's destruction. This treachery was fully confirmed by their own letters, which were intercepted. A force was therefore sent into the Kohistan in October, under Sir Robert Sale, accompanied by Sir A. Burnes. The fort of Tootun-derra was destroyed. Joolgah was evacuated and then levelled with the ground. These results induced the principal chiefs in the lower Kohistan to send in hostages for their fidelity. A little later, the forts of Ba-boo-kooshkar and Kah-derra were captured, the one blown up, and the other burnt to the ground.

From the 17th of September, the day of Bameean, to the 11th of October, we hear nothing of the movements of Dost Mahomed. On this latter day it was announced in Sir A. Burnes's camp that he had entered the valley of Ghorbund. The Shah's native commandant, on being summoned to surrender, fled, and communicated the contagion of his own fears far and wide. The intelligence reached Sir W. Macnaghten the next day, and his feelings on the occasion were thus expressed:—"It is impossible to say what may be the effect of his coming into this neighbourhood, but I apprehend very serious consequences, for both the town of Cabool and the country are ripe for revolt. I cannot ascertain how many men he has with him,—some accounts say 10,000, others 200;—the last is, I dare say, near the mark, but what I dread is the effect of his incessant intrigues, while he is so near us, upon the minds of the population. Our force is too weak to expel him from the position he has now taken up; and we have desired Brigadier Dennie to return to Cabool with the 35th and Garbett's troop of Horse Artillery, as soon as possible, for the capital is in a very weak and defenceless state. I shall write daily during the present crisis."

This force, however, *was* found sufficient. A Company of the Shah's Kohistanees was sent to Ghorbund, and created such a panic as to compel Dost Mahomed to leave the valley on the 13th with a few followers. He was pursued by another detachment, till he reached Nijrow, which had, for a twelvemonth, been the hotbed of sedition. Having re-united his forces to the extent of about four thousand foot and four hundred horse, he broke up from Nijrow on the 27th, and on the 28th encamped at Doornama. On the 29th, our troops, commanded by Sir Robert Sale, marched to meet him. He had been joined by two of the eastern chiefs. His approach to Cabool of course quickened the progress of intrigue, and Sir William Macnaghten began to forebode the worst consequences. "If he could only succeed in getting up an insurrection in the city (says he in a letter to Lord Auckland, written only four days before the Dost surrendered) I have little doubt that his two sons, who are at large in Zoormut, will be able to effect a rising in that and the adjacent districts; and that *we shall have to submit to the disgrace of being shut up in Cabool for a time.*" But on this occasion, there was no want of vigour to meet the emergency. Dr. Atkinson says, "every possible precaution had been taken to provide for the safety of the state at this perilous crisis. The guards over the citadel gates and magazines were farther increased; guns were mounted on the Bala Hissar so as to command the principal avenues and streets of the town." "If the town

does rise (writes Sir William) we shall be compelled to make a terrible example of it. We have placed guns in position so as to command it." And in a moment of irritation, he added, "No mercy should be shown to the man who is the author of all the evils that are now distracting the country, but should we be so fortunate as to secure the person of Dost Mahomed, I shall request his Majesty not to execute him till I can ascertain your Lordship's sentiments." A little after he adds: "His Majesty, in a conversation I had with him yesterday, after dwelling on the mistaken lenity he had, according to my advice, shown towards the adherents of Dost Mahomed, observed, 'I suppose if I were to catch the dog now, you would prevent me from hanging him.' I replied it would be time enough to talk about that after catching him."

Dost Mahomed moved on gradually towards the capital at the foot of the Hills, and had arrived at Purwan-durra. On the 2d November, 1840, our troops marched thirteen miles to that post and reached it at noon. They came upon the Dost and his army, and found the hills covered with the armed populace of Nijrow. As they advanced, the Dost endeavoured to move off, and two squadrons of the 2nd cavalry were ordered to intercept him. On approaching the enemy, and being ordered to charge, they turned round, and leaving their officers to their fate, galloped back under the impulse of fear or treachery. Three officers were killed on the spot, among whom were Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Broadfoot of the Engineers, two of the very ablest of our Affghanistan functionaries. Two other officers were wounded while performing prodigies of valour. In the confusion occasioned by this infamous conduct of the Cavalry, Dost Mahomed disappeared. This appeared to be the hour of our extremity. There was no other prospect before our officers but that of being reduced to a struggle for existence in the city of Cabool. It was expected that the Dost would fall back on Nijrow, and be enabled to make such use of our disaster at Purwan, as to bring down the whole force of the Kohistan upon the city. The mind of Sir Alexander Burnes presaged the direst calamities. He wrote from the field of our disgrace to Sir William, to beg that all the troops might be recalled, and concentrated at Cabool for its defence. This letter, calculated to confirm the gloomy anticipations of the Envoy, was delivered to him on the 3rd of November as he was taking his evening ride. After reading it, he was returning home in the greatest depression of mind, when Dost Mahomed suddenly presented himself, and on ascertaining that the Envoy was before him, dismounted and claimed his protection. The effect of this sudden apparition on the mind of the Envoy may

be more easily conceived than described. Feelings of the deepest anxiety were exchanged, as if by the power of enchantment, for those of the highest delight and exultation. Such an incident would appear extravagant even in romance; but how frequently, during our brief career in Affghanistan, did not the events of real life exceed in their romantic, and too often tragic interest, the boldest fictions of the imagination. All idea of retribution or revenge vanished from the mind of the Envoy, as he took the Dost's arm and walked up through his garden; and as the Dost, on entering the house, delivered up his sword with the remark that he had now no farther use for it, the animosity which had been excited by his opposition was forgotten in admiration of the confidence which he had manifested in our clemency, and the perfect self-possession which he exhibited in this moment of bewildering excitement. Seated in the palace, where, fifteen months before, his command had been law, his first inquiry was about his family. Immediately afterwards, he requested the aid of a moonshee, and with the utmost calmness and distinctness, dictated a letter to his son, Afzul Khan, then in Nijrow, and to his two sons, Azeem Khan and Sheer Ali Khan, who had made their escape from Ghuzni on the 23rd September, and were in arms in Zoormut, to announce his own surrender and safety, and the honourable reception he had met with.

The conduct of Sir W. Macnaghten to the Dost was marked by the kindest sympathy and attention. Two days after his arrival, the Envoy writes, "This morning I have passed a pleasant hour with the Dost: I went to see his tents where he is very comfortable. He gave me the whole account of his wanderings from the time of his flight at Arghunda. Whatever else he may be he is certainly a shrewd, clever fellow, and it is difficult to refrain from compassionating his fallen state." Soon after, he adds, "We are doing everything we can to soothe the ex-chief's feelings, and up to the evening of the 7th, our efforts appear to have been attended with success. On the evening of that day he had an interview with his mother, and when she left him he appeared in a state of considerable affliction and excitement. It appears that some one had told him —(and I have no doubt his mother, instigated by some mischievous people in the town, was his informant)—that it was our intention to send him to London." The Envoy begged him to set his mind at ease, for that he would not be sent farther than Loodianah, without his consent, and at Dost Mahomed's request gave him a writing to that effect. This promise seemed to give him satisfaction. Soon after, he was sent to India, and his farther connection with the subject of this me-

moir ceased, except that Sir William, when the question of his allowances came under discussion, urged the most generous arrangement. "I trust," says he, "that the Dost will be treated with liberality. His case has been compared to that of Shah Soojah; and I have seen it argued that he should not be treated more handsomely than his Majesty was; but surely the cases are not parallel. The Shah had no claim on us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom; whereas we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim."

It must be apparent that the dangers which threatened our position in Affghanistan in the beginning of November 1840, when Dost Mahomed was in full march on the capital, were far greater than those which issued in our expulsion at the close of the following year. At the former period, the city of Cabool was in the highest state of excitement. The Kohistanees, though hating Dost Mahomed much, yet hating us more, had organised the most systematic opposition to our rule, and were ready, on the first gleam of success, to pour 10,000 or 15,000 warriors into Cabool. The Seikh cabinet was deep in intrigues against our authority in Affghanistan, and had not only given the most unequivocal support to the insurgents, but had actually sent supplies of money to Dost Mahomed. Two of his sons were abroad in the heart of the country, endeavouring to enlist the inhabitants in the cause of their father. Khelat had fallen away from us, Beloochistan was in arms, and our position in the south was perilous. Yar Mahomed Khan, whom Pottinger had justly described as the greatest scoundrel in Central Asia, in spite of all the benefits which we had conferred for two years on the government of Herat, was preparing to take advantage of Dost Mahomed's approach to march an army to Candahar. In every direction the horizon appeared dark and portentous. On the east, west, north, and south, our position in Affghanistan was menaced; and had the Dost, instead of surrendering himself to the Envoy, appeared in force before the city, and succeeded in creating an insurrection, the energies of the country would have been instantly concentrated for our destruction, and the disgrace of being shut up in the Bala Hissar, which the Envoy had begun to dread would have been consummated. There was nothing in our favour but the indomitable courage of the Envoy and his military associates, which steadily rose with the tide of difficulty, and the energetic measures which were so promptly taken to meet the emergency. A twelvemonth after, when a crisis of infinitely less difficulty surprised us, had the energy of Sir William been seconded with the same manliness and zeal by the military authorities, our army would have been saved from

annihilation. The surrender of Dost Mahomed gave us a year's respite. "It made the country," as Sir Alexander Burnes expressed it, "as quiet as Vesuvius after an irruption. How long this will last it is impossible to say."

Sir William Macnaghten had now, at the end of fifteen months, a little breathing time from political anxieties, and was enabled to turn his attention to the reform of the internal administration. "We have hitherto," says he, "been struggling for existence, without any leisure to turn to the improvement of the administration. . . . We have now, thank God, a little time to turn our attention to the affairs of the country, and his Majesty is well disposed to do his utmost to cleanse the Augean stable." While Dost Mahomed was rousing the tribes on the Oxus, Sir Alexander Burnes had sent the Envoy a long and important letter with his views on the state of the country, which he described to be in a very deplorable condition. The picture was perhaps over-wrought, for Sir Alexander was subject to great alterations of feeling; but there was unhappily too much truth in his representations of the wretchedness which the double Government had inflicted on the country. This system of administration corresponded with that which we have introduced into Oude, Hyderabad, and other states in India, and which, while we are writing these lines, has roused the people of Kholapore into an insurrection which one-fifth of the army of the Bombay Presidency has been required to repress. It places the powers of the administration in one hand; and the power of the sword—a sword wielded with irresistible might—in another. The native officials are relieved from that salutary dread of reaction which is the only check on official rapacity throughout the East, and are enabled to pursue their extortions with perfect impunity. When they have roused the people to rebellion, our troops are sent to quench it with their blood. Thus the presence of a British army in Affghanistan, which was of itself a sufficient cause of humiliation and irritation, was rendered still more intolerable by being associated in the minds of the people with the exactions of the Shah's officers. Instead of appearing in our proper character as the messengers of humanity, we were exhibited only as the ministers of vengeance on an insulted and plundered people. There was no remedy for this state of things except in making the province a British possession at once; but this was forbidden both by our views of policy and our promises.

The pressure of this system was perhaps felt the more severely, from the practice once so common in India, of paying the Shah's troops by assignments on the revenues of particular districts. The soldiers were thus the collectors; they proceeded to the

districts assigned for their support, and lived at free quarters till the peasant paid the assignment. Sir A. Burnes well observed, that "such a system must clearly alienate all the people of this country from Shah Soojah and from us, for the force we give him ensures what, if left to himself, he could not otherwise command." Oosman Khan, whom the Shaw was induced to appoint his vizier, seems to have acquired the confidence of the Envoy. "He purposes," says he, "to manage the revenue department so as to abolish the *burat* or assignment system, but I cannot as yet form any opinion as to the feasibility of the system." Within three weeks after, writing to a friend, he says,—"You are a little too sanguine, I think, in the hope of a speedy and universal reform of this country. For thirty years, the inhabitants of most of the districts have never paid a fraction of revenue until they were coerced into payment by the presence of troops. The habit has grown into second nature with them, and we cannot expect them to subside at once into cheerful tax-payers." "The universal venality of the public officers and the authorized exactions of the former Governments are hardly credible, and it is wonderful that any portion of the inhabitants could have remained to endure them. As it is, half the country is depopulated; but, with a little management, I feel certain that the revenues of the country might be doubled in a few years." During the year 1841 the attention of the Envoy was closely directed to the correction of abuses, as far as it lay in his power to influence the Shah's proceedings; but the basis of the administration was unsound, and to build any useful or secure superstructure upon it was impossible.

We are much tempted to enter upon the political movements at Herat, because they serve to illustrate Sir W. Macnaghten's views of the politics of Central Asia; but the great length to which this article has extended, and the necessity of husbanding the little remaining patience of the reader for the closing scene, which possesses so deep an interest, obliges us to pass over this episode in the Affghan tragedy with the remark, that the villanies of Yar Mahomed were consummated in March 1841, by the expulsion of our representative, Major Todd, just at the time when our differences with Persia had been finally adjusted by the cession of Ghorian; that this disappointment was so keenly felt by Lord Auckland as to induce him, in a moment of irritation, to remand the Major to his regiment—one of the very few harsh or hasty acts of that administration—and that the Envoy proposed to march an army to Herat, but was over-ruled from head-quarters by the advice, that "we should first learn to quiet and to control the positions we occupied, before we plunged onwards."

We now come to the last scene in this tragic drama. In July 1841, the Envoy, in communication with General Elphinstone, proposed to Government that six corps, including H. M. 13th Light Infantry, should be relieved by six other regiments, because the country was unquiet in several directions, and particularly in Kohistan and Nijrow. Lord Auckland proposed to send one European and three Native Regiments, and to hold two others in readiness to proceed. To this the Envoy and General rejoined at a subsequent date, that the European regiments were particularly desirable, but that all the Native regiments would not be required under existing circumstances, as tranquillity had been restored—so the officers reported—in Zoormut, and the Western Ghilzies were peaceably disposed; the Khyberees were innoxious from internal feuds, and the insurrection at Candahar had been suppressed. They stated that though fewer troops would be required, a strong force for a time would be advisable, "to confirm the fickle people in the habit of obedience, which they were now for the first time beginning to manifest after half a century of anarchy." At the same time, Sir A. Burnes wrote to his correspondents at this Presidency, that the country was so tranquil that the troops might safely be withdrawn.

In September 1840, Sir William Macnaghten had been nominated provisional member of the Council of India; and in September 1841, he received farther token of the approbation with which his conduct had been viewed in the highest quarters at home, by his appointment to the office of Governor of Bombay. He had thus attained the highest honours within the reach of any civil or military servant on the Indian establishment. If he had ambition for high place, it was amply satisfied. He now prepared to quit Affghanistan, and had fixed the early part of November for the period of his departure. Sir Alexander Burnes also expected to be relieved from that subordinate situation in which his mind had been chafed, and his feelings inflamed, and to succeed to the office about to be vacated. His largest wishes were on the eve of being gratified. On the 1st of October, he wrote, "Supreme at last —I fear, however, that I shall be confirmed as Resident, and not as Envoy, which is a bore; but as long as I have power and drive the coach, I do not much care. I hope I have prepared myself for the charge by hard study, and a knowledge of the country." Alas, for the blindness of human foresight and the vanity of human wishes! Thirty-two days after this burst of exultation, he became the first victim of an emeute which ended in severing our connection with Affghanistan. And the very week in which Sir William Macnaghten was

making preparations for his departure, he was arrested by an insurrection, which terminated in his own assassination and the destruction of the entire army.

The expenses of our connection with Affghanistan had begun to tell fearfully on the resources of India. Not only had all the accumulation of its revenue been swallowed up, but Government had been constrained to anticipate the resources of posterity by contracting a heavy debt. Lord Auckland, therefore, felt it his duty to recommend a degree of economy to the Envoy, which, however, in the circumstances of our position was found to be little compatible with its safety. On the arrival of the Envoy at Candahar, in 1839, he had written to the Governor-General that "he must be prepared to look upon Affghanistan for some years as an outwork, yielding nothing, but requiring much expenditure to keep it in repair;" —and this expenditure now threatened to prove a lasting drain on the resources of India, for Affghanistan was found, at the end of two years, as incapable of paying the expenses of its occupation as when the Envoy wrote, "the history of the revenues of this poor country may be given in very few words. The whole is consumed in the pay of the priesthood, the soldiery, and the support of his Majesty's household." Among the measures of economy, which were now resorted to, was that of curtailing the stipends of the Ghilzie chiefs. On a former occasion, Sir Alexander Burnes had strongly objected to these payments, and recommended their being discontinued; but the Envoy defended them by saying "that they were nothing more nor less than a compensation to the chiefs for the privileges they had given up of plundering the high roads through their respective jurisdictions, and that we should be found in the end to have made a cheap bargain." The chiefs were now summoned to Cabool, and the reasons of state which rendered it necessary to reduce their stipends duly explained to them. They declared their entire satisfaction with the arrangement, left the Shah's presence with apparent content, and immediately blocked up the passes, and resumed the plunder of passengers. Troops were sent to re-open our communication with India, and met with resistance. The brigade under Sir Robert Sale, including Her Majesty's 13th and the 35th Native Infantry, which was returning by this route to our own provinces, had to run the gauntlet of all the passes between Cabool and Gundamuck, fighting every inch of their way. They cleared these defiles in triumph, but not without the loss of more than two hundred killed and wounded, —rather a dearer bargain than the 30,000 rs. which had been saved by irritating the Ghilzies. This was in the month of

October. The discontent was evidently local, and was expected to disappear when the cause had been removed by a new and amicable arrangement with the chiefs.

As the time approached for Sir William Macnaghten's departure, he received numerous congratulations from the public officers in various parts of the country, on his being so happy as to lay down his authority at a time of such unusual tranquillity. Major Rawlinson, writing from Candahar on the 25th of October, said, "Every thing is perfectly tranquil, and, for a wonder, there is nothing to write about." On the 29th of October, Captain Burn wrote from Gundamuck, "My last communication to you was dated the 16th instant, since which time all has been going on quietly in this district." So little did Major Pottinger apprehend danger, though Meer Musjedie and a body of Nijrowees had come into Kohistan, that he had laid his horses to ride into Cabool after breakfast, to take leave of the Envoy, and return the next morning. Colonel Palmer's letter from Ghuznie, of the 28th, stated that "all was quiet in his vicinity." On the 4th of October, Colonel Maclaren wrote from Candahar to congratulate Sir William Macnaghten on his appointment, and said that "it came at a particular time which would render it more acceptable to him, viz. when the whole of Affghanistan was *settled*, which I now say it is." On the very evening before the insurrection, and while the disaffected chiefs were assembled to plan it, and to massacre Sir Alexander Burnes, he went on a visit to the Envoy, and congratulated him on his approaching departure at a period of such profound tranquillity.

On the morning of the 2nd of November, intelligence was brought to Sir W. Macnaghten that the town of Cabool was in a state of commotion. Shortly after, he received a letter from Sir Alexander Burnes, stating that his house was besieged, and begging for assistance. He immediately went to General Elphinstone, who was mentally and physically debilitated by the gout, and suggested that Brigadier Shelton's force should proceed to the Bala Hissar, there to operate as might be expedient; that the remaining troops should be concentrated, the cantonments placed in a state of defence, and assistance sent, if possible, to Sir Alexander Burnes. Some time about 8 A.M. Capt. Trevor, who was living in the vicinity of Sir Alexander's residence in the city, conveyed to the Envoy a report, which had just reached him, that his house had been attacked, and that he had been wounded, and was lying in the town. Capt. Trevor added, "I hope it is all a lie, but I would earnestly recommend that the business be put an end to before night, at any risk. Khan Shereen, and

Golam, and Shumseodeen's brother are here. The plot is a party one now, but our slackness in driving these fellows out of their houses may make it serious." Apparently two hours after, he wrote again to the Envoy, "Here is a note from Mackenzie. Poor Burnes, I fear, is missing. The enemy, to all appearance, are not now many; but if you leave them for a few hours longer, all Cabool may be up. They have already taken the Shor Bazar. Hear what the bearer says. I must remove Mrs. Trevor to-night. Never was so disgraceful a business." At mid-day he wrote again, "The firing seems to have ceased except from the Brigadier's fort, but I am still unable to learn what is doing in the town with any certainty. The plunder of Burnes's, and Mohun Lall's houses, and of Hay's property, is complete. The Hazirbash show much zeal; nevertheless, I enter entirely into the feelings of Bluebeard's wife, when she cried, Sister Anne! Sister Anne!"—But no one came. The panic had already begun; and the doom of the army was sealed. The King sent his own son with some Hindoostanee troops to put down the insurrection, but they were driven back. Immediately after this failure, Capt. Trevor sent information of the event to the officer commanding the Bala Hissar, and told him that the enemy, about *two hundred* strong, were still in possession of the houses, and their remaining so all night might have the worst consequences. He added, "The Vizier says that one regiment will be sufficient to dislodge them, and that round them the town is at present unoccupied." But the officer commanding the Bala Hissar sent no regiment: Col. Shelton hesitated to send his troops through the streets of the city. The insurgents were not dislodged.

"The Austrians," said Napoleon, on one occasion, "do not know the value of moments." On the 2d of November, we forgot the value not of moments only, but of hours. In his official despatch to Government, which Sir William Macnaghten wrote during the gloomy days of the siege, and left unfinished on his desk as he went out to the meeting at which he was assassinated, he thus alludes to the events of this day, the first and decisive day.—"Before Brigadier Shelton could reach the Bala Hissar, the town had attained such a state of ferment that it was deemed impracticable to send aid to Sir Alexander Burnes' residence, which was in the centre of the city." But every surviving officer concurs in the assertion, that if a single regiment had been led to the scene of commotion by mid-day, with the gallantry which had gained Col. Shelton such honourable distinction, the emeute would never have been converted into a national insurrection.

It has been generally affirmed that this commotion was the result of a general conspiracy which had been formed throughout the country for our expulsion, by a simultaneous rising. But a careful examination of all evidence which can be obtained on the subject, inclines us to doubt the existence of any national concert, till our negligence and timidity created it. The insurrection did not break out at Chareekar, in Kohistan, till twenty-four hours after the insurgents had murdered Sir Alexander Burnes, plundered his house, and repulsed the first and only force sent against them. Doubtless, with the insurgent Meer Musjedie in the district, inflaming the religious passions of the people, they were fully prepared for revolt; but the insurrection took no decisive form till after intelligence had arrived of our supineness and indecision at Cabool. It was eighteen days before the spirit of revolt reached Ghuznie. Lieut. Crawford says, "the enemy and the snow made their appearance together: on the 20th November the town of Ghuznie was surrounded with the one, and the ground covered with the other." The attack on Pesh Bolak was not made before the 13th November, and the Khyber Pass was open till January. The fact that twenty-four hours after the insurrection at Cabool broke out, the 37th Native Infantry, encumbered with guns and baggage, returned to the city without the loss of a single article, and with only three men killed, and about a dozen wounded, through the terrific defiles of the Khoord Cabool Pass, where a hundred resolute men might almost have annihilated it, demonstrates that the movement was not general, and that the Eastern Ghilzies were not in concert with the Caboolees. The emeute was not extensive even in Cabool. As soon as the commotion was known, a considerable number of those chiefs who subsequently joined the ranks of the enemy, Osman Khan, Abdool Ruhim Khan, Khan Shereen Khan, Tej Mahomed and Golam Moyenoodeen, went to Capt. Trevor to lend him their assistance in the support of our authority; and it was not till they saw that our cause had become desperate from our own faint-heartedness, that they abandoned it. The very man, the Nawaub Jubber Khan, who sent one of his younger children to Capt. Trevor at this time, and desired that he might be detained as a hostage—thus siding with us at the last moment, when it appeared safe to do so—consented to be set up as King a few days after. The insurrection was unquestionably local till our culpable inactivity made it national. Cabool was at all times filled with the elements of rebellion: it was ever a smothered volcano. "From the earliest period of my arrival in this country," says Sir William Macnaghten, "I have always considered a rebellion

as a probable event at any time, and that much dissatisfaction prevailed among the chiefs, but I had no more reason to expect the outbreak at the particular period of its occurrence, than at any other. Still less could I foresee the concurrence of the calamitous circumstances, which paralyzed our power and rendered the rebellion triumphant." It was our own misconduct which led to our ruin at Cabool, and the same misconduct, the same panic and irresolution at a moment of danger, would be sufficient to cause the loss of the whole empire of India."

From the first hour of the outbreak a kind of fatality seemed to pervade every resolution and every movement. An universal paralysis prostrated the faculties of our officers, and those who, in other circumstances, had earned the highest military renown, exhibited the most lamentable absence of every military virtue. Yielding at once to the pressure of circumstances which they ought manfully to have resisted, and which nothing but their own want of determination rendered desperate, all wisdom and moral courage seemed to have forsaken them. Unfortunately, General Elphinstone, as the Envoy described him, "was in such a state of health as to be almost incapacitated for any exertion, mental or bodily," and there was no master spirit in his suite or his confidence to control his weakness, or supply him with wisdom and boldness equal to the crisis. On the 5th of November, Major Pottinger's letter reporting the siege of Chareekar, and the desperate state of affairs, reached the Envoy, and was immediately sent to General Elphinstone. His reply must have revealed to Sir William Macnaghten the fearful extent of his danger, while all military movements continued under such direction. "This is most distressing. Can nothing be done by the promise of a large reward, a lakh for instance, if necessary, of rupees to any of the Kohistan chiefs, to bring them off, though I fear the three days will have expired?" Indeed, it would appear as if on the fourth, if not on the third, day after the outbreak, the General proposed to the Envoy to open negotiations. In a letter of the 6th of November, he said, "Do not suppose from this that I wish to recommend, or am advocating humiliating terms, or such as would reflect disgrace on us; but this fact that our ammunition runs short must not be lost sight of. Our case is not yet desperate: I do not mean to impress that; but it must be borne in mind that it goes very fast." It was doubtless in consequence of this display of weakness in a quarter where the most heroic councils and efforts were required, that, while the Envoy urged the most energetic military movements, he did not neglect to conciliate, by pecuniary offers, the chiefs who still continued to manifest a degree of friendly feeling towards our

cause. Hence, on the 7th of November, he authorized Mohun Lall to assure Khan Shereen Khan, that he should receive one lakh of rupees, and Mahomed Kunuye, half a lakh, if they would perform the business they had undertaken,—which appears to have referred to supplies of provisions. With the view of dividing his enemies, he also offered Mahomed Yar Khan, the rival of Ameenoola, the chieftainship of Logur; and authorized Mohun Lall to give promises in his name to the extent of five lakhs of rupees.

We need not dwell on the sad catalogue of disasters which overwhelmed our troops during the month of November. They have already become too familiar to the public ear from the volumes of Lady Sale and Captain Eyre. We shall therefore limit our few remaining remarks to the events in which the bearing of the Envoy at this emergency is developed, and his character exemplified. On the 7th of November, letters were received from Sir Robert Sale at Jelallabad, which destroyed every hope of his being able to advance to the relief of Cabool. The Envoy immediately wrote to General Elphinstone to this effect:—

"We have scarcely a hope of reinforcement from Sale's brigade. I would recommend that we hold on here as long as possible, and throughout the winter, if we can subsist our troops by any means, by making the Mahomedans and Christians live chiefly on flesh, and other contrivances. There are here the essentials of wood and water in abundance, and I believe our position is impregnable. A retreat in the direction of Jelallabad would be most disastrous, and should be avoided, except in the last extremity. We shall be better able to see, eight or ten days hence, whether that extremity must be resorted to: in that case, we have to sacrifice the valuable property of Government; we should have to sacrifice his Majesty, who would not come without his family; and, were we to make good our retreat to Jelallabad, we should find no shelter for our troops (the cantonments being destroyed), and perhaps no provisions. I fear, too, that in such a retreat very few of our camp-followers would survive. I have frequently thought of negotiation, or rather capitulation, for such it would be; but, in the present unsettled state of affairs, there is no authority possessing sufficient weight to protect us all through the passes. Besides, we should hardly be justified, for the security of our persons and property, to abandon for ever our position in this country."

But no efforts were made by the infatuated garrison to husband their resources. On the contrary, the Envoy was overwhelmed by the military authorities with the most distressing complaints of "the state of the troops and cattle, and the want of provisions, and was repeatedly apprized of the hopelessness of further resistance." But he still continued averse to negotiations, and at an interview with General Elphinstone "impressed on him in the most serious manner the great danger and difficulty to be apprehended in resorting to negotiations with the enemy, and explained to him that by such measures our Indian possessions would be shaken to the foun-

dation, and our moral influence, throughout Central Asia, lost." General Elphinstone objected to the proposal of concentrating our force in the Bala Hissar, and declared to retreat impracticable, giving it as his opinion, that the only course left was to enter into negotiations with the enemy, and secure as honourable terms as could be obtained. On the 24th of November, therefore, after the fatal day of Beymaroo, when the troops had lost all confidence in themselves or their leaders, and had given way to despair, the Envoy wrote officially to the General to inquire, "whether in a military point of view he thought it any longer feasible to maintain our position in the country, as he might possibly be able, if the reply was in the negative, to enter into some arrangement with the *de facto* ruler of the country, which would secure the safe return of our troops to India." The General replied: "I beg to state, that after having held our position here for upwards of three weeks, in a state of siege, from the want of provisions, and forage, the reduced state of our troops, the large number of sick and wounded, the difficulty of defending the extensive and ill-situated cantonment we occupy, the near approach of winter, our communications cut off, no prospect of relief or reinforcement, and the whole country in arms against us—I am of opinion that it is not feasible any longer to maintain our position in this country, and that you ought to avail yourself of the offer to negotiate which has been made to you." At the invitation of the Envoy, therefore, as he says in his own unfinished despatch, "deputies were sent from the rebels, who came into cantonment on the 25th ultimo. I proposed to them the only terms which, in my opinion, could be accepted with honour; but the temper of the rebels may best be understood when I mention that they returned me a letter of defiance, the next morning, to the effect, that unless I consented to surrender our arms, and abandon his Majesty to his fate, I must prepare for immediate hostilities. To this I replied, that we preferred death to dishonour; and that it would remain with a higher power to decide between us."

On the 5th of December, the enemy completed, says Captain Eyre, the destruction of the bridge, which no efforts had been made to preserve. That same day, the General wrote to inform the Envoy that the stock of provisions was now reduced to nine days, half rations; that his objections to retreat to the Bala Hissar were as great as ever, as the wants there would be the same as in the cantonments, with the additional one of fuel; that retreat without terms was almost impossible; that few would reach Jelallabad, and that the only alternative was to try if terms could be made in any other quarter than with the Ghil-

zies. "..... When reduced to the last extremity (which we now are almost), I think honourable terms better for our Government, than our being destroyed here, which, without food, is inevitable." The reply of the Envoy breathes a spirit of lofty resolution: "I am perfectly aware of the state of our supplies; but as we have nine days' provisions, and had only provisions for one or two days when the siege commenced, I conceive that we are better off now than we were a month ago. Wherever we go, we could not carry more than two or three days' supplies, and *therefore* it does not seem necessary to come to an immediate decision; but I will speak to you to-morrow, and will omit no favourable opportunity of negotiating." The following day he wrote a long letter to the General on the subject, and as it was his last communication before the inauspicious negotiations commenced, we are sure it will be perused with interest.

"There are three courses which may be said to be open to us. First, a retreat on Jelallabad without terms. Secondly, a retreat to India, with terms, abandoning our position in this country. And thirdly, to retire into the Bala Hissar. The first I regard as impracticable; and if practicable, the adoption of such a measure would cover us with everlasting infamy, as we could not take the King's family along with us, and his Majesty could not stir without them. The second I regard as nearly equally impracticable, from the conflicting interests of the parties with whom we should have to treat. This cause would, I think, render any promised protection ineffectual; and, if this course could be safely adopted, the consequences would be terrific, as regards the safety of our Indian empire and our interests in Europe. The third course seems to me (though certainly attended with risk) to be by far the most safe and honourable which we can adopt. With four or five disposable regiments in the Bala Hissar, it would be strange if we could not obtain fuel and provisions: we should be in a position to overawe the city, and encourage the Kuzzilbashes and our other well-wishers to come forward to our support; and we should probably find in the Bala Hissar provisions for a fortnight or a month. I would therefore *lose* no time in sending every night, by all possible contrivances, our stores, and sick and wounded. Should the report of the advance of troops from Candahar prove correct (which we shall in all probability hear to-morrow), all our troubles will cease. Should we have reason to believe it unfounded, we can then commence destroying our powder and superfluous stores. In the mean time, I think we have daily proofs that the forces of our enemies are diminishing; and with the blessing of Providence, some event may arise from their misunderstandings to relieve us from our present perilous position, *even without* the accession of fresh troops."

The same day on which this letter was written, the situation of the besieged was rendered, if possible, still more deplorable by the glaring misconduct of the men of her Majesty's 44th. A company had been sent to relieve Mahommed Shereef's fort, but was seized with a panic, and fled over the walls, thus abandoning the post to the enemy. The bazar village was at this time garrisoned by a party of that regiment, who, observing the flight of their comrades, were upon the point of quitting their

post, when they were observed and stopped by some officers. Three Companies of the 37th Native Infantry were therefore ordered to the guard bazar. General Elphinstone, on this occasion, wrote to the Envoy :—" Shelton wishes a support of the 44th outside. If they have any sense of shame left, they must do better, and their officers *must exert* themselves. Shelton is disposed to attribute the blame to the sepoys ; from all I hear, I fear unjustly ; but this must be inquired into, when we have time." Misfortunes now crowded on this hapless army. On the 8th of December, it was discovered that the Affghans had mixed so much dirt in the grain they had sold at exorbitant prices, that the quantity in store supposed to be equal to six days' consumption, turned out only to be equal to that of four. " Under these circumstances," says the General, " it becomes absolutely necessary for us to come to a decision as to future measures." On receiving this letter, the Envoy wrote officially to him to inquire whether, in his opinion, any farther attempt to hold out against the enemy would merely have the effect of sacrificing both his Majesty and the British army, and whether the only alternative left us was to negotiate for our safe retreat out of the country on the most favourable terms. Still clinging to the hope of being enabled to hold out, he adds: " It must be remembered that we have rumours of the approach of reinforcements from Candahar, though nothing in an authentic shape has reached us." The reply is given in Captain Eyre's work. It was signed by the General and Brigadiers Shelton and Anquetil. It described the deplorable state of the garrison and the impossibility of procuring supplies, and concluded with repeating the opinion that the Envoy should lose no time in entering into negotiations.

Meanwhile, Sir W. Macnaghten redoubled his efforts to obtain provisions. On the 9th he sent Mohun Lall 10,000 Rupees and promised 30,000 the next night. He authorized him to promise Humzeh, the Ghilzie chieftain, a present of Rs. 30,000 and the perpetual friendship of Government, if he would throw in a month's or a fortnight's provisions in three days. He added at the foot of the letter—" The 60th, 64th, and 30th Native Infantry Regiments left Ferozepore on the 19th ultimo, and must be at Peshawur by this time. Pray try by all means in your power to get us grain and boosa at any price to-morrow or next day." The unfortunate Envoy, when thus fondly dwelling on the expected arrival of relief from India, could not know that the Army of Cabool was doomed to destruction by the same contemptible imbecility on the eastern, as on the western side of the Indus. He did not know that the relieving brigade, instead of being sent forward under the command of the most energetic

soldier the Commander-in-Chief could discover, was entrusted to one of whom he himself said that *he hoped to infuse* a little energy into him! He did not know that days were squandered, when every moment was invaluable; that the field pieces, which were to have accompanied the brigade, were ordered back; and that it was destined to reach Peshawur,—without the means of forcing the passes—when the destruction of the Cabool force had been completed. Had these four regiments been pushed on, as some Generals would have urged them on, lightly but adequately equipped, they might have dashed through the Khyber, then comparatively open, and reached Jelallabad in time to alter the face of things at Cabool. The total want of energy by which this golden opportunity of saving, not perhaps the whole, but certainly a large portion of the army, was lost, we bequeath to the contempt of posterity. On the 10th of December the Envoy learned to his dismay that the troops which were advancing to his relief from Candahar, had been stopped by the snow and obliged to retrace their steps. There was therefore no alternative left but to re-open the negotiations with the Chiefs, under circumstances of deeper humiliation, and with scarcely any prospect but that of being deceived and destroyed. To these negotiations, which he had postponed to the last moment, until there was but a single day's provisions left, he was driven against his will and his better judgment, with the forlorn hope of saving an army of 5,000 men, who were dying of cold and starvation, while the country around them was filled with fuel, and amply stored with provisions.

The Chiefs met the Envoy on the 11th, and the terms of the agreement were, as related by Captain Melville, that the British troops should evacuate Affghanistan, and be permitted to return unmolested to India; that supplies of every description should be furnished to any extent required; that certain men of consequence should accompany them as hostages; that Dost Mahomed and his family should be given up, and Shah Soojah retire to Loodhiana; and that means of transport for the conveyance of our baggage stores should be furnished. The Chiefs received Captain Trevor as a hostage. On the 13th, we began to perform our part of the engagement by evacuating the Bala Hissar. On the 16th, the Chiefs declared that no provisions should be supplied except on the surrender of four forts which completely commanded the cantonments. They were most unwillingly surrendered, and provisions for a single day were sent in to the famished garrison. On the 18th of December, snow fell for the first time, and to the depth of five inches, and thus a new enemy entered on the scene; and then the demands of the Chiefs rose. On the 19th, the Envoy wrote an order for the

evacuation of Ghuzni. On the 20th, the Chiefs demanded that all our spare guns and ammunition should be given up as a proof of our sincerity, but the Envoy refused to listen to the proposal. On the 21st, their demand for four hostages was complied with. On the 22d, an officer from Zeman Shah was conducted to the magazine to make choice of such articles as were likely to be aceptable to the Chiefs. That night, Capt. Skinner, who had been living under Akbar Khan's protection, was sent by him with two natives to make a flattering proposal to the Envoy, which is thus described by Captain Mackenzie.

"Mahomed Sudeeq disclosed Mahomed Ukhbar's proposition to the Envoy, which was, that the following day Sir William should meet him (Mahomed Ukhbar) and a few of his immediate friends, viz., the chiefs of the Eastern Ghilzies, outside the cantonments, when a final agreement should be made, so as to be fully understood by both parties; that Sir William should have a considerable body of troops in readiness, which, on a given signal, were to join with those of Mahomed Ukhbar and the Ghilzies, assault and take Mahomed Khan's fort, and secure the person of Ameenoollah. At this stage of the proposition Mahomed Sudeeq signified that, for a certain sum of money, the head of Ameenoollah should be presented to the Envoy; but from this Sir William shrunk with abhorrence, declaring that it was neither his custom nor that of his country to give a price for blood. Mahomed Sudeeq then went on to say that, after having subdued the rest of the Khans, the English should be permitted to remain in the country eight months longer, so as to save their purdah (veil or credit), but that they were then to evacuate Affghanistan, as if of their own accord; that Shah Soojah was to continue king of the country, and that Mahomed Ukhbar was to be his wuzeer. As a further reward for his (Mahomed Ukhbar's) assistance, the British Government were to pay him thirty lacs of rupees, and four lacs of rupees per annum during his life."

The Envoy received this proposal late at night, and thinking that it afforded some distant hope of the salvation of the troops, agreed to it, and affixed his signature to the Persian document in which it was written; and to the moment of his departure the next day, a little before noon, communicated the negotiation to none but the General, who promised to have the troops in readiness. But he subsequently repented of his acquiescence, and wrote a note to the Envoy which he never received. "I hope," said the General, "there is no fear of treachery. The sending two guns and two regiments away would divide our force, and our sole dependence is in the union of our force. The cantonment I find is at present full of Affghans. All this we must think of, and act for the best. What guarantee have we for the truth of all that has been said? I only mention this to make you cautious as to sending away any part of our force. Perhaps it is unnecessary with you who know these people so well. I will be prepared to turn out, if necessary, by having the men ready to man the ramparts." After breakfast on the 23d, the Envoy summoned Capts. Trevor, Lawrence, and Mackenzie to accompany him to the meet-

ing, and for the first time disclosed to them the nature of the transaction. Captain Mackenzie warned him that it was a plot against him. He replied, "A plot! let me alone for that; trust me for that." The anticipations of his escort, however, were too true. The scheme was one of the deepest treachery on the part of Ameenoollah and Ukhbar Khan, and their object was to seize the Envoy. After the conference had begun, on a given signal Ukhbar Khan endeavoured to seize Sir William, and meeting resistance, shot him dead with the pistols which he had a day or two before received as a present from him.

The sequel of this tragedy we give in the indignant language of Captain Eyre:—

"But what were our troops about all this time? Were no steps taken to rescue the Envoy and his friends from their perilous position? Where was the body-guard which followed them from cantonments? This question will naturally occur to all who read the foregoing pages, and I wish it were in my power to render satisfactory answers. The body-guard had only got a few hundred yards from the gate in their progress to the scene of conference, when they suddenly faced about and came galloping back, several shots being fired at them in their retreat. Lieut. LeGeyt, in passing through the gate, exclaimed that the Envoy had been carried off; and it was believed that, finding his men would not advance to the rescue, he came back for assistance. But the intelligence he brought, instead of rousing our leaders to instant action, seemed to paralyze their faculties; and although it was evident that our Envoy had been basely entrapped, if not actually murdered, before our very gates, and though even now crowds of Affghans, horse and foot, were seen passing and repassing to and fro in hostile array between Mahomed's fort and the place of meeting, not a gun was opened upon them; not a soldier was stirred from his post, no sortie was apparently even thought of; treachery was allowed to triumph in open day; the murder of a British Envoy was perpetrated in the face and within musket-shot of a British army, and not only was no effort made to avenge the dastardly deed, but the body was left lying on the plain to be mangled and insulted, and finally carried off to be paraded in the public market by a ruffianly mob of fanatical barbarians."

Thus perished by the hand of an assassin, at the age of forty-eight, one of the most distinguished servants of the Indian Government, just as he had raised himself by his own merits to the highest honours of the administration. Those who have followed us through this brief narrative of his public career, will not fail to perceive that in him the highest philological attainments were combined with a clear judgment on political questions, an insight into men and things, and the firmest resolution. In the novel and anomalous position in which he was placed in Affghanistan, his conduct was marked by sagacity and prudence; and although he may sometimes have adopted conclusions, and advised measures, which an uninterested spectator might be disposed to censure, yet every emergency that arose only served to show the extent of his resources and his courage; and there is little reason to doubt, that if at the last

crisis he had been entrusted with the supreme direction of military movements, the final catastrophe would not have occurred. One error in his policy has not escaped public animadversion; the choice of a site for the cantonments. The natural and obvious position for our garrison was the Bala Hissar, but the Envoy's tenderness and respect for the feelings of the Shah induced him to relinquish the pre-eminent advantages of that situation, and to fix on a spot which it requires little knowledge of military science to condemn. To this great error, it has been the fashion to ascribe the tragedy of Cabool. But when, before this time, did a body of 5,000 British troops with arms in their hands, and ammunition in their magazine, complain of the defects of their cantonments, when opposed to so contemptible a soldiery as that of Cabool, who never once ventured to assault their position, and among whom the leading men never ventured to show themselves in the field? While one British army thus allowed itself to be bearded at Cabool by a rabble without any recognized leader, or indeed any man possessed of military knowledge, in a position impregnable in respect to such opponents, another British army, feebler in numbers but firmer in resolution, took up a position within the dilapidated defences of Jelallabad, and set themselves vigorously to repair them, while they boldly repulsed every attack of the enemy, and like the Jews under Nehemiah, so to speak, "wrought in the work with one of their hands and with the other held a weapon." But even if the errors of Sir William Macnaghten's policy had been far greater than they were, his character is nobly redeemed by the judgment and heroism displayed in the last crisis, when the imbecility of the military authorities threw on him the responsibility of providing for the safety of the army. And it cannot be better described than in the language of one of the most acrimonious opponents of the Affghan expedition, whose work, though marked by great power of argument, and often by much justice of sentiment, is still that of a thorough partizan. Mr. Lushington says:—"Having elsewhere freely expressed our opinion of the conduct of the chief planner of the Affghan war, we are the more anxious to do justice to his demeanour through the greater part of the struggle in which he perished. Lieut. Eyre's account shows him in a most respectable light; the spring of every exertion made by the force; the suggester of every plan; the brave adopter of a responsibility from which the military leaders shrank, and which his foresight uniformly vindicated by the favourable results of his suggestions. He consented to treat only when forced toit; he rejected the offer of unworthy terms with becoming spirit; and his conduct throughout would have entitled him to no mean place among that order of men whose high qualities rise higher

against adversity but for one lamentable and final exception." —With an examination of the 'lamentable and final exception' we close this article. It refers of course to Sir William Macnaghten's acquiescence in the proposals made to him by Mahomed Ukhbar Khan on the evening before his assassination, and the breach of faith which it is supposed to involve. This transaction has given birth to a wide diversity of opinion; by some it has been stigmatized as detestable treachery; by others it has been considered as fully justified by the circumstances of the case. We live too near these events, and are perhaps too much under the influence of the feelings with which we have been accustomed to judge of the expedition itself, to form a dispassionate judgment of this particular and important event in it. It is too early to expect anything that can be likened to the decision of the historical judge; and we must all be content to be considered as advocates, either on one side or the other of the question. For our parts, after the most earnest and conscientious examination of all the evidence we can find, we are strongly disposed to exonerate the Envoy from all censure, and on the following considerations:—Every engagement with mutual obligations must be binding on both parties, or on either. If one party intentionally neglects to fulfil his share of the engagement, it becomes null and void, and ceases to be obligatory on the opposite party. The stipulations of the treaty which the Envoy entered into with the Chiefs were, on our part, that the army of Cabool should return to India immediately, and that we should evacuate Affghanistan; on the part of the Chiefs that "immediate supplies and carriage cattle should be furnished to the troops to any extent required." Our part of these stipulations was fulfilled with the most scrupulous good faith; we evacuated the Bala Hissar, and made every arrangement for our departure. But the Affghan Chiefs never observed a single article of the treaty. Instead of sending in supplies equal to the wants of the starving garrison, they sent only enough for a single day: and on the fifth day after the agreement, openly set it aside, by declaring their resolution to send in no further supplies until four forts, which commanded the cantonments, were surrendered to them. The treaty was, therefore, clearly at an end. But, as if to show that no promise would be kept with their humbled foes, and that all their engagements were made only to be broken, they took possession of the forts, but continued to neglect the wants of the garrison. There was, therefore, no obligation on the Envoy to risk the safety of the army simply in compliance with an engagement intended to be mutual, but which had been so flagrantly violated.

It was not the honour of the Envoy, or the character of his

government, which was at stake in this instance, but the lives of twelve thousand men; and this ought to have been, and was, the one paramount consideration with him—the cynosure by which he steered his course. It was to save the lives of this large body of men that he had agreed to the humiliating terms of the treaty, and he was fully justified in regarding the treaty as waste paper, when it had been violated by the chiefs in such a manner as to render it, if observed, the means of destroying, instead of saving the troops. There was, in fact, no treaty; but a constant negotiation was carried on with the Chiefs, individually and collectively, by the Envoy, who was endeavouring to make the best terms in his power for an army which looked to him for safety. Though he had agreed with one part of the Chiefs to depart on Friday, having scarcely any provisions left, yet he was at the time engaged in a separate bargain with Khan Shereen Khan, and Humzeh, the Ghilzie, two of the Chiefs who were present at the first meeting; and this bargain was carried on to the very last day. He told them plainly that if the Kuzzilbashes and the Ghilzies were anxious for our army to remain, and would declare themselves openly in our favour, he would send to the Barukzies and declare his agreement with them at an end. From the time when the treaty was violated by the new demands of the Chiefs and the refusal of supplies, he considered himself at liberty to make any arrangement with any party which might most effectually relieve the army. It was not three days before the catastrophe that he offered Khan Shereen five lakhs of rupees, and the Ghilzie chief the same sum, if they would side with us and send in provisions. In these circumstances, while he was looking round with the deepest anxiety for some happy turn in affairs, late in the evening of the 22nd, Ukhbar Khan sent a flattering offer to separate himself from the rest of the chiefs, and to allow the English to remain eight months longer in Affghanistan, so as to save their credit, on condition that Shah Soojah should be King of the country, and Mahomed Ukhbar Khan his vizier; and that the British Government should pay him thirty lakhs of rupees, and four lakhs of rupees a year. Sir William eagerly grasped at a proposal which offered the smallest chance of salvation to the army. We must confess that we can see nothing in the nature or obligation of the negotiations which were then pending with the other chiefs, who were urging his departure, while they denied him provisions and cattle, which could give the least colour of moral turpitude to his acceptance of an offer which promised him the preservation of the army. There can be little doubt that if this negotiation had been instrumental in

extricating that army from its perils, we should never have heard a whisper of treachery.

The only portion of this engagement which appears to us in any measure questionable, on the score of morality, is that which refers to Ameenoollah. Mr. Lushington animadverts on it in the severest language. "To acquiesce in the continuance of a treaty,"—there was no treaty at all obligatory; the chiefs had even refused to sign it, and their whole conduct was a palpable violation of it—"and to plot the seizure of men who were relying on its faith, under pretext of peaceful conference, was an act of detestable treachery which, up to that time, the Affghans had done nothing to parallel." In this short sentence there are three discrepancies of fact which materially affect the character of the transaction. Sir W. Macnaghten did not plot the seizure; it was one among the various proposals of Ukhbar Khan, to which he gave his assent. Neither was there more than one individual, the infamous Ameenoollah, to whom the proposal applied. Nor was even this man to be inveigled to a peaceful conference, on thefaith of a treaty, and there treacherously arrested. The conference included only Ukhbar Khan and the Eastern Ghilzie chiefs, with one of whom the Envoy long had been engaged in a separate negotiation, and most of whom were supposedto be favourable to our interests. Ameenoollah was not expected to be present at the conference, which had apparently for its object the recognition of these terms by the Envoy, in the presence of Ukhbar Khan and the Ghilzies; after which their troops were to be united with ours, to assault and take Mahomed Shah's fort, and there to secure Ameenoollah. This man, the most active and inveterate of all our opponents, owed everything to the kindness of Sir William Macnaghten, who, after the specimen of ingratitude and treason which he had exhibited, determined to make an example of him. This fact was apparently well known to Ukhbar Khan, when he baited the hook with a proposal which he knew would be agreeable to the Envoy. We can find no evidence that Ameenoollah ever attended any of the meetings of the Chiefs, or was a party to any treaty or agreement, or that Sir William ever held any intercourse with him during the insurrection. Indeed, in the whole course of the negotiations we find his name mentioned but once, which was when the Chiefs violated the treaty by demanding the surrender of the forts. On that occasion, he is said to have joined Osman Khan in making this request. We leave it, therefore, to the future historian to pronounce on the degree of culpability involved in the Envoy's acceding to the proposal made by Ukhbar Khan, that he and the Ghilzie Chiefs

should unite their troops with our own to assault and take the fort, and there capture this arch enemy of the British cause.

It only remains to deal with the atrocious charge brought against Sir William Macnaghten of having encouraged the assassination of his opponents; and it is easily disposed of. Capt. Mackenzie bears witness that when, at the fatal conference on the evening of the 22d December, Mahomed Sudeeq signified that for a certain sum of money the head of Ameenoollah should be presented to the Envoy, Sir William Macnaghten shrunk back with abhorrence, declaring that it was neither his custom nor that of his country to give a price for blood. But we have other evidence, equally decisive, under the Envoy's own signature. Although he had on previous occasions written to Mohun Lall to encourage the rival of Ameenoollah, by all possible means, and assured him that he would execute 'the scoundrel if he could catch him;' and that he would give a reward of 10,000 rupees for his apprehension and that of some others; yet when the Moonshee wrote to the Envoy under the impression that he wished the man to be taken off privately, Sir William Macnaghten immediately replied, on the 1st of December: "I am sorry to find from your letter of last night that you should have supposed it was ever my object to encourage assassination. The rebels are very wicked men, but we must not take unlawful means to destroy them."

It was no little relief to the feelings of Sir William Macnaghten's relatives and friends, that his remains were not abandoned in the country in which he had been so treacherously massacred. They were rescued from the pit to which the barbarous Affghans had consigned them, by the affectionate solicitude of his widow, and brought down to the Presidency. Those public honours by which the interment of men of high official rank is distinguished were denied to one who at the period of his death had been raised to the third station in this empire, because he perished in an unfortunate and unsuccessful enterprize. But the absence of all official distinction at his funeral was more than compensated by the universal respect paid to his memory. His was a public funeral in a higher and more gratifying sense than if it had been marked by the presence of troops and the boom of artillery. His remains were accompanied to their final resting place by the whole body of the community, and interred amidst the sympathies of the metropolis. A large public subscription was immediately made for the erection of a monument over his grave,—and we have the melancholy consolation of remembering that, though assassinated in a distant land, he still sleeps in the city where his early honours were acquired, and where he laid the foundation of so many lasting friendships.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Discourses read at the Meetings of the Hindu Theophilanthropic Society—Calcutta, 1844.

This is, in many respects, a remarkable volume—remarkable, not so much on account of any intrinsic merits which it possesses, though these are by no means despicable, as on account of the definite sign-post which it furnishes, to indicate the nature of the *transitional* process now going forward in the minds of the educated portion of the Hindu Community. Broadly, and in a general way, it may be asserted that there are two great religious systems prevalent in this land—the system of the ignorant and the system of the learned; the former, a huge chaotic congeries of polytheistic and idolatrous fables, legends, and absurdities; the latter, a professed scheme of pure monotheism, but really and truly, of physical or metaphysical Pantheism. Now, such being the state of things, it was distinctly foreseen that the vigorous introduction of the rational Literature, Science, and Philosophy of the West would alone be sufficient to discredit and demolish the gigantic system of polytheism and idolatry; while they could not fail essentially to affect or modify the system of Pantheism, whether in its grosser or more ideal forms. Such, accordingly, has been the realized event. Numbers have had their eyes opened to discern, and in theory to repudiate the abominations of idolatry. In the absence of an adequate substitute, in the form of a better faith, they either wildly disclaim all belief in any religion, natural or revealed, or they fall back on the professed Theism of the Vedas—the oldest and most venerated of their sacred writings. This professed theism, as unfolded in the oldest standards of the Vedant, is, beyond all debate, a system of gross Pantheism. By subsequent authorities, it was sublimated into a system of idealism, or spiritual Pantheism. Under either of these forms, however, it contains much that must be grating to the judgment and the feelings of those who have been habituated to the purer philosophy of the West; while it wants much which an acquaintance with European learning must always teach its disciples to be essential to a reasonable system of Theology. The Brahma, or Supreme God of Vedantism, for example, has, in no intelligible sense, any moral attributes. Those who read any standard English works on Natural Theology, must soon note this glaring deficiency. Instead, however, of being led, from the existence of this and similar marked imperfections, to reject the entire system as spurious, they simply cease to view it as an *authoritative revelation* from God, and begin to treat it merely as a scheme of human philosophy, which may be cut and carved, shaped, and fashioned, added to or subtracted from, according to the whims, fancies, or caprices of successive operators. The new-fangled scheme, however, still passes under the name of Vedantism; as if it were a faithful transcript and

republication of the ancient Vedantism or that of the original Hindu Standards!

Truly hath the wise man said, that there is nothing new under the sun. The process now described has often been realized before; and, in similar circumstances, is sure to be always similarly realized. When light first comes in contact with darkness, there is a struggle, more or less protracted—an interval, longer or shorter, during which both seem to be blended together—a season of twilight which appears dubiously to hang in the balance the tendencies towards the ascendancy of night or the dominion of day. Thus it was in the first centuries of the Christian era. When Heathenism was only concussed and broken but not destroyed, whether in its grosser form of idolatry or in its more refined form of Philosophy, it strove to have itself, in whole or in part, amalgamated with the purer faith which threatened, not merely conquest, but extermination. Hence, amongst other achievements, the strenuous attempts, in the celebrated schools of Alexandria, to purify the Grecian and other oriental Philosophies, by an infiltration of Christian truth. Hence, the Alexandrian Platonism became a sort of demi-Christianized Platonism—properly designated Neo-Platonism, to distinguish it from the old. So, in like manner, ought much of what, now-a-days, is made to pass for Vedantism—consisting as it does of a new compound arising from an incorporation of many Western ideas with fragments of oriental thought—to be designated Neo-Vedantism, to distinguish it from the old. "The world, through wisdom," says an inspired Apostle, "knew not God." "Those great disputers of this world," as the weighty aphorism has been and may be paraphrased, "were too full of nice speculations to know Him who is only to be discovered by a composed, humble, and self-denying mind; their curiosity served rather to dazzle their eyes than to enlighten them; while they rather proudly braved themselves in their knowledge of the Deity, than humbly subjected their own souls in a compliance with it; making the Divinity nothing else but as a flattering glass that might reflect and set off to them the beauty of their own art and parts: and, while they seemed to converse with God himself, they rather amorously courted their own image in Him, and fell in love with their own shape." How strikingly applicable these words are to some of our modern Vedantists, who, even now, in the midst of us, are busily engaged in shaping and fashioning a new God and a new religion unto themselves—those who have noted their movements best, can best testify!

But, leaving the general theme and coming to the volume more immediately before us, we may remark that, as a natural sprout and offspring of the present state of fermentation and change, the Society, whose published manifesto it is, recently sprung into existence. The nature and objects of the Society, however, will best appear from the preface of the volume now under review, which, for this purpose, we herewith insert entire:—

"The committee of the 'Hindu Theophilanthropic Society' deem it incum-

bent on them to say a few words with reference to the nature and objects of the Society. Its existence is owing to a conviction irresistibly forcing itself upon every reflective mind that the great work of India's regeneration cannot be achieved without due attention to her moral and religious improvement.

"The Society was established on the 10th of February, 1843, by a select number of Native friends assembled for the purpose of considering the best means for promoting the moral elevation of their countrymen. Despite the formidable obstacles which opposed themselves to its progress, and which, under the existing circumstances of our country, are inseparable from the pursuit of every great and good undertaking; this little corporation, thus originated, has continued to thrive, and now promises to be a lasting and efficient institution. Its operations during the last year afford a cheering illustration of the practical recognition on the part of some educated Hindus at least, of the necessity and importance of moral and religious culture.

"The Society aims at the extermination of Hindu idolatry, and the dissemination of sound and enlightened views of the Supreme Being—of the unseen and future world—of truth—of happiness and final beatitude. It proposes to teach the Hindus to worship God in *spirit* and in *truth*, and to enforce those moral and most sacred duties which they owe to their Maker, to their fellow-beings, and to themselves.

"The truths which it means to inculcate are, it must be remembered, not necessarily dependent on the truth or falsehood of any creed, but such as are sanctioned by the universal belief of mankind. But though absolutely independent of all creeds, yet these truths form the basis, so to speak, of every creed. That there is a Creator and moral Governor of the universe—that there is a something in man which is not annihilated on the dissolution of the bodily frame and which is immortal—that virtue is associated with happiness, and vice with misery; these constitute the fundamental doctrines, the seminal principles, of the religion both of civilized and uncivilized nations. The practical recognition of them by the great mass of the Natives, cannot but be hailed by every real friend of India.

"The object of the Society, as its very name implies, is to promote love to God and love to man. It is an object in which every pious and benevolent person must be deeply interested.

"The Society holds monthly meetings, when discourses in English and Bengalli are delivered. The subjects embraced by the discoursers relate to general principles in morals and religion. The other means adopted by the Society for the realization of its object, are the preparation and publication of Bengalli Tracts on moral and religious subjects, and the reprinting of Sanscrit and Bengalli works illustrating the same.

"The object of the Society being absolutely a Catholic object, it is earnestly hoped that the cordial sympathies of every enlightened European and Native friend of our country will be enlisted in its behalf.

"*Calcutta*, 1*st October*, 1844."

The objects of the Association are still farther expounded in the first or introductory discourse—in some respects, the ablest and the best in the whole collection. Amid many glaring obscurities of spiritual vision and many palpable inadequacies of spiritual conception, there is a distinct recognition of various important principles and a candid acknowledgment of various important facts. It is, withal, written in a style which indicates considerable earnestness of spirit—a somewhat refreshing phenomenon in this region of freezing indifference. The

grand but too frequently neglected fact, that man is endowed with moral and religious powers not less than with intellectual faculties—and that the former require to be developed and cultivated not less than the latter—is thus distinctly announced :—

"That there is a something in man essentially different from his intellectual self is obvious from a survey of his constitution. He is a religious and moral as well as an intellectual being. He stands in threefold relation to his God, to his fellow-beings, and to himself. He is endowed with veneration, which has reference to the first relation ; with benevolence, which has reference to the second; and with prudence, which has reference to the third. The seeds of veneration and benevolence are implanted in the heart of man by the hand of God, but they cannot germinate and fructify without cultivation. The development of our religious and moral feelings and affections is the great end of our being. But how can it be effected? Not, of course, by the development of the intellectual faculties alone? No: intellectual cultivation is not identical with religious and moral cultivation. The former does not necessarily imply the latter. The system of education pursued by the educational council, though pregnant with results of the highest importance to India, is not sufficiently calculated to realize the great objects of education. It has reference to the *head*, and not to the *heart*,—to the *intellectual*, and not to the *moral*, and *religious* man. But men are not mere pieces of *intellectualism*. As moral and religious beings, therefore—beings, endowed with feelings and affections susceptible of the most splendid development—beings destined to immortality : to survive the material world, aye, those planets and suns rolling in the immensity of space, we cannot act in more diametrical opposition to the great purposes of our existence than to be neglectful of *moral and religious culture*. That the organization of this Society is manifestly calculated to cherish and foster our moral and religious sentiments must be admitted. It is one of the best means that could be adopted for the accomplishment of our end in view. Associated strength and zeal can work wonders."

The undeniable fact, that many who have acquired a superior education and who have in consequence, *theoretically* at least, renounced the monstrous absurdities of Hinduism, without seeking, and apparently without caring for a better substitute instead,—is thus fairly admitted and gently exposed :—

" In surveying the present state of our country, while we are struck, on the one hand, by the radical changes effected by the omnipotence of education, we behold on the other the melancholy picture presented by the absence of all *practical religion* among the educated, or, rather, the so-called educated natives. It is a humiliating but nevertheless an unquestionable fact, that in renouncing the superstition of their country,—in disembarrassing their minds from the fetters of that antiquated bigotry which still cleaves to the great mass around them, they have not embraced a purer and nobler religion. Though they believe in the one and true God, yet their belief, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, is merely a *passive assent* instead of being a *living conviction*. They oscilate between the creed they have renounced, and that which they profess. But their profession does not seem to harmonize with the general tenor of their lives. For the great majority of the young men who call themselves educated do not think of religion. Many of them are known to manifest an absolute indifference to it. While they would talk one to death on the degrading nature of the religion of their country, while they would freely participate in the luxuries of a European's table, and think that therein the pith and marrow of reformation did consist, they do not make any provision for the cultivation of

their religious sentiments. These liberals of our day, these pseudo reformers of our country, must know that their enlightenment—their elevation above their ignorant and benighted countrymen, is a dream, a chimera. If, in emancipating themselves from the manacles of superstition, they had manifested a corresponding zeal in the culture of their religious feelings, in the acquisition and dissemination of the knowledge of God by the study of His power and goodness, as displayed in his wondrous works, then would they have called the *élite* of their race, the *lights* of their country! But their renunciation of our popular religion, when viewed in connection with their apathy and lukewarmness in religious culture, is anything but practical, and instead of elevating them above, degrades them beneath their superstitious countrymen. The latter *have* a religion, though a false religion. They do not wholly want those strong motives to virtue, of which superstition deprives them not. Their belief, for instance, in the existence of Hell (*Naruck*) *i. e.* in the retributive justice of God, operates as an incentive to virtue, and a guarantee against vice. But several of our educated friends (I speak from personal knowledge) absolutely deny futurity, and would have us confine our hopes and aspirations to this world, while the belief of most of them in it is so faint and passive that it cannot, as a matter of course, impart to them those sanctions to virtuous conduct with which the invincible belief of our superstitious countrymen in the rewards and punishments of a future state, so strongly inculcated in their *Shastras*, abundantly supply them."

On the great subject of national improvement, the author, we are happy to find, has adopted the more sane and sober views which have been put forth by the advocates of a moral and religious Reform as indispensable towards social and political amelioration. Never, certainly, did men labour under a grosser hallucination than those who dream that political reform alone constitutes the panacea for India's wrongs and India's complex maladies; and it is something novel and pleasant in its way to find the authors and abettors of such a short-sighted and delusive theory thus effectually rebuked, though in a somewhat too radical strain, by an intelligent Hindu :—

"We talk of the injustice of our Government. We talk of the selfish and exclusive policy of our masters of Leadenhall Street. We talk of the political degradation of our country. But rest assured that the great work of our regeneration cannot be achieved by means of political elevation alone. No. The disease of our country is a complicated disease, and of a moral rather than of a political character. From this it should not be understood that I am opposed to political reform. Quite the reverse. I would be the first person to reprobate the narrow and short-sighted policy of our Merchant Princes—our Joint-stock Sovereigns,—to advocate the abolition of their salt and opium, as well as their administrative monopoly, in order that the Natives may participate in the benefits of an unfettered commerce, and enjoy those situations of emolument and responsibility to which they are entitled. I am firmly persuaded that one of the best means for regenerating and elevating India is to do her political justice,—to free her from the political disabilities under which she labours,—to render the path of political distinction accessible to her children, —to realize the benevolent intentions of the last Charter as embodied in the 87th clause,—to give them a share in the administration of their country, by levelling that distinction of covenanted and uncovenanted service which a blind self-interest has upreared—by annihilating the 'aristocracy of skin,' and recognizing merit and not complexion as worthy of reward! But political elevation alone, exclusive of intellectual, and, what is more, of moral and religious elevation, cannot realise the hopes of the friends of India. The accom-

plishment of her regeneration cannot, I reiterate, be effected without the spread of a sound moral education, the cultivation of our religious and moral feelings, —the extirpation of superstition and prejudice,—the dissemination among our countrymen of pure and elevated ideas of God, and the recognition by them of that religion which teaches that He alone is the object of worship. Give her moral and religious freedom, and her regeneration is achieved. India, morally and religiously free and regenerated;—India emancipated from her spiritual thraldom;—India disembarrassed from the manacles of that Brahminical superstition which consists in the worship of images and the multiplication of the one indivisible Godhead into thirty-three hundreds of millions of parts, will rise spontaneously and irresistibly and clothe herself with the rights and privileges of civilization and freedom!"

The remainder of the volume consists of a series of essays partly in Bengalli and partly in English. The former, which are written in a pleasing and elegant style, treat of the power and goodness of God, the delight of worshipping Brahma, the Supreme, &c., and abound with sentiments and expressions which never could have occurred to an unsophisticated disciple of the genuine old school of Vedantism. They have in them an infusion of better ideas, imported without acknowledgment from another and widely different soil. The English essays illustrate or discuss the following subjects:—The goodness of the Deity manifested in a leaf.—The system of philosophy inculcated in the Bhagavat Gita.—The Bhagavat Gita.—The power, wisdom, and goodness of the Deity as displayed in the organism of the Zoophyte.—Hinduism as it is.—The phenomena of reproduction.—The association of virtue with happiness, and of vice with misery, an argument for the goodness of the Deity.—The immortality of the soul as inculcated by the Hindu religion.—Conformity and nonconformity. The most of these bear internal evidence of having proceeded from the pen of the author of the first or inaugural discourse. There are at least two very palpable exceptions from this general conclusion;—as two of the essays are from the pen of an educated native Christian, who was permitted to read them as a visitor.

From the preceding list of essays there is one which we could heartily wish to have seen excluded. It is that on "the phenomena of reproduction." If it had been delivered professionally in a medical college, to professional medical students, it would have been all very well. But, published as it is, in a volume designed for the perusal of ordinary promiscuous readers of every class and sex, it certainly is entirely out of place—a monument of gross feeling and bad taste. And when it enumerates the mighty men that have, like others, been so "wonderfully and fearfully made," in such an order as the following,—"A Milton and a Shakespeare, an Alexander and a Napoleon, a Bacon and a Newton, a Howard and a *Hare!*"—we can only lift up our hands in dumb and expressive silence. Mr. David Hare—who, whatever might be his good qualities, was scarcely known beyond the precincts of Calcutta, and who was as notoriously distinguished for his opposition to pure moral and religious culture as he was for his general zeal in behalf of secular education—made the climax or culminating point to

the ascending series of Milton and Shakespeare, Alexander and Napoleon, Bacon and Newton and Howard! Why, it simply reminds us of the climax of the Frenchman who exclaimed, in the view of a noble landscape, "Beautiful—sublime—magnificent—*pretty well!*"

In the essay on the immortality of the soul as inculcated by the Hindu religion, it is not only admitted, but proved by suitable quotations, that the genuine Vedantic doctrine is, that the soul is "an emanation from the Deity"—that is "part and parcel of the universal spirit—that it is a portion of the Supreme Ruler as a spark is of fire"—that "the relation is not that of master and servant, ruler and ruled, but as that of *whole and part*,—that being "a portion of the divine substance it participates in the divine attributes, eternal and unborn, immortal and infinite"—and that "salvation or *mukti* is identification with the Deity or absorption into his essence." And what grieves us to find is that a writer of such intelligence could propound this impious dogma, not only without repudiating it, but apparently consentiug to it as true. It is only an additional confirmation of the assertion of the inspired volume, that in spiritual matters the highest wisdom of this world is very foolishness.

In the essay on "Hinduism as it is," there are some very excellent and pertinent remarks respecting the evils of the popular idolatry—intermixed, however, like all the rest, with many confused and darkling observations. It very unnecessarily revives the now almost universally exploded idea of Hume and others—that idolatry was the *first* form of belief and worship—that it preceded Monotheism or Deism—and that the latter is the philosophical growth of a subsequent age and more refined period of social existence. It is an idea not less repugnant to the revelation of the Bible, than it is opposed to the dictates of sound reason and the best authenticated records of Ancient History. It is distinctly allowed that the Vedas do "*countenance idolatry.*" It might rather be said, do deliberately and systematically inculcate it. But is this conceded "countenance" of idolatry condemned by our author? Nay; the fact is admitted, as it is too notorious to admit of denial. But, then, it is reluctantly admitted—admitted, with sundry softenings and apologetic expressions. The idolatry inculcated by the Vedas is declared to be different in kind from the idolatry which now prevails. It is "*a deification only of the elements*," and so forth. What! Talk of the extermination of idolatry, and in the same breath uphold the Vedas and Vedantism which tolerates or countenances idolatry! Is it not marvellous that the stark staring contradiction of such a course of procedure does not awaken our amiable and rational Theophilanthropists out of their delusive dreams?

The essay on the system of philosophy inculcated in the Bhagavat Gita exhibits also the same incongruous blending of light and darkness. It is a spectacle to excite one's pity and compassion. It is eulogised beyond all reasonable proportion—being "surpassed by not even the Iliad or the Paradise Lost!" Why, truly, this is somewhat like saying that the glow-worm or the fire-fly is, in brilliancy, surpassed by not even

the moon or the sun? The Gita is said to aim at the extermination of Hindu idolatry! and yet it is allowed that "it compromises in some measure with the religious prejudices of our countrymen, by not attacking them directly," and by repeatedly declaring that "the temporary enjoyment of an inferior heaven, for a limited period, is the reward of those that worship idols." Its views of God are said to be "peculiarly noble and elevated;" and yet it is admitted that "it identifies, in some measure, the creature with the Creator,"—and that "it savours, in short, of Pantheism," the author is "not prepared to deny." It is declared that "no higher code of morals can be conceived than that inculcated by the Gita;"—and yet it is admitted to have for its basis the fearfully presumptuous pride of *Stoicism*—and that the ostensible object of the whole work is to "reconcile Arjun to a war with his kinsmen!" In "elevation of sentiment, in acuteness of argumentation, in sublimity of conception, in splendour of diction, in felicity of illustration," it is said to be "rivalled by perhaps no performance in the Sanskrit language;"—and yet before the critic is done with it, he is obliged candidly to confess that its main and leading "object" is "absolutely irreconcileable with the doctrines inculcated by it"—that "some parts of it are opposed to others"—that "it is, in short, an incongruous whole, and exhibits rather the grandeur and sublimity of a ruin than the beauty and magnificence of a finished pile." But we cannot follow any farther this strange medley of sense and no-sense—light and darkness—strength and weakness—boldness and timidity—sincerity and compromise—which constitute the main staple of this as well as most of the other essays. Nor is it necessary. The task has been in part well executed by the *native Christian visitor* of the Society. His essay on the Bhagavat Gita, included in the present collection, ought to form, to a considerable extent, an antidote to much of the poisonous and perilous stuff that precedes and follows it. It is, moreover, written in a calm, clear, dispassionate, and candid style. The Neo-Vedantist Essayist having quoted, with marked approbation, Warren Hastings's famous panegyric on the Gita, the Christian Essayist proceeds to analyse and expose it. He thus, first of all, points out its inconsistencies and self-contradictions:—

"In *one* place he says, that in estimating the merits of the Gita the critic should divest his mind, not only of all such sentiments of decency and propriety as were conventional in Europe, but also of all those notions and feelings which the Christian religion and moral philosophy generated:—in *another* place he pronounces this production to be equal to the Christian Scriptures! With the *same pen*, he *first* writes to tell you that you must expect to find in the Gita, *obscurity*, *absurdity*, barbarous *habits*, *and a perverted morality*,—and *then* wishes you also to accord to it the singular merit of being as rational an oracle of Divinity as the Bible itself! In *one* paragraph he says he could not venture to recommend the Gita for publication without preparing the European reader for much that would militate against his notions of religion and morality;—(otherwise why exclude *all* appeals to the revealed tenets of religion and moral duty?)—within a *few* pages again he tells you in substance that Krishna Dwapayana Vyas inculcated in India the same sentiments which Paul of Tarsus preached in Europe! Which of these two contradictory representa-

tions of the Bhagavat Gita is to be received for true? Is this to be dealt with as a work that, whatever its other merits required, before it could be decently presented to the English reader, *the allowance of obscurity, absurdity, barbarous habits, and a perverted morality*, and an exclusion of all appeals to the revealed tenets of the gospel? Or is it to be considered, what Mr. Hastings has elsewhere called it, a *theology accurately corresponding with that of the Christian dispensation, and powerfully illustrating its fundamental doctrines?* But if the Right Honourable critic had himself observed his own principle of excluding all appeals to Christianity in forming a just estimate of the Gita, how could he record this last verdict? How could he say that the one accurately corresponded with the other, if the two were not to be compared together? How can you divest your minds of all allusions to a certain system while examining the merits of another, if you hesitate not to pronounce them both to be equal?"

After adverting to those anomalous inconsistencies, he next enters and records his solemn protest against the notion that the theology of the Bhagavat Gita accurately corresponds with that of the Christian dispensation, or that it powerfully enforces its fundamental doctrines:—

"The *Gita* props up the pantheistic theology of the Vedant; the *Bible* bases its dispensations on an acknowledged personal and individual discrimination between the Creator and the creature. The *one* represents the human spirit as eternal and uncreate; the *other* pronounces all creatures animate and inanimate to have been created from nothing. The *Gita* would have you believe that, as Krishna was from eternity, so likewise Arjun and all the princes of the earth *never were not;* the Biblical Scriptures teach you that man was created at a definite time when God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Thus in one of the very fundamental points of all religion, the Gita contradicts not only Christianity but also the first principles of natural theology, by denying the creation of the human spirit, or identifying it with the Divine.

Again, by inculcating the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, the Gita has proved itself to be a system opposed to the gospel. According to Vyas, the soul departs from an old emaciated body only to enter into a fresh one, after the manner of a person changing old garments and putting on new ones;—according to the inspired writers of the Bible, the spirits of men departing this life, enter another world of joy or suffering, and there abide the great judgment to come.

Once more, the annihilation of individual existence by absorption into the Divine spirit is the highest object of desire which the *Gita* presents to his votaries; immortal existence in the enjoyment of God's presence is the reward which the *Gospel* offers to its recipients. Accordingly, the *one* predicts the destruction of personal existence, and, consequently, of the individual soul to take place at a certain unknown period; the *other* inculcates the immortal existence of every individual soul in pleasure or in pain as the righteous judgment of God shall allot to every man his own portion.

In fine, Christianity is a dispensation of love and mercy, righteousness and holiness,—asserting the goodness and justice of God, and providing for human redemption consistently with the Divine perfections. It teaches us that the children of Adam are, by nature and actual commission, transgressors of God's will, and have rendered themselves liable to condemnation and punishment. It meets man as a sinner, ignorant of the way whereby to retrieve and repair his situation. It proclaims Christ's sacrifice on the cross as a perfect, sufficient, and full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and thus it proposes to procure remission of his sins and to restore him to divine grace. The *Gita* propounds a confused and mystic system of divinity, confounding the creature

with the Creator, and holding out the dissolution of individual existence as the great object of human ambition to be obtained by an abstract contemplation of the identity of the Supreme with the human Spirit;—entirely silent on those points on which man needs instruction for the purposes of internal salvation, and much too loquacious on subjects of mere metaphysical curiosity, and questions of subtle and unprofitable disputation."

After various other remarks, calculated to show that the Bhagavat Gita, instead of discouraging, tended rather to inculcate and uphold idolatry,—and, instead of teaching a sublime theology, laboured rather to establish a system fitted to "sap the very foundation of pure natural religion, so as virtually to lead to infidelity, impiety, and ungodliness," —the author concludes with the following pointed and appropriate counsels:—

"And here I will venture to remind you, that religion is to be studied *objectively* and *subjectively*;—objectively, with reference to the ascertained and established truths which it embodies, independent of man's belief and conduct, —and *subjectively*, as regards the improvement of human feelings respecting them. *Objectively*, you must seek daily for further light and knowledge;— and *subjectively*, you must seek to follow the light and knowledge thus received to their fullest extent. Your efforts may thus be directed in a two-fold channel;—*inquiry* after truth as far as your spiritual interests may need; and the cultivation of your own love and reverence for truth so far as you succeed in discovering or comprehending it. The *one* will require reading and research— the other, contemplation, and a spirit of devotion to God; and both may be greatly expedited by prayerfulness to Him who can direct and fill the understanding as well as sanctify and move the heart. In this way only can we hope to render ourselves accepted in God's sight. We need the knowledge of His will, and the performance of that will when known. We must inquire how He wishes us to worship and approach Him,—and actually, so approach and worship, when we attain the object of our inquiry. We must ever seek the state of mind in which David sang—*Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes, and I shall keep it unto the end. Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy law; yea, I shall observe it with my whole heart.* This is the kind of feeling upon which all religious pursuits are to be based; this is the spirit in which all divine duties are to be discharged; this is the tone that should pervade all rational beings and moral agents. In conclusion, I must, as a Christian minister, declare and offer to your collective or individual inquiry, that the will and statutes of God *have* been communicated by Him; that the *objective* truths of religion *have* been declared; that the Supreme Being *has* imparted a knowledge of his laws, and published the way of human redemption; that an atonement and satisfaction for sin *has* been made—even by Him whose very name signifies His office as the anointed Saviour of the world. The proclamation of these truths is what we mean by the Gospel,—and it is this grand doctrine that we offer to the consideration and reception of all men; and whether *this* society can directly admit of this particular consideration or not, I may at least call upon you in your *private* capacities not to treat this great question with indifference, but to pursue it until you arrive at a satisfactory conclusion—until the mind is convinced, and the heart is affected—hope is produced, and confidence begotten;—until the spirits shall be fortified by grace and anchor upon faith— unmoved by the troubles and agitations of life, and waiting in joyful anticipation of that blessed day when God shall wipe away all tears from its eyes."

When we look around us and view the monstrous puerilities, absur-

ditics, and cruelties that are practised by multitudes in the name of worship—affronting heaven and desecrating earth—dishonouring to God and ruinous to the souls of men—it is impossible to view, without interest or concern, the transitionary struggles of the members of the Theophilanthropic Society to emancipate themselves from the yoke of an hereditary and degrading superstition. It is a certain step or movement in advance, which indicates the introduction and working of some influential elements of change. And after the stagnation of so many ages, who would not rejoice at the faintest prospect of motion and reviviscence? The very desire to get extricated from the quagmire of an abominable idolatry—to escape from the senseless mummeries of a ceremonial formalism—to repudiate the irrationality of a theoretic or practical atheism—to cultivate the religious and moral feelings which alone constitute the seat of pure devotion—to present before a brutishly idolatrous generation the spectacle of a service, which, though it does not approximate yet aspires to be reckoned a worship of God in "Spirit and in truth;"—such a desire, however faintly developed, however inadequately cherished, and however unstedfastly pursued, cannot but excite hope and awaken the promise of better days. At the same time, respect for the members of the society, some of whom we personally know—a sacred regard for the cause of truth, and an anxious solicitude for the best interests of our fellow-creatures and fellow-citizens, unite in constraining us to conclude with an earnest and friendly expostulation. The inaugural discourse professes to make light of *all creeds*—"*revealed*," among the rest. And yet most of the essays present mournful but indisputable evidence that there must be some grievous self-delusion here. Indifference to all creeds!—Strange! When there is one continued effort to commend and uphold Vedantism, as the purest and sublimest of all creeds!—when, to maintain its credit and superiority, there is an earnest and elaborate struggle throughout!—when, in order to elevate it into exclusive prominence, any better qualities which it contains are disproportionately magnified, while its more revolting and even blasphemous features are studiously vanished over, or wholly shrouded from the view? In the mildest terms, we must designate this a sorrowful self-delusion, to save us from the necessity of characterizing it as something worse. Again, the only revelation of God which is recognised is that contained in the "great volume of nature." And yet the volumes of the Vedas, and the Bhagavat Gita, and such like, are constantly appealed to as *authorities*, while the volume of inspired truth—the Bible—the only volume which has ever triumphantly authenticated its credentials as a revelation from the most high God,—is passed by in contemptuous silence! Is this *rational?* The Bible claims to be received, it challenges all men to receive it—as a revelation of God's will. Have the members of the Theophilanthropic Society coolly, calmly, and deliberately examined these claims? If so, have they found them to be untenable, and are they prepared to substantiate the reasons of their rejection of evidence which more than satisfied the penetrating

intellect of a Bacon, a Newton, a Locke, and a Boyle? If not, what right have they, in reason or common sense, to assume *à priori* and *without any examination at all*, or at least without any worthy of the name, that the Bible does not contain as genuine a revelation of God as the great volume of his visible works? That it does so, has been and is the firm, the intelligent, and the enlightened conviction of myriads of the noblest spirits which have elevated humanity or gladdened the world with their presence. And is it wise—is it consistent—is it safe—for professed inquirers after truth to shut the eyes of their understanding and the door of their heart against a whole system of truth which the greatest, the wisest, and the best of mankind, with one concurrent voice, proclaim to be *essentially divine?* That God has revealed much of his nature, his character, and attributes in the volume of creation, is what we rejoice to believe and glory in acknowledging. But that he has revealed much more of his nature, his character, and attributes in the volume of his Word, is what we rejoice to believe, and glory in avowing too. We do not despise the light of reason, or the light of conscience, or the light of God's visible works. As far as these are *truly* discerned, they are genuine lights. But what we maintain is, that they are faint and feeble, compared with the light which streameth from Jehovah's Oracles. In the darkness and gloom of a cloudy night, who would despise the twinkling of a star? But who, in his sound mind, would deliberately prefer the glimmer of a single star to the blaze of a whole firmament of stars?—or of a firmament of stars to the superior radiance of the full orbed moon?—or of the full orbed moon to the dazzling brightness of the noontide sun? And such as is the difference between the light of a starry sky and the effulgence of the meridian sun, such, if not vastly greater, is the difference between the fairest revelation of God in his works and the surpassing lustre of that revelation which he has graciously condescended to make of himself in his inspired Word. We would therefore earnestly entreat the members of the Theophilanthropic Society to lay these things to heart,—to reconsider their present line of procedure,—and to advance to the study of that *only* Book which can scatter the clouds that now environ and obscure their spiritual vision, guide them unerringly along the dangerous course of time, and conduct them in safety to the regions of glory, honour, and immortality.

Proposed Fever Hospital, in connection with the Medical College, Calcutta. By Fred. J. Mouat, M.D.

Our object is not exclusively or even chiefly a literary one—either as to *matter* or *style*. As to matter, our great design is to discuss all manner of subjects, calculated, in any way, to throw light on the existing condition of this country, its rulers and its people—and thereby fitted, directly or indirectly, to accelerate the cause of general improvement. As to style, neither despising nor neglecting its elegances

or its excellences, as occasion may offer, our chief concern is to express our meaning with a clearness and a force which may indicate our earnestness of purpose. For these reasons, we feel that it quite falls within the general scope of our undertaking to notice a pamphlet like that which now lies before us.

In April, 1835, we are informed that "James Ranald Martin, Esq., Surgeon to the Native Hospital, addressed a letter to the Governors of that Institution, pointing out the urgent necessity for establishing a Fever Hospital in a central part of the Native Town of Calcutta, from the constant universal and frightful prevalence of fever among the Native inhabitants, its generally fatal consequences, and the acceleration of the fate of those attacked by it through the unskilful and mistaken remedies resorted to by the Native Doctors, to whose aid alone the poorer classes of Natives, with few exceptions, could have recourse." The governors were not slow in giving the subject the consideration which it deserved. On due inquiries made they soon came unanimously to the resolution that "the proposal to establish a Fever Hospital in a centrical part of the Native Town of Calcutta, was one of undoubted expediency"—that, under the circumstances described by them, it was "highly necessary to solicit the contributions of all classes of the community" towards the accomplishment of so desirable an object—and that a sub-committee should be appointed to adopt all practicable measures calculated to ensure its realization.

This Committee appear to have set to work with commendable zeal and energy. Amongst other objects, they began to collect, from all available sources, such facts and suggestions as might contribute to confirm or illustrate the expediency and practicability of the general design. These facts and suggestions they subsequently embodied in an elaborate Report. And it is of extracts or selections from this Report that Dr. Mouat's pamphlet mainly consists. The extracts or selections are very judicious and appropriate. But we must be allowed to express our regret that they are not preceded by a general abstract or digest of the contents. In a case to be established for judicial decision or executive purposes, it is essential that it should be supported by a body of evidence, extending to the minutest particular. The more frequent the repetition of the same or similar statements, on the part of separate and independent witnesses, the better; inasmuch as every such repetition is of the nature of a confirmatory testimony. But that which constitutes the chief value of a body of substantiating evidence, is the very thing which renders it utterly insufferable to the general reader, who soon gets wearied of endless reduplication, and bewildered in the maze of circumstantial varieties. Hence the importance of a brief clear summary or digest. Hence our regret that Dr. Mouat, for the sake of the cause which he has so much at heart, has not furnished such a condensed abstract of the contents of his pamphlet—throwing the whole mass of the extracts into an Appendix. Such an abstract would be readily and gladly perused by many who will not have patience or inclination to toil through a tangled forest of

facts. Such an abstract, too, would have been readily inserted entire in newspapers and periodicals that cannot afford space for the contents of a pamphlet of *thirty-one* pages, and whose conductors cannot afford time to draw out epitomized summaries for themselves. In the absence, however, of such a summary, we may briefly advert to two or three leading points and furnish a few corroborative quotations.

1st.—As to the *prevalence of fever, &c.* All the most experienced medical gentlemen in Calcutta unite in bearing testimony to the frightful extent to which all the ordinary tropical diseases prevail among the native inhabitants of this metropolis, and more particularly bilious, intermittent, and remittent fevers, with their almost invariable *sequelæ*, spleen, diarrhœa, and dyspepsia. All observation and experience go to prove that, during the four unhealthy months of August, September, October, and November alone, there are at least *eighteen thousand* persons, out of a floating population of 300,000, attacked by fevers of different kinds; that of these "about *one-fifth*, or *twenty* per cent. die before December; that about one-tenth of these diseases run into the following months of December, January, February, and March; that of the remaining half may recover; but with others, enlargement of the spleen and affections of the liver last, with intermittent fever, for many months, when they terminate fatally."

2d.—As to the present *total want of any adequate means of relief, and the consequent aggravated sufferings and almost necessitated premature loss of thousands of lives*, the testimonies are equally explicit and decisive. The governors of the Native Hospital declare that "thousands of the poorer Natives in and around Calcutta are continually exposed to the ravages of the more prevalent diseases of the country, and in a very large proportion *without a chance of being relieved*—and that *they die in thousands, not from the original force of the disease, but from the want of an asylum like that now* proposed, viz. an Hospital." Mr. Surgeon Martin testifies, that "fever is so universal with the Native, that until enlarged spleen or bowel complaint, the *sequelæ* to oft repeated fever, seizes him, he never thinks it necessary to apply for aid; that when he does, it is but to accelerate his fate, as the compound of arsenic and spices, or the rude preparation of mercury, given by the Native Doctors, is efficacious to rekindle the feeble remains of constitutional power only to sink the more rapidly in death!" Baboo Ramcomul Sein and Dr. Jackson, in their joint observations, declare that "there are no institutions which are of adequate service to the immense number of poor, homeless, and helpless native inhabitants and emigrants in and about the Town of Calcutta;" that though there were a Native Hospital and two public Dispensaries, "the people do not generally avail themselves of the benefit of these institutions;" that "the Native Hospital is well calculated, and was originally established, for patients labouring under external or accidental injuries, such as are constantly sent by the Police; but that people affected with fever, or other diseases, of whom great numbers die annually derive hardly any benefit from it:"

that "the Dispensaries supply medicines to such persons as are able to attend personally, and to show themselves to the superintending Surgeon or Apothecary; but if the dose of medicine they receive does not produce the expected relief, or operate with any degree of violence, or if their illness increases, they do not present themselves again, or apply for more medicines, and nothing more is known of their history;" and that "indeed there are many who receive medicine from the Dispensaries but do not take it at all." In the observations of the same respectable and highly qualified witnesses, there is the following affecting statement, which we are tempted to give entire:—

"* * Besides the multitude of resident inhabitants destitute of medical aid, except from dispensaries, people from various parts of Bengal come to Calcutta to seek for employment, to beg charity and assistance from their friends and acquaintances, and for speculations. They come and live with persons who are employed in offices, and workmen, and those who follow menial professions, and whose means are very limited. If they are able, or willing, to live separately, they hire lodgings in some hut or old building, the small apartments of which are let from two annas to two rupees a month. These people do not possess a sufficient quantity of clothing; they are naked almost day and night; they have no bed, and lie down on mats and leaves spread on the damp ground in their cells or holes. In hot weather they sleep out in open places, and on the borders of the road exposed to the weather, and all its changes.

"When they get fever or cholera, they have nobody to attend on them, nor have they any means to procure medical aid, clothing, or food, suitable to the state of their health. If it is fever, it increases, and becomes violent day by day: many cannot afford to buy even a dose of *Panchun* (the commonest and cheapest native remedy) which costs but one pyee; and even if the people of the house, or their neighbours, give them pyees enough to purchase it, they have neither place nor means to prepare it; and, destitute of all the comforts and necessaries of life, their illnesses soon arrive at a stage always dangerous, in which their recovery must be generally considered doubtful; while they are, without any care and attention being paid to them, exposed to the vicissitudes of the atmosphere, with nothing but unwholesome water for drink. The friends of the miserable being with whom he lives, or at whose place he hires his lodging, finding his case bad, become alarmed, send for a Byda (Native Doctor) to prescribe for him. But the landlord or host now becomes involved in another difficulty: he cannot attend himself to the sick, and neither has, nor can give means to take proper care of him; and, therefore, to get rid of his sick tenant or guest, these are the modes usually resorted to:—He procures him either a boat or dooly to carry him to his family in the country, which he never, or at least seldom, reaches. By the shaking and agitation he receives in his weak state, exposed to the weather, he soon dies. 'I have seen,' says Dr. Jackson, 'boatmen and bearers often put down such men on the ghauts and bank of the river, &c., where, in a few hours, they have expired; or they are often attacked by beasts of prey before they cease to breathe. The second, and more convenient mode adopted in Calcutta for disposing of such a man is, to carry him to the bank of the river, and there to place him under the charge of some hired people at the ghaut of the river, waiting his dissolution.

"This mode is considered more convenient and less expensive and better for the deceased as well as the persons to whom he was attached. Another reason for this also is the well known Hindu belief, that, when a sick man considers that he has no hope left of being recovered, he had better die by the holy

stream. Allowing the sick to die in his cell, and throwing his body into the stream, is reckoned infamous, and disgraceful to the survivors and friends of the deceased, and cruel and unbecoming in the persons with whom he has lived. But if he dies on the bank of the Ganges there is some consolation for his family and friends, and at the same time it saves the landlord or his host from the reproaches which might otherwise be poured upon him by the friends.

"It is to these circumstances that the *Unterjalie*, or ghat murder, owes its derivation, about which so much has of late been said in the Calcutta papers."

3rd.—As to the question which had been raised relative to the difference *in the nature of the relief afforded by the two kinds of institution, an Hospital and a Dispensary*, Dr. Martin, Dr. Nicolson, Dr. Stewart, and other competent judges, are very unanimous and decided in giving the preference to the former, viz. the Hospital. Dr. Martin thus remarks :—

" * * Without the aid of an hospital, in a city like this, fever and dysentery cannot be cured; everything in it is necessary to save life; the regular visits of an European doctor, aided by an intelligent establishment; its open airy wards and raised clean beds; its regulated dict and clothing, and its general cleanliness—these are all necessary. But in a dispensary, which is only useful to keep men out of hospital (no small matter in itself), the patient gets his dose of medicine and is cured; or, if not, he returns to the very place where he caught his disease, to sleep on the damp ground, to get medicine by chance, and have any diet or clothing the friends choose, together with the absence of all ventilation and cleanliness. In violent illness, therefore, such management can be of little avail in arresting disease. Again, it is not, even in the most dangerous diseases, by medicine *alone* that a man's life is to be saved, but by the careful and continued watching of the operations of nature, and those of medicine, so as to determine when to give and withhold drugs. It results from this that dispensaries take but a secondary or subordinate station, and cannot be compared in active relief to a well ventilated and regulated hospital. Speaking as a medical man, and viewing the question as it affects the public health, I should feel that I conferred a greater benefit on humanity in one case of acute disease restored to health in an hospital (where alone such cases can be treated), than by many scores of doubtful relief afforded through the casual exhibition of doses of medicine at a dispensary."

Dr. Nicolson, whose unrivalled shrewdness, sagacity, and experience entitle his opinion to more than ordinary weight, is equally clear and peremptory in his decision :—

"I think there can be no question as to the superiority of a large hospital for the accommodation of fever and all other medical cases for the purposes mentioned in the above paragraph, over any number of dispensaries strictly speaking; but the expense of the former would necessarily be much greater. In advocating the establishment, therefore, of a large hospital for medical cases, I am not opposed to the establishing of dispensaries. On the contrary, I am of opinion that, as soon as an hospital is provided, dispensaries should be established in several parts of the town, and particularly in the populous suburbs around. These should be, strictly speaking, dispensaries, to afford advice and medicine to all applicants. As a large proportion of those who would apply to these dispensaries would be of the poorest and lowest classes, many of them strangers, and without friends in Calcutta, who have no property, save the few rags in which they are partially clothed, and no other means of support, save

their earnings from their labour from day to day, it is evident they could derive but very little benefit from a dispensary when labouring under an acute disease. They might indeed apply once or twice, be able to walk the first day, probably contrive to be carried the second, but as the disease advanced, and their strength failed, their means of conveyance exhausted, and their scanty remains of food drained to the dregs, they must inevitably perish from disease or starvation, unless some considerate Chowkedar (policeman) should take pity upon them, and have them conveyed to the police hospital. It is for the reception of this very numerous class of the inhabitants of Calcutta and the suburbs, when attacked by acute disease, that I considered a fever hospital so urgently required. And I feel satisfied that thousands of lives would be saved annually by the establishment of such an hospital, with a certain number of dispensaries subordinate in it. These dispensaries might, I think, be maintained at much less expense than the two now existing, subordinate to the native hospital."

4th.—As to the question *whether, in the event of an Hospital being established, the Natives would readily avail themselves of the advantages which it offered*, the testimonies are clear and strong in the affirmative. As this is a point of great practical importance, we cannot do better than present the admirable and conclusive summary supplied by the Committee. It is as follows :—

" * * The native hospital, it appears, was founded exclusively for surgical purposes; but, at least, during the four years ending 1836-7, the patients, in *medical cases*, who have been admitted into it as in-door patients occupying beds (it being already in evidence that they have constituted the majority for the last forty-five years) have *greatly* exceeded those in *surgical cases*. In these years it appears that the number of in-door patients in medical cases has amounted to 2,333, that of in-door patients in surgical cases, to 1,561 —that the number of medical cases, which they feel compelled to admit, do injury to the surgical cases by crowding the ward—that the circumstances which compel them to admit such numbers of medical cases, are the want of any other hospital, and the *certainty of death to the applicants*, in the event of their refusing to receive them into the house—*that by these means they have saved hundreds of lives annually*—that *to have sent away poor creatures, labouring under fever and other acute diseases, would have been to consign them to lingering disease, misery, and certain death*—that Hindus, Mahomedans, and Christians frequently apply for admission; *the Hindus and Mahomedans for in-door relief, in greater number than they can accommodate, in cases purely medical*—that of the numbers of daily applicants for in-door relief, to whom they cannot possibly afford it, almost all are suffering from disease of a medical nature; for severe surgical cases they always admit—that they reckon, generally, that there are three Hindu applicants for every Mahomedan in both descriptions of cases, medical and surgical; the Hindu applicants, almost exclusively of the labouring classes, and of various castes—that after accommodating the surgical patients, they have the remaining beds always occupied by medical cases of an urgent nature—that these are persons who have either solicited in-door relief directly, or have applied as out-door patients in the first instance, but have taken to bed on being told that their diseases required in-door management—that the demands on them for in-door relief are so much beyond their means to answer them, that they are not much troubled to over-persuade patients to remain in the house; but such cases do occur occasionally, and several persons in the course of a month refuse to remain as in-patients—that, generally, in the hospital, as in the army, the lower the caste, the greater the difficulties offered to medical management, and *vice versâ*—that about three or four per cent. of the daily applicants at the hospital ask for admission, the remainder come for

dispensary relief—that after selecting the surgical cases, the first assistant selects the case of acute and dangerous disease—that men who know the institution, and particularly old patients, are always glad to be admitted—that strangers, and people from the country, are at first reluctant to enter the hospital, but are often induced to remain by the representations of the officers of the institution—that there is no disinclination, but quite the contrary, among the natives of this part of India, to the receiving advice and taking medicines from European medical practitioners,when labouring under diseases requiring medical treatment alone, so far as Mr. Martin's experience extends; and Mr. O'Brien is sure, from what he knows of the natives of Bengal, that they will always avail themselves of European medicine and advice, when within their reach; and if a medical man will listen patiently to their story, he will have more patients than he can find time to attend to—that *Mr. Martin will engage to fill a well ordered hospital, capable of receiving* 250 *patients, and to keep it full by transferring to it the daily applicants for in-door relief at the native hospital, for whom they have not accommodation*—that in Mr. Martin's opinion, a well regulated institution for the treatment of the diseases incident to the climate would be at once filled, and would continue to be so at all times and seasons—that in Mr. O'Brien's opinion, an hospital with 100 beds would be filled in two months—that the only dislike which Hindus of high caste have to entering the native hospital is, that they are mixed up with the Mahomedan patients—and Mr. O'Brien is sure that if, in the proposed hospital, the wards for Hindus and Mussulmans are made perfectly distinct, and the Hindu part of the building divided into two or three wards, so as to have the Brahmins and higher castes separate from the lower castes, the highest caste Brahmin would have no objection to remain in an hospital so regulated—that there must be a ward for Christians distinct from the apartments of the other two classes—that they may all mingle in their morning and evening walks, but one caste should not enter the apartments of the others—that for the first twelve months after its establishment there were in the native hospital 115 house and 101 dispensary patients; and in 1837, without any increase of accommodation, there were 956 house, and 75,680 dispensary patients—that an hospital containing 250 beds ought, in Mr. O'Brien's opinion, to be filled in twelve months—that in Mr. Martin's opinion there are prejudices among the natives inhabiting Calcutta of both kinds, those founded upon religious opinions, and the prejudices and fears common to the ignorant and the vulgar in all countries are of great force amongst the natives, and they dislike the removal from the families; but all these are, in Mr. Martin's opinion, in general to be overcome also by kindness of manner, and the ready permission to the sick of being visited, or even attended, by their relations—that the poorer natives have not prejudices in a greater degree than Mr. Martin has seen exhibited in different parts of the British empire; and of which, in his opinion, such as do exist will readily yield here as elsewhere to judicious management.

"Your Committee are of opinion, upon what they consider as the clear result of this evidence, that a medical hospital instituted in Calcutta upon principles in which due regard should be paid to the religious opinions, prejudices, and peculiar customs of the country, would meet with few more material obstacles in attracting the resort of the sick poor, than an hospital would encounter in any part of Great Britain or Ireland upon the first introduction of such an establishment. It seems to your Committee to be established by the testimony of those who have had the best opportunities of forming accurate opinions of the habits and manners of the Natives, that the operation of *caste* in influencing their acquiescence in the medical treatment necessary to remove the sufferings of disease, has been exaggerated, in the same manner, and to the same degree, as it has usually been in other matters—that whatever is required by

the prejudices of *caste* it is not difficult to supply—that the main difficulties which oppose themselves to the success of an hospital in Calcutta, are prejudices not peculiar to the natives of India, but which they partake with the ignorant all over the world—that prejudices of this sort have been found everywhere to yield to the influence of experience and the desire of self-preservation; and that they will probably yield with greater rapidity here than elsewhere, from the greater natural quickness of apprehension remarkable in the uneducated natives of India."

5th.—From the overwhelming mass of evidence before them the Committee came to the unanimous opinion,—

I. "That there is the most urgent necessity for the taking effectual measures to administer relief to the sick within Calcutta and its suburbs, in a state of poverty, but not utter destitution.

II. "That dispensaries for the gratis distribution of medicines, under the advice of an apothecary and the general superintendence of a surgeon of the establishment, are attended with very beneficial effects in a large description of cases, especially when the patient is persuaded by an European master or mistress, or judicious native friend, to apply for relief in the early stage of a common disorder, and in slight and in chronic diseases; but that they by no means answer the desired purpose or in the opinion of your Committee any good purpose, in acute or dangerous diseases which have proceeded beyond the initiatory symptoms—which diseases appear to form a large proportion of those prevalent in Calcutta.

III. "That in order to the successful treatment of these diseases among the poor, an hospital, or hospitals, must be established, in which the patients can be received to sleep and to live during the progress of their cure—in a situation removed from the neighbourhood of a dense population—having well ventilated apartments raised above the lowest strata of morbid exhalation, and the noxious damps, which render their ordinary habitations the necessary and chosen abodes of disease; and secured by substantial walls and good roofs against the sun and the rain, and the sudden and violent alterations of temperature incidental to the climate—in which they may receive the daily advice of a skilful physician—and the constant attendance of a well instructed apothecary, and of assistants and nurses of competent knowledge and care—the ceaseless watching of the progress of the disease, and of the effects of the medicines taken—the benefit of strict measures to ensure the proper administering of the medicines ordered—proper attention to cleanliness and clothing—the due supply of wholesome food and regulation of diet—and a supply of such articles of sustenance, as from their mode of preparation, or rarity, or expense, cannot be procured by the poor except in an hospital, and may be necessary to recover."

These and other kindred resolutions are followed up by the Committee with a reflection at once practical, striking, and profound:—

"Your Commitee are painfully aware, that to cope with the vast mass of disease which prevails in Calcutta in its present state, in the hope of administering effectual relief by charitable means, in cases bearing any but a small proportion to the multitude which demand it, were an undertaking certainly beyond the means of private contribution, and probably beyond those which the paternal providence of the Government could command for such an object, great as that object undoubtedly is. But they cannot think, that, because all cannot be at once accomplished, which is ardently to be desired, nothing should be attempted towards accomplishing a part, where that which is to be undertaken regards the

saving of human lives. In a shipwreck, what is to be done is to save as many as there are means of saving; nor were any man's exertions to effect this ever relaxed by the consideration, that their number was small, compared to those who must be left to perish. As is well observed by Mr. Martin—"This need not discourage us; for, in countries the most civilized and wealthy, it is but a small part of the suffering that is alleviated by hospitals, or that can be so. If the more urgent and acute diseases are treated, a great deal is done to relieve suffering, and to save life."

The Committee having thus succeeded in establishing, by an immense mass of irrefragable evidence, the urgent necessity of founding a Fever Hospital, proceeded, with redoubled energy, to obtain the requisite pecuniary contributions. Nor were their efforts in this respect unsuccessful. Gradually a sum of about *fifty-five thousand* rupees accumulated on their hands. In April last, Dr. Mouat, Secretary to the Medical College and Government Council of Education, opened a correspondence on the subject with Sir J. P. Grant, President of the Fever Hospital Committee. Baboo Muttyloll Seal, with a munificence that does him credit, offered "a piece of ground in the immediate vicinity of the Medical College, for the purpose of aiding to form the site of a Fever Hospital." The professors attached to the Medical College "volunteered to perform gratuitously the duty of affording aid to the sick of the proposed Hospital, which will become a part of the regular duties of those officers, and of their successors in the College." The Government also undertook to "provide, at the public charge, such establishment and medicines as may be necessary for the Institution." Under these favourable circumstances the old Fever Hospital Committee very handsomely resolved that the entire sum at their disposal, together with such further sums as may be collected of the subscriptions not yet paid in, should be appropriated to the erection of a Fever Hospital on the ground which had been presented for that purpose, in immediate connection with the Medical College.

Every obstacle being thus removed, and unusual facilities and advantages offered, why should a work of so truly philanthropic a character —a work of such demonstrable utility—be delayed for a single day? The answer is a simple but decisive one—*the want of sufficient pecuniary means!* The funds on hand are declared to be "not only utterly inadequate to provide a building of the nature and extent required, which it is estimated cannot cost less than a *lac of rupees*, but a further sum of nearly *forty thousand* rupees will be necessary to purchase the *additional* ground essential for free ventilation." Here, then, is a claimant case, vehemently craving for the liberalities of the charitable of all classes and castes of men—without respect to clime, or religion, or colour. Let no one fling aside his own share of the responsibility, by alleging that others, more able than himself, *might* do more than they have done. Baboo Muttyloll Seal has done much; but such a man, with his fifty lacs of rupees, might do more! Government has undertaken much; but such a Government, with its ample revenues, *might* do more! True; very true, all this! But, ought

their not doing more than they have done, to excuse others for *not doing anything at all?* This, both in mental and moral logic, were a strange and ruinous paralogism. *The inadequate performances* of any parties, in the great sphere of duty or benevolence, never did, never can constitute a valid defence for the *total non-performance* of another. Rather, their doing something—no matter how incommensurate so ever—ought to administer a rebuke for his doing nothing. The great point, therefore, in this and all similar cases, is, for every one to consider, not what this one or that one has done, but what, in the circumstances, it is *his own* duty to do.

Let every one resolve to be acquitted at the bar of his own conscience. Let him so act, in the presence of the omniscient God, as to be enabled with integrity of heart, in reviewing all the circumstances of every call or claim of duty, to exclaim, "I have done what I could." If all the inhabitants of Calcutta were to act on this sound and righteous principle, for a *single hour* to-day, funds, vastly more than adequate for the erection of the proposed Fever Hospital, would be forthcoming on the morrow—one of the noblest and most useful institutions would be rearing its stately head amid the native dwellings of this metropolis within a twelvemonth—within it, as a temple and sanctuary of health, would thousands of the poor, the needy, and the helpless, find relief from excruciating pains and agonies—and from it, would housands more go forth in the bloom and freshness of renovated strength, who otherwise would inevitably have been consigned to a premature grave.

It was our intention, had not this notice already extended further than was originally designed, to refer, in terms of strongest condemnation, to the utterly disgraceful state of the drainage, sewerage, and waterage, in the native parts of the city. In our opinion, these are the chief, the ever-active, the perennial sources of a large proportion of all the fevers and other malignant maladies that afflict and decimate the native population. The thorough rectification of these unceasing generators and feeders of pestilence would do more towards the mitigation and removal of disease than would the erection of as many fever hospitals as there are private dwellings.

Narrative of a Mission to India and the Countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, &c. &c. By M. Fontanier, Vice-Consul of France at Bassorah. London, 1844.

This is the first volume of a work, which will, we anticipate, on its completion, form a most valuable addition to the now fast increasing store of good books relating to India and the East. It is the work of a foreigner, and, as such, of double value; for it is good for us sometimes to see the things which most concern us, through other media than those of our own prejudices or predilections. M. Fontanier is an

intelligent French gentleman, of good education and high character, who has held for some time an official position in the Persian Gulf. He has seen much of Western Asia; has fallen in and discoursed with many of the foremost men in recent Indian History; and has marked, with the eye of a keen observer, the national characteristics of the people among whom he has dwelt. His writings are distinguished by an amount of good sense, moderation, and freedom from prejudice, which cannot fail to engage the favourable consideration of the reader; and though we may dissent from some of his conclusions, we recognise, even in his errors, a degree of candour and sincerity which entitle them to our respect. There is in M. Fontanier's work none of that egregious national and personal vanity, which have rendered the writings of many French travellers, with all their cleverness, so exceedingly offensive—none of the indelicate foppery of an Arago or the nauseous self-conceit of a Jacquemont. Regarding this latter personage, M. Fontanier acknowledges that he found the odium attaching to the character of the French naturalist a stumbling-block in his own path, which, for some time, it was not a little difficult to surmount. It may not be uninstructive to show what our author has said on the subject—

"It seems to me that though there are more English in France than in India enjoying a protection and freedom there with which they appear to be satisfied, they do not scruple to attack its government and its institutions, and turn into ridicule its inhabitants and their usages. They are not blamed on this account by their countrymen: why then should they be indignant against Jacquemont, who certainly did not go the lengths they do? If he has indulged in exaggeration and presumption, and not adhered too closely to truth, yet he has espoused the sentiments and the prejudices of his hosts, and by his abilities has rendered them popular in France. Far from having injured the interests of those who received him, he served them better than many of their most distinguished statesmen. His letters have given currency to an idea, respecting the power of Great Britain in India, which many persons consider exaggerated. This certainly should have excused certain sins against propriety. But besides the fact that in such cases English society is little inclined towards indulgence, Jacquemont's book became an instrument of party spirit. Lord William Bentinck was a decided Whig; and the principal organ of the Tories, the Quarterly Review, in order to attack him, seized upon certain passages in which the traveller had, it must be confessed, spoken very lightly of Lady Bentinck.

"Lord William was not popular in India. Although people are too much occupied there with matters of utility to trouble themselves much about the questions which nourish party spirit in Europe, nevertheless, the majority of the inhabitants being Tories, certain innovations introduced by the Governor-General appeared to them premature. Too much attention was paid to his lordship and Jacquemont's conduct, which all blamed, I think, more than was deserved. These feelings have not diminished, and many Frenchmen have told me long afterwards, that they did not meet with the reception in India which they anticipated, from the fear entertained in certain families that, by admitting them on a footing of intimacy, they might incur the same annoyance which befel Lord Bentinck. It was asserted that her ladyship, pestered by the joke to which she gave rise in London, preferred expatriation and went to Paris, where she died; the mere mention of Jacquemont's name, it is said, caused the Governor-General the most poignant displeasure. Had I been an ordinary traveller, I should probably have been less attentive to these incidents; but I was

going to reside, so to speak, on the Indian frontiers; and it was requisite that I should inspire confidence amongst the inhabitants of the only civilized country with which I should be in communication. It was not without regret, therefore, that I discovered the existence of an unfortunate prejudice against the French which I could not easily destroy. The facility of expressing myself, and that feeling of confidence which gives free scope to the mind failed me, and without these the choicest company loses its charm."

The accuracy of much of this is questionable. The article in the *Quarterly Review* bears no appearance of a covert attack on Lord William Bentinck, but is a direct and well-merited castigation of the impertinences of the French traveller; and no one, who knew Lady William Bentinck, will believe for a moment that these impertinences could ever have occasioned her the intense chagrin of which M. Fontanier speaks. Her ladyship was not a person whom her associates would be likely to pester with jokes, nor are well bred people in England prone to pester noble ladies with jokes so distasteful as to drive them into exile. Lord William Bentinck, we may venture to affirm, cordially despised M. Jacquemont, whilst Lady William pitied and forgave him; but, though his lordship was not popular in India, M. Jacquemont's name stinks in the nostrils of Indian society, as one inseparably associated with ideas of the most offensive vulgarity and ridiculous self-conceit. Judging by M. Fontanier's book, our present author is likely to remove much of this very strong impression against French travellers in India, and if he succeeds altogether, we can assure him that he will have achieved no inconsiderable triumph.

The next passage, which we have marked in M. Fontanier's work, relates to the late Sir Alexander Burnes and Mr. Wolff. It will be read at the present time with no little interest:—

"The ships which we found at anchor were chiefly laden with pilgrims, but those whose sole object was trade soon made their appearance also. The *Hugh Lindsay* was the first to arrive, and was then the only steamer belonging to the East India Company; she was making her experimental trip in order to establish, *via* Suez, regular communications between Bombay and England. She brought despatches from Europe, and put into Jeddah for a supply of coals, having on board a no less remarkable person than Sir Alexander Burnes, whose end was afterwards so deplorable. He had been sent to India with dispatches, and had just published the narrative of his overland journey to Europe. I do not wish to enter into the merits of that publication, but it must be confessed that the interest that was then attached to those countries, through which Sir Alexander passed, in consequence of the projects attributed both to Russia and England, exaggerated the value and the difficulties of his undertaking. Indeed, some years previously, an Italian named Ventura, and a French captain, M. Allard, had, at the suggestion of M. Mazarowitch, the Russian minister at the court of Persia, journeyed by the same route. And at a later period, M. Court, a lieutenant of the old Imperial Guard, who was far superior in education and information to his predecessors, had also followed the same track; others succeeded them, even Mr. Wolff, the German missionary, undertook the journey from Persia to India accompanied by far greater dangers. I am not aware that M. Court took notes of his journey; but, if he did, it is probable that his facts are of more value than those of Sir Alexander Burnes. Independent of his being an excellent geographer and draughtsman, he speaks Persian, not like most Euro-

ropeans, with difficulty and inaccuracy, but understands it perfectly, and is acquainted with its literature; his labours have often enriched the journal of the 'Asiatic Society.' It must further be taken into consideration, that Sir Alexander's work had been taken up by the East India Company, and was revised and corrected by Mr. Elphinstone, a man who justly enjoys the reputation of being better acquainted with Asia than any other person; that not only did he add his own observations, but caused the author to suppress certain passages which he considered prejudicial to the interests of the British Government. I think it is but fair to make these remarks here, as the merit of Sir Alexander's enterprise has been singularly exaggerated, and his countrymen, in order to extol him, seem to have forgotten that he had numerous predecessors. His fame has also spread upon the continent, where it is customary to rely upon the English for whatever relates to Asia.

"No sooner had he arrived at Jeddah, than the first care of this celebrated traveller was to verify an assertion advanced by the missionary Wolff, with whom he had had a quarrel at Cabul, where they first met. The Missionary affirmed that he had preached the Scriptures at Jeddah, near the Mecca gate, which fact appeared rather strange to those who are acquainted with Mahometans. He made inquiries of Malum Youssouf, with whom the missionary had lodged, and I acted as interpreter at this singular inquiry. I addressed Youssouf in Turkish, repeated what he said to Sir Alexander in Persian, which both of us spoke ill enough; and he communicated the words in English to those of his countrymen who were present, namely, Captain Wilson, commander of the *Hugh Lindsay*, Lieutenant Buckle, and Mr. Frazer, one of the passengers. The following is the result of Malum Youssouf's narration—who, by the bye, did not understand the motive of the inquiry.

"Mr. Wolff was extremely absent, and remarkable for simplicity; talking to himself, getting up and making speeches all day long, and even the greater part of the night! passing indeed for an irrational being. Malum Youssouf never could make out what he was talking about. One day, about the dinner hour, his guest sallied forth towards the gate of Mecca with a Bible under his arm; Youssouf sent his sister after him to say dinner was waiting, and he immediately returned. It appears that nothing extraordinary had occurred, for no person paid the least attention to him; at all events, if he had spoken or gesticulated, no one had noticed it. When I stated that he had preached, Malum Youssouf replied: 'That is very probable; he could do so at his leisure and without danger, for no person could understand what he had to say.' This explanation of a fact affirmed by so sincere a man as Dr. Wolff, and which every one knows could not have occurred, appears to me at least natural. I have met that missionary, and know the strange delusion into which he has fallen, as to his oratorical faculties. His French wearied me so at Trebizond, that I addressed him in Italian: the British Consul spoke French with him. I could not comprehend a word he said in Persian, and others were not more fortunate; neither did he understand Turkish; yet prided himself on speaking with fluency all these languages and many others besides. His countrymen assured me too that his German pronunciation was very disagreeable: in a word, no preacher could be less adapted for polyglotic eloquence than he, although he flattered himself to the contrary.

"Fond of adventure and travelling, imagining himself a prophet, he had perambulated the world, preaching the Scripture everywhere, and, as he conceived, without any one mistaking his errand. He was besides very ignorant and a very bad theologian; the Abbé de Couperie had put him out of countenance several times at Bagdad, where he had been unable to support the most ordinary doctrines of the Protestant Church. When Sir Alexander Burnes met him at

Cabul, he had gone thither, through some unaccountable impulse, to seek the lost tribes of Israel; and he returned from thence at a later period by India and the real Red Sea. He has now resumed the same journey in order to set free two Englishmen, whom he supposes to be prisoners at Bokhara. I am inclined to believe that his journey will be an useless one; if Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, who are reported to have been assassinated, are fortunately alive, Mr. Wolff's interference will serve them but little. Their relations, their friends, and even the British Government, ought to have adopted better measures for their deliverance than to send a man whose zeal and whose courage are indeed incontestible, but whose extravagant notions can only increase the difficulties of the case.

"No sooner had these investigations been brought to a close than Sir Alexander visited the town, and failed not to perceive that our host carried on the slave-trade. He had a quick penetrating mind, and his society was very agreeable. Although well pleased with the reception he had met with in England, and the honours he had obtained, he was very unassuming and natural in his manners, and showed proof of much frankness in his conversation. I was invited to dine on board the *Hugh Lindsay*, when we conversed a great deal about Persia and Eastern policy. It was not difficult for me to discover that the man who was destined to enact so brilliant a part, and doomed to so tragical an end, had adopted the opinions of Sir John MacNeil. The *Hugh Lindsay* only remained one day at Jeddah, and my quondam companion, Mr. Buckle, took his departure on board of her for Bombay."

We scarcely think that this is a fair estimate of the services rendered by Sir Alexander Burnes, and the merit which attaches to his enterprise. Other travellers may have preceded him along the same line of country; but he was the first to render such experiences useful to the world. If Burnes was not the first to traverse this difficult and dangerous country, he was the first to render the country familiar to the European mind; and as such he deserves the full measure of praise which has been bestowed upon him. Burnes derived no benefit from the enterprise of his predecessors; his way was not smoothed by their labours; and the country was, as far as he was concerned, a wholly untravelled country. It was, to all intents and purposes, an untravelled country; and the previous enterprise of Court, who has imparted none of his information to the world, detracts nothing from the merit of the first European traveller in Central Asia who turned his labours to good account.

M. Fontanier in the volume now before us does not devote much of its space to what strictly relates to India—but in the subsequent volumes, we may expect to see much more about the English in India. From the chapter devoted to this subject in Vol. I. we take the following passage. It is valuable as the unbiassed testimony of an intelligent stranger:—

"In the private intercourse which I was so fortunate as to keep up with the English in India during a residence of several years, I always experienced the most noble and uncompromising hospitality, elevated and generous sentiments, and always had occasion to admire their good faith, and the order and harmony which appeared to reign in their families. Not only did society in India appear to me not to rank below that of European, but I think an incontestible supe-

riority might even be conceded to it. There is scarcely to be found in it a man who would not claim notice in the fashionable circles of Paris or London, either for the knowledge he has acquired in his long travels, or for the facility with which he speaks foreign languages. No lady can mix with it unless she had received an education at least as good as that of most ladies in Europe, and obtained a greater store of knowledge than those who never quit their country. In India there is more leisure as well as more wealth; the regularity of life led there allows more time for study; the libraries are numerous, and no important work appears on the Continent that is not to be found there a month afterwards. On taking either a Calcutta publication, one from Madras, or especially one of Bombay, even a newspaper, a stranger cannot but feel a sort of humiliation. It is impossible not to remark the talent, the science, and above all the views of utility which have presided over the editorial department; you then involuntarily compare them with the trash, the useless verbosity, and the profound ignorance which characterise most European journals.

"With regard to public affairs, although I was not accredited to Bombay, yet I sometimes found myself under the necessity of holding semi-official communications with the authorities, who always proved to be very obliging. I noticed the extreme simplicity of the forms, the great facilities granted to every one, and the promptitude with which business was expedited. I express these sentiments with the greater pleasure, especially as I was brought up differently from the English, as several of their habits were not agreeable to me, and as I was also frequently offended by some of their prejudices. With regard to the Government, I do not admire all they do: I have sometimes found myself compelled to oppose their projects and to baffle their intrigues. Unquestionably a traveller is not bound to give a definitive judgment on all he observes. He must respect both the society which receives him and the government that protects him; unless, like the Mahometans, they have nothing worthy of respect. But it is his duty to state the truth; and if I fulfil this task impartially—if I criticise sometimes as well as praise—I do not wish to be accused, either of being animated by a spirit of disparagement, or of yielding to a blind admiration, in consequence of what I have just stated."

M. Fontanier cannot refrain from a sarcastic allusion to that too common national self-complacency, which often lays the flattering unction to its soul, that aggression and injustice are palatable to the victims of them. Some how or other a country never is invaded, without the discovery being made by the invaders that they are hailed as saviours and deliverers:—

"I have often wondered at the singular notions entertained by foreigners who engage in the conquest of a country, attempting to subjugate people who do not understand their object, and whose religion, laws, and customs are wholly different from theirs. The invaders live at the expense of the country, scarcely troubling themselves to conceal their contempt for the inhabitants, by whom they firmly believe that they are adored. My own countrymen are not exempt from this failing, and I have many times heard them declare that we were very much regretted in Egypt, in Italy, and in Germany; in fact, in every place where the people have risen against us. I have no right, therefore, to be astonished when I find that similar notions are entertained by other nations. Colonel Chesny, for instance, imagined that the Arabs watched his operations with wonder and admiration, and took a lively interest in his success. The conversations which he had had with some chiefs might perhaps have led to this opinion, and he was not sufficiently acquainted with the character of the Orien-

tals to be aware of their duplicity. He must consequently have been astonished when passing Song El Schiouq, to observe a number of Arabs advance into the river and attempt to stop the *Euphrates*. These poor people imagined that this operation was the easiest thing in the world. They were foiled, however, and began firing their muskets, so that the steamer was compelled to discharge a couple of shots, which put them to flight. It was Seyd Ali Agha's business to explain this occurrence, and to take care of the stock of coals collecting at that spot. His title of *Seyd*, or descendant of the Prophet, was a sufficient safeguard; but his ignorance of Arabic, his European manners, and his Turkish uniform, caused him to be looked upon with no favourable eye by his new hosts."

M. Fontanier tells us a "letter-opening" story, which we cannot but pronounce extremely discreditable to the principal party concerned in it. Indeed, it is so very bad, that but for the high character of the writer we should be greatly inclined to disbelieve it:—

"I am far from sharing the popular opinion in France as to the bad faith of Englishmen: I must acknowledge even that I have ever found them disposed to adopt views founded on justice; but these considerations do not suggest themselves spontaneously, and never enter their minds when they run counter to their interests. I shall adduce abundant proofs that England has been incessantly intriguing in Asia—that her proceedings have been characterised by avowed hostility to Russia, throwing into shade the ambitious schemes attributed to that power. Talking of intrigues, I may as well mention one which concerns myself. I received one day from the Marquis d'Eyragues, our *charge d'affaires* at Constantinople, a letter in which he informed me that my despatches to him had come to hand, but bore the seal of the English Resident, with the following subscription:—'Opened by the Arabs.' Monsieur d'Eyragues observed that the Arabs had been in this case unusually polite, for they had neither soiled the letters nor opened the packet more than was absolutely necessary to read the despatches. This packet had been despatched to the care of the Resident, to whom I sent a few newspapers. It should have been entrusted to the English courier; for if the Turks have no post-office establishment in that country, the English at least have. The courier, whose report was authenticated by officers then at Bassora, had reached Bagdad without molestation. I ought to add that the letters in question were some of the most important that I forwarded to my Government, and principally related to the proceedings of the English agents in Arabia. M. d'Eyragues did not inform me whether he had made representations on the subject to the British Ambassador. For my part it was very clear what course I ought to adopt. I ceased to have any intercourse with the Residency, and made the occurrence public. Had an Englishman preferred a similar complaint, great would have been the indignation of his fellow-countrymen; but I suppose that, as the aggrieved party was a Frenchman and the agent of a foreign power, the act seemed quite natural. In India, the Residents consider that they have a right, indeed that it is their duty, to open the public letters which pass through their hands."

With one more passage from M. Fontanier's work we shall conclude our extracts. It contains a tale of blood—a characteristic piece of Mahommedanism:—

"Whilst the English were directing their attention to the establishment at Mohamera, Bassora re-assumed its wonted aspect. The English officers did not visit it so often, much to the regret of the Governor *ad interim*, who was very anxious to make himself agreeable to them in order to secure the support of

the Resident at Bagdad. To further his views, he had, with delicate attention, transmitted to the head of the Customs at Bagdad as accurate an account as possible of what Mehemet Tchelebi had embezzled. He hoped thus to excite enmity between the two associates. However, they did not fall out, but concerted how to ruin Tajib Oglou. For this purpose, they procured from the Pacha a *firman* commanding the assassination of that Sheikh. It was drawn up secretly, and only four persons were privy to it: the chief of the Customs, Mehemet Tchelebi, the Pacha, and a Jew, from whom they were under the necessity of borrowing a sum of money, and to whom they had to explain how he was to be reimbursed. These arrangements having been made, the Pacha affected to be dissatisfied with Mehemet Tchelebi, who was to depart secretly, and his substitute to be informed that his appointment would soon be signed. Ben Tajib was then residing at Bassora, and was more completely master of the country than he had heretofere been. He had paid a visit on board of the *Hugh Lindsay* a few days after he had prevented the Arabs from executing a plot which they had formed for burning that vessel; and having met with a very indifferent reception, felt extremely irritated. He invariably evinced hostility to the English, and gave evident tokens of his hatred of them. The English Resident at Bushire, with whom I had continued to be on a friendly footing, wrote to me on the subject, and begged me to interpose my good offices with Ben Tajib, supposing me to have much more influence with him than I really had or wished to possess.

"It is true that Ben Tajib never refused me anything I asked of him; but I did not exactly see in what way he thought I could be useful to him in return. He frequently inquired what news I had received from Bagdad; and his anxiety increased when he heard that a Governor was shortly to be appointed. That his arrival might be unexpected, Mehemet Tchelebi had, on quitting Bagdad, caused the couriers for Bassora to he detained. One of them, however, reached Zobeir, and Ben Tajib, apprised of his arrival, collected his partisans. He was ready to defend himself if the Governor had been accompanied with such a number of troops as to excite his suspicions. Mehemet Tchelebi took care not to commit that blunder; and when he arrived, affected to dread the Sheikh, and to be afraid of at once entering the town. He accordingly remained two days at the Custom-House gates and did not venture into it until the third day. It was Friday, and that very day I met Ben Tajib, who, followed by a numerous retinue, was going to the mosque to perform his mid-day devotions. He jeered at the Mutselim and the handful of soldiers he had brought with him, and did not even condescend to go forward to meet him.

"On my return home, I found there a young Jew whom I protected, and who used to supply me with information. He had gone to the house of one of his relations, and looking over his papers, had seen a letter which announced that Ben Tajib was condemned to death, or rather was ordered to be assassinated. I had time to put him on his guard, but I did not: it was in my power to save him, but my duty forbade me. I was obliged to forget that this man had never rendered me other than kind services, and to leave him to his wretched fate. Till the deed was consummated, I was a prey to anxiety more intense than words can express; now on the point of apprizing him of his danger, and the next moment restrained by the responsibility which I should have incurred. In these unhappy countries the struggles of political ambition terminate in torrents of blood. Had Ben Tajib been warned, he would not have fled: he would have slaughtered the Governor and his suite, and made himself master of the town, which his troops would have pillaged; the Pacha would then have been forced to reconquer this portion of his territories. Such would have been, in a Mahometan country, the consequence of an act dictated by common humanity.

"Mehemet Tchelebi had brought with him an Arab chief called Ben Mutchari,

who was related to the Zeir family, the rivals of Tajib. They entered the town with great pomp, and proceeded to the chamber of the divan, where we all assembled; even my servants were admitted. Hitherto came Ben Tajib to see the Governor, whom he embraced as well as Ben Mutchari; but he notified to the latter, that he must quit Bassora in twenty-four hours. They then seated themselves, conversation ensued, and at last the Cadi was called in to read aloud the firmans for the new appointments. That of Governor was first read, after which the Cadi's, before attending to that of the Sheik of Zobeir. Ben Tajib seemed to feel this breach of etiquette; but the Mutselim, to divert his attention, remarked that it was useless, in the season of the Ramazan, to keep fatigued Mahometans under arms, and complained that he could not hear the contents of the firmans.

"The Arabs who had accompanied Ben Tajib were turned out of the court of the palace; the soldiers of the Governor himself were dismissed, with the exception of those who were employed, according to custom, in firing the cannon during the reading of the firmans. At length the reading was resumed, and Ben Tajib perceiving that it still related to the Cadi, rose with the intention of withdrawing. Whilst he stopped at the door of the divan to put on his slippers, an Atta shot him with a pistol in the loins, and the young lad who had charge of his pipe, having drawn his sword, was also dispatched. On the report of the pistol, the gates of the palace were closed, so that the Arabs could not enter; they, however, threatened an assault, and did not disperse until the stripped and lifeless body of their chief had been thrown out of one of the windows. A negro slave who was devotedly attached to the ill-fated Sheikh, and had twice saved his life, ran to his master's residence, secured his papers, mounted his horse, and rode to Zobeir, where he assisted the Sheikh's family in making their escape and carrying off their treasure. The Governor's followers arrived too late, and found only a few scraps of registers, which they nevertheless converted into means of annoyance and extortion against many persons. Ben Mutchari was appointed Shiekh of Zobeir, and most of the chiefs acknowledged his authority; he demolished in his turn the house of Tajib, and, on the evening of this tragedy, all the partisans of the Zeirs met at the ruins of the house to celebrate their victory; the night was spent in dancing and festivity.

"Such are the details of a horrible murder, committed in cold blood by a young man of thirty, of gentle manners, gay and good-natured; such are the results of the religion and education of Mahometans; such is the way in which they pervert the best dispositions. Need we, after this, feel astonished at the cool-blooded barbarity with which an old chief of desperadoes, like Mehemet Ali, caused the Mamelukes to be massacred; at the inhumanity with which Davoud Pasha put to death the Georgians at Bagdad; or at the horrible butchery of the Janizaries and the Greeks, throughout the Ottoman empire? Some writers have sought to discover in these enormities proofs of greatness of character. I have seen it stated in print that the murder of the Duke d'Enghien was as odious a deed, on the part of Napoleon, as the massacre of the Mamelukes. But my indignation is roused when civilized men are compared with the miscreants of Asia. Supposing that Napoleon was the murderer of the Duke d'Enghien, are we therefore to conclude that there is the slightest resemblance between him and the Pacha of Egypt? But Napoleon would probably feel regret for the crime he had committed; he would seek to explain it away, and plead his motives in extenuation: his conscience, in short, would have allowed him no peace. The despots of the East, on the contrary, never feel compunction for such deeds; Mehemet Ali chuckles at the simplicity with which the Mamelukes suffered themselves to be entrapped. Mehemet Tchelebi felt as little remorse; his enemy once despatched, Ben Mutchari and he embraced each other, and received the congratulations of the whole city."

We except, in part, to this reasoning. As regards the atrocity of the individual, a murder committed by a civilized and Christian man, who knows and feels the dire enormity of the act, is more detestably criminal than a similar act committed by one who knows neither Christianity nor civilization. We must judge all men according to the light which is within them. Allowances must be made for religion, education, national feeling—the more detestable these, the greater the allowances which should be made for the victims of them. In the worst errors there may be a conviction of right. The Mahomedan, in the commission of deeds of brutal cruelty and dire revenge, may be sustained by the belief that he is performing a duty, which in him it would be infamous to neglect. No such belief can ever enter the soul of the Christian; for Christ has preached peace, forbearance, and forgiveness: and has taught all men to look for mercy from God, as they are merciful to their fellows. In one case, the offender may sin with the false God. In the other, he sins against the true God. In the former, we detest the religion; but pity the man who is deluded by it. In the latter, we love the religion, and execrate the man who has violated it. The one has not eyes to see the truth; the other wilfully closes his eyes against it. It is not that "civilized men are compared with the miscreants of Asia"—it is that there being no comparison between the influences to which each is subjected, justice and reason will not look for similar results in the civilized man and the barbarian. We cannot expect the tiger to demean himself like the lap-dog.

We hope soon to see the conclusion of M. Fontanier's work, doubting not that it will afford us matter for a more extended review.

Sketches of Oriental Heads. By Charles Grant, No. 14. *Calcutta, Thacker and Co.*, 1844.

The present generation are much indebted to Mr. Grant—a clever young artist, who has perpetuated the form and figure of almost every European gentleman of any eminence, who has resided in Calcutta during the last eight or ten years; and has, moreover, published a series of sketches illustrative of the *physique* of the natives of all parts of India, and the adjoining countries. But much as the present generation are indebted to him, a later one will be under a still deeper obligation to the clever artist. What would *we* not give, at the present time, for a series of full-length sketches of Hastings and Francis, Clavering and Monson, Barwell and Shore, Impey and Hyde, Dick Smith, M. Grand, Hicky, the first Indian Editor—and scores of others whom we might name?—Now, what we want in these days, Mr. Grant has supplied to our successors. The Auckland and Ellenborough administrations have been most liberally illustrated; and Mr. Grant has not only given us the "counterfeit presentments" of the majority of Europeans—whether lawyers, soldiers, civilians, clergymen, literati,

medical practitioners, sporting characters, who have cut any figure during these epochs—but has especially illustrated the two most important events of those reigns—sad, indeed, that they should both be grievous blots!—the war in Affghanistan and the appropriation of Scinde, by giving us two admirable livraisons containing portraits of Dost Mahomed and his sons and the Talpoor Ameers. The volume containing the latter is now before us. The sketches are faithful likenesses, executed in a free bold style, full of force and full of character. It is a most interesting brochure, and ought to be possessed by all who are interested in the recent history of the country. The letterpress portion of the work is valuable, embracing, as it does, a memoir of the Talpoor family, and a narrative of recent occurrences, drawn up by one of the Ameers. From the latter, we shall make an extract, that the reader may see the version given by one of the sufferers, of the events which led to the transfer of the Sindh provinces from their rightful possessors to the hands of the English :—

"Shortly after our accession Colonel Henry Pottinger forwarded for our confirmation the Treaty, that had passed between our late respected father, Moorad Uli Khan, and Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, because, being sons of the deceased, we were included in the terms of the Treaty in question. It is necessary here to remark that by this Treaty a free passage was granted, by our father, to English merchants and traders of the Company's territories for commercial purposes. It is, however, a known fact that, in granting this permission, my father had been principally influenced by myself; for upon Colonel Henry Pottinger's coming to Hyderabad, on the part of the Governor-General, for the purpose of obtaining my father's sanction to the measure, he was extremely reluctant to comply, and would have withheld his consent altogether but for my intercession. Let it be understood that this was not the only instance in which I had exerted my influence with my father in behalf of the English Government; for before the passing of this Treaty, when Sir Alexander Burnes, on his way to Lahour, had repeatedly written to my father from Kurachee requesting a free passage through the pleasant river of Sindh [Indus], it was my persuasion and interest alone which brought about a compliance with his wishes. Alas!—when I was thus forward in the exercise of my influence and interest in the cause of the English Government, I little thought that that Government would reward me for it in the manner it has since done!—But to return.

"A few days after Colonel Henry Pottinger had forwarded to me the aforementioned Treaty for confirmation, he himself paid us a visit of condolence on account of our father's demise. He then went to Kutch and forwarded to us a letter, under the seal of Lord Auckland. This letter went to say,—that, as the Governor-General regarded us as friends, and well disposed towards the English Government, his Lordship would never, on any plea or excuse whatsoever, cast an evil eye upon our country or Government. The receipt of this communication gratified us assuredly not a little. We had no suspicions left in our minds for the future safety of our country; little conceiving at the time what the pen of Destiny had inscribed on the forehead of our fate!

"After this we held a meeting and consulted together on the expediency of inviting a Wukeel (ambassador) from the English Government to reside at our court. Accordingly we addressed Colonel Henry Pottinger on the subject: his answer was, that although he saw no necessity for an ambassador residing with us, yet as we had made the request, he would make known our wishes to his Lordship, and forward to us the reply for our information.

"Shortly after this the Colonel again requested an interview. We felt highly gratified at the request, and immediately despatched some of our nobles to escort him to Hyderabad, where we met. At this meeting, the Colonel suggested to us the expediency of permitting the English army a passage through our territories, both by land and water, on its expedition to Cabul. On this request of the English Government becoming public, all the Ameers and Bullochees, with one accord, set their faces against it, saying that by acceding to these small requests we might thereafter find ourselves involved in some inextricable difficulty. But being ourselves of ingenuous minds, and having a corresponding opinion of others, I and my brother unhesitatingly resolved upon complying with Colonel Henry Pottinger's request, and by dint of perseverance and persuasion brought the Bullochees and friends to consent to the measure. The required permission was accordingly granted, but we did not omit to inform Colonel Pottinger of the difficulties we had encountered before his wishes could be complied with. After this Colonel Pottinger quitted Hyderabad, and having encamped by the margin of the river, ordered the English troops from the Port of Bombay to proceed to Cabul through Sindh. Indeed, many were the reproaches we had to combat for the permission we had granted—a permission so much opposed to the wishes of our countrymen; but we thus acted in the hope that we should secure to ourselves the aid of the English in the event of an invasion of our territories by an enemy. Experience, however, has exhibited to us the reverse of what we had contemplated!—When the English Army reached Barry Goara, we were required to furnish supplies and camels for the troops, and fire-wood for the steamers. How I complied with this requisition it is unnecessary for me to detail. The manner in which I served the British on these exigencies has to this day been equalled by no other potentate in India.

"When the English army encamped at Jhurruk, fourteen coss from Hyderabad, Sir John Keane, contrary to the term of all existing Treaties, demanded of us, for the expenses of the troops, the payment of twenty-one lacs of Rupees in specie, and three lacs of Rupees annually. With this demand also we complied. It is an established custom with the English Government, in their Treaties with the Indian Powers, to include the term "generation after generation;" but the truth is that they limit the duration of a Treaty to the extent of their own convenience: the sad effects of this I have bitterly experienced.

"After this a new Treaty was sent to me for signature, containing twenty-four articles, and to which I also acceded; but scarcely had the ink of my signature dried, when Major-General Sir Charles Napier entered Sindh with his army, and forwarded for my approval another Treaty. As a compliance with its too humiliating terms would, in effect, have been an absolute subscription to our downfall, we despatched a Wukeel to Sukkur, to the Major-General, to represent to him the case in its true colours, but he plainly told the Wukeel that he had not come there to talk;—that he was only acting under the orders of Lord Ellenborough, and if we did not immediately accede to the Treaty, he would forthwith enkindle the fire of destruction. He then, having crossed the Sukkur river, encamped at Lahoree, and demanded of Meer Roostum Khan, the Chief of Khyrpoor, the immediate surrender of that place, for otherwise he should attack it on the following morning, when he could not answer for the safety of the Ameer's private dwelling against the invasion of the soldiery. This poor man, helpless and weak, not knowing what might be the consequence, and intimidated by the threat, withdrew himself from Khyrpoor and passed first into Bujee, thence to Nar, and from there to Kothra. His only alleged offence was this:—a letter had been stolen from Post belonging to some one of the English army, and it was suspected

that some villain of Khyrpoor had committed the theft. Sir Charles thereupon demanded of Meer Roostum Khan the seizure and delivery to him of the thief. But Meer Roostum, being unversed in the *art of divination*, was unable to discover the unknown offender; whereupon the Major General pronouncing him unfit for the rulership, ejected him from his Government. The entreaties and solicitations of Meer Roostum Khan were unavailing; the Major-General would hear him not, and as his only consolation directed him to proceed to Hyderabad, where he would himself also go and decide his case.

"Finding the General bent upon hostility, we informed Major Outram of the circumstance. The Major immediately came from Khyrpoor to Hyderabad, and informed us by letter that without our attestation to the Treaty forwarded to us by Sir Charles Napier, we should obtain no hearing. We did as the Major desired. On the 9th of February, 1843, he visited us, and being satisfied on hearing our explanation of the particulars, said that he would that night send to us an European whom we were immediately to despatch on a fleet camel to Sir Charles Napier, in order that the ingress of the approaching force might be stayed. We did as were desired; but on the 11th of February the *Shooturswars* (camel-riders) who had accompanied the European, returned and reported that immediately on his arrival Sir Charles Napier had struck tent and marched towards Hyderabad. We conveyed this intelligence to Major Outram. Major Outram immediately came over to us in the Fort and assured us on oath that Sir Charles had no hostile intentions towards us, if we but put our seal to the Treaty; and on my sealing and delivering it he said—'Now rest satisfied: I will forthwith despatch the Treaty to Sir Charles with a letter from myself, and am confident that on its receipt Sir Charles will immediately withdraw the forces.' The Major then gave me a letter, with the Treaty, which I instantly despatched by a camel-rider to Sir Charles. On the 14th the camel-rider returned, saying that that letter also had effected nothing. I lost no time, in conveying this intelligence to Major Outram, but he took no further notice. Upon this the whole body of the Bullochees became disaffected.—For my sake they had, in the first instance permitted the English army a passage through the country on its expedition to Cabul: for my sake they had agreed to the mediate grant of twenty-one lacs of rupees, and the payment annually of three lacs more; and, lastly, when the English, infringing one Treaty, had violated another, and a third, it was for my sake alone, that they had tamely submitted to remain quiet; but when they saw that, notwithstanding all these concessions and considerations shown to the English, they were yet bent upon hostility, their indignation becoming irrepressible, and predominating over judgments, they no longer paid regard to my orders.

"When they heard that Sir Charles Napier had, without a cause, imprisoned Hyat Khan, they determined upon revenging themselves on Major Outram. The moment I was informed of this I directed Juhan Khan, and Hadjee Ghoolam Mohummed to take twelve chosen armed men with him to escort Major Outram in safety to his place and protect him against any attempt upon his person by the infuriated Bullochees. He was thus conducted unmolested to his quarters, although clusters of Bullochees were here and there seen lurking with the full determination of revenge. But the men whom I had selected for the Major's escort were of a character to overawe them. Eventually, when the Bullochees had resolved upon attacking the Residency, I conveyed timely notice to the Major, and am satisfied that that gentleman owed his safety entirely to the precautionary measures I had thus adopted. This circumstance alone is sufficient to evidence my good feeling towards the English.

"When, on the 14th, the camel-rider returned and reported that the Major-General, heedless of all the interdictions, was in full march upon Hyderabad, and bent upon hostilities, the Bullochees in number about five or six thousand marched out of Hyderabad with the intention of resistance. Upon hearing this I followed and explained to them that they had needlessly put themselves in hostile position, because I was assured that the Major-General would not be the first to manifest hostility towards an ally. I myself had gone with no intentions to fight. Had I entertained any such feelings I should have manifested them at the onset instead of waiting to do so until the eleventh hour. This circumstance is of itself sufficient to evince my innocency,—that after the persuasion of two days and a night I induced the Bullochees to desist from all indications of hostility. They said that they consented to all that I required, but would not quit their ground so long as the English army were not advancing. Eventually they agreed to my sending a Wukeel to the General to say, that we were yet friendly to the English.

"By dawn of the morning of the third day the General's forces opened upon us their guns, and the Bullochees in despair fired in return. Thousands were upon our side killed, and the rest dispersed. With eighteen men I alone remained upon the field, but when I saw that all had fled, and the English bent only upon oppression, I returned to Hyderabad.

"The turn which affairs had thus taken grieved me in the extreme. My own people began to upbraid me, saying, that if at the commencement I had not permitted the English to enter the country they would not that day have been thus oppressed. Had I felt a desire to fight, it is clear I should have quitted Hyderabad and retired to the mountains, from whence I might have commenced hostile operations; but having no such intentions I the next day voluntarily went to the English camp, and delivering my sword to the Major-General, said, 'Why did you commence hostilities when I was ever ready to do as you desired?' The General returned me my sword and with a smile said, "Do you not be uneasy, within twenty-five days I will settle your affairs;" and added, 'dismiss your troops that are near, and send for Meer Roostum Khan as I wish to see him.'

"When I had dismissed the troops, and Meer Roostum Khan had arrived, he, with myself and Meer Shahdad Khan, who was with me, were imprisoned. Sir Charles then sent Major Reed and other English gentlemen into the fort on the plea of seeing it.

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"The wise who will hear this will become astounded, and will bite the finger of regret with the teeth of sorrow.—Such was the state of things there while we were imprisoned.—On the plea of seeing they captured the Fort, and carried plunder and devastation to such a pitch that from under the arms of the soldiery gems and jewels were falling like grains of sand.

"Three days after entry of the Fort, Meer Mohummud Khan was imprisoned, and on the following day Meer Sobdar Khan was brought out of the Fort, and likewise imprisoned. After this Meer Futteh Uli Khan, and Meer Mohummud Uli Khan (sons of Meer Sobdar Khan), and Meer Hussein Uli Khan, and Meer Ubbass Uli Khan (my own sons), were also brought from the Fort to the place where I was. My sons in particular came so denuded that they had neither their sashes nor their swords; and the horses on which they came, with the golden saddles, were taken away; and although great anxiety was shown by the youths for their restoration they were not returned. All the gold valuables were shut up and sent to Bombay. After a few days Meer Hoosein Uli Khan, with Meer Mohummud Khan, and Meer Yar Mohummud Khan, were sent to Bombay. The plunder amounted in value to nearly eighteen crores of Rupees.

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"It is useless to detail the extent of our sufferings. Our mattresses, quilts, sheets, and wearing apparel were all taken away. Even the books which we had retained for our amusement were we deprived of by the English gentlemen. That which was written in our fate, the same has come to pass.—I do not complain of Lord Ellenborough, or Sir Charles Napier, or any other English authority, for such was my destiny. It was inscribed in my fate that those whom I should befriend the same would become my enemies.—Praise be to God!—I might go on lengthening this narration, but it is unnecessary to do so. It will suffice to say that we were first sent as prisoners to Bombay; then to Sasoor, from whence Meer Shahdad Khan alone was sent to Soorut. After a year passed there we brought to Calcutta.

"It cannot be otherwise than matter of astonishment that, beside the Governor of Bombay, no one from this Government has ever come to inquire who we were, and what we had done to merit the fate which has befallen us.

THE

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Art. I.—1. *Second Report on the state of Education in Bengal.—District of Rajsahi,* 1836. *Published by order of Government.*

2. *Third Report on the state of Education in Bengal and Behar, &c.* 1838. *By William Adam.* Published by order of Government.*

Lord William Bentinck was no mere theorist or visionary;—he was pre-eminently a practical man. Neither was he a mere statesman, cold and calculating, who regarded the masses of mankind as so many brute forces, to be moved or checked, separated or combined, by the impulses of a vain-glorious ambition, or the dynamics of an ever-shifting political expediency;—he was in no ordinary degree a philanthropic man. Beneath a somewhat abrupt or even uncouth exterior of mannerism, apparently contracted amid his many rough experiences of human nature in some of its worst and most repulsive forms, there lay concealed a deep vein of ardent benevolence which ever sighed for a profitable outlet, and longed unceasingly for the general amelioration of the species. From the moment of his arrival in India as the Representative of British Majesty and the head of the most powerful empire in Asia, his leading and predominant maxim was, that the vast and glorious realm, temporarily subjected by an over-ruling Providence to his sway, ought to be governed for the good of the Native inhabitants—the indigenous people of the soil—and not for the promotion of class interests or the aggrandisement of foreign rulers. He was, accordingly, by constitutional temperament, cherished predilections, and carefully cultivated habits of life, a *Reformer.* But, like every wisely practical and philanthropic Reformer, he was singularly cautious, patient, and indefatigable in his inquiries, before the final concoction of any important measure. Hence his seemingly lethargic slowness in forming and maturing plans, his stern and summary decision in adopting them when fully matured, and

* The first report has been purposely omitted here, as it consists merely of a digest of the information possessed *previous* to the more minute, personal, and local inquiries of Mr. Adam himself.

his indomitable energy and inflexible determination in persevering in them when once adopted.

In corroboration of this statement we may very briefly advert to two or three of the leading acts of his official life:—

On entering on his Indian Government, one of the first subjects which arrested and engaged his attention was the atrocious rite of *Sati*, or that of burning widows alive. His own benevolent disposition strongly prompted him to seek for the means of its total abolition, while his sagacity led him to perceive, and his honest candour to acknowledge, that the subject was beset with difficulties of a very peculiar character,—difficulties, which had their root deep in the most stubborn and intractable of all soils —that of hereditary superstition and religious fanaticism. His first step, therefore, was to institute inquiry and invite information from *all*, whether Native or European, who were in any way willing or competent to bestow it. The progress of these multiplied inquiries he watched with a tremulous solicitude for the result, which those who knew him not would be loath to credit. Having at last made up his own mind, not merely as to the moral expediency, but as to the legislative practicability and political safety of the measure, he promulgated his celebrated prohibitory decree, amid a tempest of warnings, protests, and denunciations, on the part alike of bigoted natives and still more senselessly bigoted European officials, which might have well made any Ruler of less nerve and resolution of purpose to pause, or even abandon altogether the project in blank despair.

At an early period of his administration, his attention was specially directed towards the terrible fraternity of *Thugs*, whose fatal presence had for ages been everywhere mysteriously felt, though everywhere shrouded under the disguise of a companionable, hearty, peaceful citizenship;—the Thugs, or those bands of leagued felons, whose very profession is that of rapine and murder, and the bonds of whose confederacy are forged out of inviolable oaths and propitiatory offerings at the shrine of a sanguinary deity. With the keen insight of practical intuition, he perceived that forms of justice, which, in the case of a people civilized in their habits and regardful of truth, were mainly designed to throw the shield of protection over innocence, could only, in the case of such outlaws and desperadoes as the Thugs, serve the purpose of so many breached walls or shattered network for the sure escape of the guilty. His resolution, therefore, was promptly taken. The grand object aimed at, viz., the detection and suppression of the monstrous system of Thuggee, was an extraordinary one, and the means to be employed in compassing that end, if intended to be effective, must be extra-

ordinary too. A Government Commissioner was accordingly appointed, armed with unshackled and all but dictatorial irresponsible powers,—exempt alike from the interposition of ordinary forms of law and the jurisdiction of ordinary Judges and Magistrates. The appointment was not long in justifying the administrative wisdom which suggested it. Sooner than any one dared venture to hazard a conjecture on the subject, was the veil of hitherto impenetrable secrecy completely lifted up, and a system of cold-blooded atrocity revealed in its varied details which filled all Christendom with astonishment and horror. And, under the energetic and persevering efforts of Col. Sleeman and his able assistants, was the axe of retributive justice and ultimate destruction effectually laid at the roots of this worse than Upas tree of Thuggeeism.

Taking a survey of the physical sufferings of a sorely stricken and oppressed people, the Governor-General was led to reflect how largely many of these sufferings must be aggravated by the nostrums, formulisms, and quackeries practised by swarms of native practitioners, or would-be-professors of the Hygeian art. He felt how great a temporal boon would be conferred by the rearing of a superior class of men, released from the medical cabalisms of decrepit Asia, and endowed with the enlightened science of manly Europe. But who, in these present days of realized plans and visible progress, can adequately estimate or comprehend the nature and amount of the difficulties that stood, like so many unscaleable bluff rocks, in the way? The prejudices of the natives were known to be great; and they were studiously magnified and pronounced to be insuperable. The touch of a dead body—though it were that of the nearest and dearest friend—at any time is pollution, involving heavy penalties in the way of ceremonial observances for its removal. But the touch of a dead body, which may have been the tenement of one of another caste, or of an unclean person of no caste at all —why, the very thought of such a thing was sure to lacerate the tenderest feelings of the native mind! But, great as were the real or supposed prejudices of the natives, the prejudices of the learned European Orientalists, relative to this point, were, if possible, still greater, because more elaborately unreasonable. With them it was a foregone conclusion. They had finally made up their minds on the subject. Under the transformative influences of these sunny climes, or the subtilizing effects of an antediluvian logic, or the magical spell of Orient manners, customs, and habits, they at length were reasoned, or seasoned, or magnetized into the thorough persuasion that the difficulties were not only presently insurmountable, but prospectively irre-

moveable. This, with them, became a practically and determinately settled point—a point as unalterable in its nature as a decree of fabled destiny, or a law of heathenish irreversible necessity. Nor had they their established dogmas with reference only to the *matter* and the *mode* of medical instruction; they had also their established dogma with reference to the *media* of instruction. With them, the Sanskrit and the Arabic—languages to the acquisition of which they had devoted the prime of their strength and the flower of their days—naturally and inevitably had charms—charms of a character altogether peculiar, resistless, and all-absorbing—filling the horizon of their lingual vision, and presenting allurements not to be paralleled in the world besides. Their favourite, and to them conclusive, theory accordingly was, that the improved learning of the West could by no possibility be effectually conveyed to the scholars of the East, except through Sanskrit and Arabic media. And from the high character and reputation of their authors, these became the current, the popular, and the fashionable sentiments and dogmas of the day—wielding an ascendency over public opinion, and exerting a monopolizing despotism over the master spirits alike of the academy and the palace. Hence the supercilious and contemptuous scorn, not unrelieved by occasional grimaces of compassion, at the plans and projects of the amiable and well-meaning but withal credulous and presumptuous enthusiasts, who pleaded for innovation in the *matter*, *manner and media* of instruction; and advocated not merely the desirableness but the practicability of change. Hence, too, the voluminous papers, pamphlets, and documents—the masses of learned ethnographic lumber—the whole piles of antiquarian and philological dotages, which were thrown up as ramparts around the Governor-General to hem him in, and shut him up to a forlorn conclusion. Poor Lord William! Had he been the man of little mind—the man of pigmy conceptions and dwarfish aims—the low self-seeking popularity-hunter which his relentless detractors would have us to believe, he must have shrunk back, like a defenceless fugitive from a hundred gun battery in full fire—glad, in the hope of escape, to run the risk of a few broken bones and a somewhat damaged honour. But, happily, Lord William was a man—a real man—a sturdy giant of a man,—a man, who could think for himself, aye, and act for himself,—a man, who could break through all the meshes ingeniously set to entangle him, and over-leap all the barriers assiduously raised to shut him in. Once more was his purpose formed. Under his instructions, a set of about fifty questions was prepared and despatched to all the leading advocates of the old and new systems,

which may be compendiously denominated Orientalism and Anglicism. Brief, summary, decisive answers were returned by the latter; while the former sent in whole volumes of profound discussion to overwhelm or carry by main force the judgment of the Governor-General. But he was not to be so overcome. He calmly looked at this side and at that. With his practised, experienced eye, he soon pierced through and through the entire host of inflated pedantries and inveterate prejudices which had been marshalled in battle array against him. And, as with the club of Hercules, he speedily dashed them all away—there to lie in scattered fragments and relics, scarcely able articulately to point to the well nigh forgotten story of their once flourishing reign. The oriental Medical College—with its Sanskrit and Arabic phantasmagoria, and wooden, waxen, and other artificial anatomical substitutes—was torn up by the roots, like an old sapless oak before the blast of the north wind. And, in its stead, fresh with the dews of morning promise and buoyant with the spring of dawning hope, the present Medical College —the virtual canonization of Occidentalism in the calendar of Indian amelioration—started into being, rejoicing to enter on its glorious career of indefinite usefulness.

But Lord William's attention was not directed merely to the immediate physical sufferings and wants of the people. His soul was deeply moved and affected at the spectacle of their intellectual and moral degradation. He saw that the administration of justice was corrupt, and the system of police one of revolting cruelty and oppression; and he fully acknowledged that these must be reformed. But he also had the perspicacity to see and to acknowledge that all remedial measures whatsoever, in these departments, must prove comparatively abortive without antecedent or concurrent measures for the intellectual and moral elevation of the people themselves. In short, his whole head and heart were eventually bent on the establishment of an improved and comprehensive system of national education. In order, however, to compass this great end, with any intelligible prospect of success, he felt, with his accustomed shrewdness and good sense, that the very first step must be, "*to know, with all attainable accuracy, the present state of instruction in native institutions and in native society.*" Again, then, was his resolution firmly taken. To accomplish this specific object, he determined that a Government Commissioner of Education should be duly chosen and appointed. And, in order still farther to ensure the services of a really fit agent for the execution of a task of so delicate, arduous, and responsible a nature, he resolved, with characteristic liberality, that the

field of selection would not be limited to the existing services of Government, whether covenanted or uncovenanted. The choice ultimately fell on Mr. William Adam, a gentleman possessed of many rare endowments, natural and acquired, as well as of many special qualifications for the onerous task of Educational Commissioner,—who had originally come to this country as a Baptist Missionary, and who, after unhappily lapsing into the Socinian heresy and abandoning his mission, distinguished himself as the editor of a popular Calcutta Journal—the *India Gazette*.

In January 1835, Mr. Adam received his formal appointment from Lord William Bentinck's Government, being placed by it under the orders of the General Committee of Public Instruction, "to conduct inquiries into the state of native education in Bengal only." Subsequently, however, authority was received to extend these inquiries into the province of Behar. But *where* was he to *commence* his important labours? This was a point which admitted of an easy and speedy determination. When, about *forty* years ago, Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton entered on the statistical investigations which he undertook by the orders of Government, the route to be pursued by him was described in these terms:—"The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that these inquiries should commence in the district of Rangpur, and that from thence you should proceed to the westward through each district on the north side of the Ganges until you reach the western boundary of the Honourable Company's provinces. You will then proceed towards the south and east until you have examined all the districts on the south side of the great river, and afterwards proceed to Dacca and the other districts towards the eastern frontier." "In conformity," says Mr. Adam, "with these instructions, Dr. Buchanan visited and examined the Bengal districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, and Purniya; and when the route to be followed in the present inquiry came under consideration, it was proposed and sanctioned that the general course prescribed to Dr. Buchanan should be adopted—not retracing any of the ground already trodden by him, but beginning at the point in Bengal at which his labours appear to have been brought to a close. If his investigations had been prolonged, the district of Rajshahi, in pursuance of his instructions, would probably have received his earliest attention, and it has consequently formed the first subject of the present inquiry."

The route and the starting point being thus determined, how was he to proceed with his investigations? As regarded his general course, was he, for example, to traverse the entire sur-

face of every zillah or district, and personally to inspect and report on the state of education in every separate *thana*, or police subdivision—every distinct village or settlement in every thana—and every house, hamlet, hut, or building tenanted by a single family or an aggregate of families in every village? Or, was he to restrict his own personal inquiries to a thorough examination of the state of education in one of the thanas or subdivisions of each district which, with such checks, correctives, or qualifications as experience would naturally suggest, might be taken as a *fair sample or specimen of the whole*—not neglecting, at the same time, to ascertain the state of education generally in the other subdivisions? At first, Mr. Adam contemplated the practicability of the *former*, or more minute and comprehensive of these methods. But he tells us that, when he actually entered on the work, he found that "an adherence to the instructions he had received would render this impossible, or possible only with such a consumption of time and such a neglect of purposes of practical and immediate utility, as would tend to frustrate the object in view." His instructions plainly stated, that "the general committee deemed it more important that the information obtained should be complete as far as it went, clear and specific in its details, and depending upon actual observation or undoubted authority, than that he should hurry over a large space in a short time, and be able to give only a crude and imperfect account of the state of education within that space; that, with a view to ulterior measures, it was just as necessary to know the extent of the ignorance that prevailed where education was wholly or almost wholly neglected, as to know the extent of the acquirements made where some attention was paid to it." The soundness of these views Mr. Adam cordially admitted, but was not long in discovering that "to extend over every subdivision of every district throughout the country, the minute inquiry which they prescribed was not the work of one man or of one life, but of several devoting their whole lives to the duty." His original purpose was accordingly abandoned; and, without attempting what it would be impossible to accomplish, he resolved to adopt the *latter* of the methods already indicated. In other words, he resolved to limit the more minute personal inquiries, to be conducted immediately by himself, to a single thana or police subdivision, purposely selected, on the joint recommendation of those natives and Europeans who appeared to be best acquainted with the localities, as that which promised to furnish the fairest average specimen of the educational condition of the whole district.

The absolute necessity of such a resolution will farther fully appear, if the territorial extent of the districts and the multitudinousness of the population be distinctly kept in view. It is not unusual, for the sake of popular illustration, to compare our Bengal *zillahs* to *counties* in Great Britain, and our *thanas* to *parishes*. The analogy may be allowed, if care be taken that it do not mislead, either as to extent or numbers. With two or three overgrown exceptions, counties and parishes in Great Britain are vastly inferior in extent and numbers to zillahs and thanas in Bengal. The latter resemble more the provinces and counties of Ireland—the Departments and Arrondissements of France—the Provinz or Regierungs-bezirk and Kreis of Germany; the Arrondissements and the Kreis being again subdivided respectively into communes and gemeindes, the lowest administrative units in these several kingdoms, somewhat corresponding to parishes in Great Britain and Ireland. Properly speaking, then, we have no such minute and convenient administrative unit as a commune, a gemeinde, or a parish, in Bengal. We have only provinces and counties—departments and arrondissements. Look at the Zillah of Rajshahi, which was fixed on for the commencement of Mr. Adani's operations. It contains a population of about 1,500,000—a million and a half—that is, a population larger than that of the whole of Scotland at the time of the Reformation, and considerably in excess of that of the entire Principality of Wales even now. The zillah is subdivided into thirteen thanas, of which Nattore, the one selected for Mr. Adam's more minute personal inquiries, contains a population of 195,296, or nearly *two hundred thousand*—that is, a population greatly exceeding, with two or three exceptions, the aggregate of every county in Scotland. What, then, shall we say as to the whole of Bengal and Behar, with their twenty-six zillahs and thirty-six millions of people? One man fit to extend his minute personal inquiries into the educational wants and supplies of every single family therein? Impossible.

Mr. Adam's plan, topographically considered, being settled, how was he next to proceed with the details or individual items of desiderated information? The great object wanted, was exactly to ascertain the nature and amount of existing indigenous instruction—the nature and amount of the means of imparting it—together with the actual distribution of the different kinds and means of instruction among the different tribes and classes of a diversified people, and the different localities of a singularly productive if not richly variegated soil. A task this of easy accomplishment in the eyes of the unreflecting, who never allow

themselves to form definite conceptions because they lack the patience or the ability to penetrate into the inner nature or heart of things; satisfied with the vaguenesses of circling mists and clouds and semblances rather than the clear sunshine of heaven and the vividly outlined realities of truth. But a task this of most arduous accomplishment in the estimation of all thinking, meditative, practical men; satisfied only with those enduring substances that shall survive every change of fleeting form, and every variation of perishable accident. Happily Mr. Adam belonged to the latter class, who alone truly benefit their fellows —brightening the world with their discoveries, or enriching it with the mellowed fruits of their well-directed labours. He knew full well that, however single or simple any result may appear when fully realised, diverse and numerous may be the means and the instrumentalities that prepare the way for it. Single and simple in the symmetry of its general design, and the magnificence of its general effect, is the British cathedral of St. Paul's. But who can reckon up in order the variety of rude materials, and scaffoldings, and locomotive and other physical forces which contributed towards the realisation of so stupendous a fabric? How simple are Kepler's laws, and how briefly and summarily may they be axiomatically announced? Yet for their evolution under the plastic energy of the most inventive genius, nought less could have sufficed than the wondrously minute and complicated observations of Tycho Brahe, the noble Dane, perseveringly accumulated throughout a period of forty long years, in his astronomical palace of Urania: while the laws of Kepler and the amassed stores of Tycho Brahe were alike essential preparatives for the final generalization of Newton—the grandest and most sublime that has yet adorned the domains of science or rewarded the industry of disciplined intellect. So it is, in their several proportions and degrees, with every other notable result. In the present instance, it may be granted that a numerical statement of the proportion of instructed to uninstructed adults, and of children capable of receiving to children actually receiving instruction, would embody the sum and substance of the principal information sought for. But, in order to secure and guard the accuracy of such a statement, how many collateral, subordinate, and auxiliary details become indispensable? For example, suppose the number of the whole teachable or school-going population alone were required, and suppose the teachable or school-going age were assumed, as Mr. Adam, after full consideration and inquiry, did assume it, to be from 5 to 14 years, it soon became evident to him that "having to deal in this matter for the most part with

uninstructed villagers, who, whatever their other virtues, are not remarkable for habits of accuracy and precision, they would be frequently apt to include under this (assumed) age, both adults above and children below it, unless he had stimulated and aided their attention by requiring separate and distinct statements of the number of persons above 14 and below 5." In order, therefore, to ensure the strict accuracy of the information relative to the number of the juvenile population or children between 14 and 5 years of age, rigid inquiries, for the sake of comparison and correction, were instituted into the numbers of the infant and adult population, or persons below 5 and above 14. In like manner, for similar or other reasons, as well as in order to be enabled to present a full and finished portraiture of the complex subject of education generally, as respects the matter and manner of instruction, the lingual media of its communication, the qualifications and circumstances of the teachers, the facilities and advantages enjoyed by different classes and neighbourhoods, Mr. Adam resolved to inquire into and report on all manner of details, calculated in any way, directly or indirectly, to illumine or illustrate his leading design. He also wisely judged that the particularity and minuteness of the points of research constituted "an important guard against mistake and error on the part of the agents employed, since the multiplication of details is the multiplication of the means of comparison, and thereby of the means of checking oversight, culpable neglect, or intentional misrepresentation."

With sound and sober views like these, the first object to which he directed his attention was the preparation of the *forms* in which he desired to embody the information to be collected; and in passing from district to district he continued to improve these, according as experience, reflection, or local circumstances suggested. His own account of the language and contents of these forms is as follows:—

"The language in which the forms were prepared was Bengali, Hindi, or Urdu, and the character respectively Bengali, Nagari, or Persian, determined in part by the prevailing language and character of the district where they were to be used, and in part by the attainments of the class of persons in each district who offered their services to me. In the Bengal districts Bengali was chiefly used, but in the city of Moorshedabad I found it necessary to have recourse partially to the Urdu language and Persian character. In South Behar I deemed it advisable to employ the Hindi language and the Nagari character, and in Tirhoot the Urdu language and the Persian character. I believe that in the latter districts I should have experienced fewer difficulties, if I had adopted both the Persian language and character; for those of my agents who were acquainted with Hindi only, although very steady and industrious, were peculiarly obtuse and unintelligent, and those who understood Persian were continually diverging into the use of that language in their

weekly reports of work done, although this was contrary to my express injunctions.

"The forms I prepared were adapted to ascertain, first, the state of school-instruction; and second, the state of domestic and adult instruction. For the former purpose a separate form was employed for each description of school —one for Bengali or Hindi schools, another for Sanskrit schools, a third for Persian and Arabic schools, &c.— each embracing, with modifications, the following details, viz. the name of the town or village in which the school was situated; the description of place employed as a school-house; the name, religion, caste, and age of the teacher; the sources and amount of his receipts; the extent of his instructions; the number of his scholars, present and absent; their religion and caste; the age at which each had entered school, his present age, the probable age at which he would leave school, and the progress he had made in the cause of instruction; and, finally, the books, if any, written by the teacher. To ascertain the state of domestic and adult instruction, another form was prepared, including the following particulars, viz., the number of families in each town or village; the name, religion, caste, and principal occupation of the head of each family; the number of persons in each family, male and female, above fourteen years of age; the number, male and female, between fourteen and five; and the number, male and female, before five; the number of families in each town or village giving domestic instruction to the children; and the number of children in each such family receiving domestic instruction; the number of persons of adult age in each family who had received a learned education; the number who, without having received a learned education, knew something more than mere reading and writing, whether Bengali or Hindi accounts, the Persian and the English language, or any two or more of these; the number who could merely read and write; and the number who could barely decipher or write their own names."

In order, however, to render the matter more palpable, not merely to the eye of the mind but to the very eye of sense, we print, on the two following pages, the *three* tabulated forms *first* employed by Mr. Adam, when he commenced his inquiries in the thana Nattore of the zillah Rajshahi. These forms were afterwards considerably enlarged and improved so as to embrace various other interesting particulars. We therefore add a *fourth*, exhibiting some of these additional particulars as detailed in the written report:—

TABLE I.—*Shewing the number of children of the school-going age, of adults above it, and of children below it—of schools—of instructed adults—in the subdivision of Natore, district of Rajshahi.*

1. Number and name of village.		
2. Number of families.	Hindu.	
	Muhammadan.	
3. Number of individuals above 14 years.	Male.	
	Female.	
4. Number of individuals between 14 and 5.	Male.	
	Female.	
5. Number of individuals below 5 years.	Male.	
	Female.	
6. Number of indigenous elementary schools.	Hindu.	
	Muhammadan.	
7. Number of indigenous schools of learning.	Hindu.	
	Muhammadan.	
8. Number of families, the children of which receive occasional instruction in reading and writing from parents or friends.	Hindu.	
	Muhammadan.	
9. Number of learned men, exclusive of those who teach schools of learning.	Hindu.	
	Muhammadan.	
10. Number of persons above 14 who have received a degree of instruction superior to mere reading and writing.		
11. Number of persons above 14 who can either sign or read imperfectly.		

TABLE II.—*Exhibiting various details relating to the Indigenous Elementary Schools mentioned in the preceding Table.*

1. Number of village of Table I.	2. Name, caste, and age of teacher.	3. Number of scholars.	4. Usual age of admission.	5. Usual age of leaving school.	6. Language.	7. Instruction.	8. School-house.	9. Remuneration of a teacher.

TABLE III.—*Exhibiting various details relating to the Indigenous Schools of Learning mentioned in Table I.*

1. Number of villages in Table I.	
2. Name, tribe, and age of teacher.	
3. Number of students who are natives of the village, and receive only instruction from the teacher.	
4. Number of students who are natives of other villages, and receive from the teacher instruction, food, and lodging.	
5. Usual age of commencing attendance on the teacher's instructions.	
6. Usual age of discontinuing attendance on the teacher's instructions.	
7. Subjects taught and books read.	
8. School-house.	
9. Estimated monthly value of presents to teacher.	
10. Estimated monthly value of presents to students.	
11. Estimated cost of the materials—viz., paper, pens, ink, ochre, and oil, expended by a single student in copying the books, or parts of books, read during an entire course of study.	

TABLE IV.—*Exhibiting various details not included in the preceding Tables.*

Number of small pox inoculators.	Number of village doctors.		Number of native medical practitioners.		Name of village.		Schools in the district of	
	Hindu.	Muhammadan.	Hindu.	Muhammadan.	Name of the heads of families.	Number of inmates of different ages.	English.	
							Formal Arabic.	
							Arabic.	
							Persian.	
							Sanskrit.	
							Hindi.	
							Bengali.	
							Thanas.	

Armed with these ruled and tabulated forms, and fortified with *perwannahs*, or official orders addressed to the Darogha, or head police officer of the thana by the magistrate, requiring him to render every possible assistance, as also with perwannahs from the same authority addressed to Zemindars, Talukdars, &c., requesting similar assistance, Mr. Adam, accompanied by his Pandit, Maulavi, and other assistants, arrived at the thana Nattore. His first purpose, as already stated, was to visit every village in person and to ascertain its exact condition by actual inspection and inquiry in direct communication with the inhabitants. But, behold the effects of terror inspired by tyrannous and confederated oppression !—the shrinking timidity, the craven cowardice, the ever-wakeful instinctive suspicion !—all fearfully symptomatic of the intellectual, moral, and social paralysis that has smitten, benumbed, and utterly unmanned the entire bulk and body of the rural population of Bengal ! At the very outset of his kindly-intentioned inquiries, Mr. Adam is unexpectedly arrested in his benevolent career. And why, or how ? "The sudden appearance," says he, "of a European in a village often inspired terror, which it was always difficult and sometimes impossible to subdue. The most influential or the best informed inhabitant was sometimes absent, and it required much labour to enable others to comprehend the object of my visit." To obviate these inconveniences and thereby facilitate and expedite the inquiry, the first measure adopted was the employment of *waqifkars*, or agents of intelligence and local experience, whom he sent beforehand into the surrounding villages to explain to the inhabitants the nature and objects of the inquiry, and thus to prepare them for his arrival. This arrangement proved for the most part successful. To ensure still greater despatch in the execution of his task, it next occurred to him that his Pandit and Maulavi, "whom he had hitherto employed merely as assistants under his own eye, and the waqifkars, who had hitherto acted only as *avant couriers*, might be sent separately to different villages, with the necessary forms, to collect the information required, while he should exercise a general superintendence and control over their movements, and they should at fixed intervals report their proceedings to him." During the absence of these agents, a regular correspondence was maintained with each person ; and when difficulties arose, they were removed by advice or orders communicated by letter or by personal supervision, according to the nature of the case. When the waqifkars returned, their papers were minutely inspected ; and if such discrepancies and inconsistencies were discovered as implied negligence, another person

was sent to go over the same ground. When the returns made appeared satisfactory, a correct copy of them was made for record, and a full abstract of them prepared in English.

Having finished his inquiries in the thana Nattore, Mr. Adam next moved to the adjoining district of Moorshedabad, in which he fixed on the thana of Daulatbazar, applying to it the most improved mode of investigation to which he had attained in Rajshahi. His subsequent proceedings are thus described by himself:—

"The next district I visited was that of Beerbhoom, and there I adopted a modification of the plan of investigation, which spread the inquiry over a much wider surface in an equal period of time, and with equal security for accuracy of detail. In Rajshahi and Moorshedabad, with the sanction of the General Committee, I had limited my investigations to one Thana in each district; but it now occurred to me, that as I employed agents in that single Thana, under my own superintendence, in collecting information according to prescribed forms, this plan admitted of simultaneous extension to the other Thanas of the same district. Accordingly, having selected one Thana, as before, for special investigation, the results of which would fulfil the instructions I had received from the General Committee, I extended a more limited survey, by means of separate agents, over all the remaining Thanas. The difference was, that in the latter the inquiry was confined to the state of school-instruction; whereas in the selected Thana it embraced also the state of domestic and adult instruction. For the special and more minute investigation of the selected Thana, four, five, and sometimes six agents were employed; and for the more limited survey of the remaining Thanas, one agent to each was found sufficient. The result was highly satisfactory; for it enabled me to pronounce with confidence on the state of school-instruction, not in one Thana only, but throughout all the Thanas of a district. This extended and comprehensive course of investigation has been pursued in Beerbhoom and Burdwan, South Behar, and Tirhoot. In the city of Moorshedabad the plan of investigation was made still more comprehensive; the special and minute inquiry into the state both of school-instruction and domestic and adult instruction having been extended to all the nineteen Thanas included within the city jurisdiction."

In this manner, the state of native education in *seven* separate localities, or six districts and one principal city, was fully investigated. The time occupied in the actual business of local inquiry, and irrespective of various intervals devoted to other affairs, amounted to an aggregate period of fifteen or sixteen months. That the multifarious results of this searching inquiry are absolutely without error or defect, Mr. Adam himself does not presume to allege. But, considering the life and vigour which he infused into all his operations, and the unslumbering vigilance with which he superintended them down to the minutest items of detail; considering, too, the nature of his own official appointment, and the full equipment which he possessed of all the official means, appliances, and agencies necessary to

render his inquiry at once extensive in its scope, and complete and accurate in its details,—it is not too much to say, that the returns must be regarded as the most perfect of the kind ever yet obtained in India, and, in general, worthy of the most assured and undoubting confidence. It was his earnest desire, as he himself tells us, to contribute "some facts illustrative of the moral and intellectual condition of a branch of the human family; and in the prosecution of this purpose he endeavoured to keep constantly present to his own mind, to the minds of his native assistants, and to the minds of all with whom he came into communication on the subject, the necessity of that rigid and undeviating adherence to accuracy of detail, which can alone give to alleged facts the sacred and salutary character of *truth*."

We now proceed to furnish an epitome or abstract of the important information supplied in so authentic and trustworthy a form by Mr. Adam. And, in doing so, we shall find it convenient to adopt his own division of the subject into *Elementary Education* and *Schools of Learning*. First, then our business is with—

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Public Schools.—Throughout all the zillahs or districts of Bengal and Behar, elementary education is divisible into two sorts, *public* and *private*, according as it is communicated in public schools or private families. We shall begin with the public schools, and consider these with reference successively to the following points, viz., *the vernacular media of instruction; the school-houses; the teachers, their caste, means of support, qualifications, and age; the pupils or scholars, their class and caste, initiation, and period of attendance; the nature and amount of the instruction communicated; and the system of discipline.*

1. *The vernacular media of instruction.* These are chiefly Bengali in the Bengal, and Hindi in the Behar, districts. In Burdwan, Bengali, and in South Behar, Hindi, are exclusively used; but in Midnapore, Uriya is largely employed as well as Bengali. In the city of Moorshedabad and the district of Beerbhoom, Hindi is used, to a very limited extent, in addition to Bengali; and in some parts of Tirhoot, Trihutiya, in addition to Hindi, prevails as the language of conversation, of verbal instruction, and of correspondence, but it is never employed as the language of literary composition. And here we must specially note a very remarkable fact elicited by Mr. Adam. It is this,—that the Bengali is "the language of the Musalman as well as of the Hindu population;" and that, though "the Hindustani or Urdu

is the *current spoken language* of the educated Musalmans of Bengal and Behar, it is *never employed in the schools as the medium or instrument of written instruction.* Bengali school-books are employed by the Hindus of Bengal, and Hindi school-books by the Hindus of Behar; but, although Urdu is more copious and expressive, more cultivated and refined than either, and possesses a richer and more comprehensive literature, Urdu school-books are wholly unknown. It is the language of conversation in the daily intercourse of life and in the business of the world, and it is the language also of oral instruction for the explanation of Persian and Arabic; but it is never taught or learned for its own sake or for what it contains. It is acquired in a written form only indirectly and at second-hand through the medium of the Persian, whose character it has adopted, and from which it has derived almost all its vocables; and it is employed as a written language chiefly in popular poetry and tales and in female correspondence, and often also in the pulpit." Educated Musalmans, on the other hand, learn to speak and write the Bengali; and even several low castes of Hindus, occupying entire villages in various directions and amounting to several thousand individuals, whose ancestors three or four generations ago emigrated from the western provinces, have found it necessary to combine the use of Bengali with the Hindi, their mother-tongue. It thus appears that in the provinces of Bengal proper, the Bengali may justly be described as the universal language of vernacular instruction.

2. *The School-Houses.*—The school-house, where there happens to be one, is sometimes built at the expense of the teacher; sometimes at the expense of some comparatively wealthy person whose son attends school; sometimes by general subscription, the teacher contributing a little, the scholars aiding by their labour in bringing material from the jungle, and some benevolent person granting a donation of land, of money, or of materials. Such a house is always thatched; the walls consisting of mud, or of branches and leaves of the palm and sal tree interleaved. And of so humble a description is it, that, in addition to the personal labour of the pupils, it is erected at a cost averaging from rs. 1-4 to 10. But it must be *specially* noted, that, *in the great majority of instances, there is no school-house at all; that* is, there are *no school-houses built for and exclusively appropriated* to these vernacular schools. With some slight additions, taken from other parts of his report, the following is Mr. Adam's account of the matter:—

"The apartments or buildings in which the scholars assemble would have been erected, and would continue to be applied to other purposes, if there

were no schools. Some meet in the Chandi Mandop, which is of the nature of a chapel belonging to some one of the principal families in the village, and in which, besides the performance of religious worship on occasion of the great annual festivals, strangers also are sometimes lodged and entertained, and business transacted; others, in the Boithakhana, an open hut principally intended as a place of recreation and of concourse for the consideration of any matters relating to the general interests of the village; others, in the private dwelling of the chief supporter of the school; and others have no special place of meeting, unless it be the most vacant and protected spot in the neighbourhood of the master's abode, such as the corner of a shop—the village temple, more particularly that consecrated to Yama, the judge of the departed, the Minos of Hinduism—an out-house of one of the parents—the portico of a mosque—the verandah of a house, or the shade of a tree. Some schools meet in the open air in the dry seasons of the year; and in the rainy season those boys, whose parents can afford it, erect each for himself a small shed of grass and leaves, open at the sides, and barely adequate at the top to cover one person from the rain. There are usually five or six such sheds, more or less, among all the boys; and those who have no protection, if it rain, must either disperse or remain exposed to the storm. It is evident that the general efficiency and regularity of school business, which are promoted by the adaptation of the school-room to the enjoyment of comfort by the scholars, to full inspection on the part of the teacher, and to easy communication on all sides, must here be in a great measure unknown."

3. *The teachers, their caste, means of support, qualifications, and age.*—From time immemorial, the teaching of reading, writing, and accounts has been considered the proper duty of the Kayastha or writer caste, and a Brahman, Vaidya or a Kshetriya, is supposed to degrade himself in such occupation; while, on the other hand, any of the castes inferior to the Kayastha acquire by the same means increased respect. Now, it is true that both in Bengal and Behar the business of teaching common schools is left *chiefly* in the hands of the Kayasthas or writer caste. But it is true, at the same time, that in the Bengal districts, this hereditary privilege has been very largely invaded by other castes both superior and inferior to the Kayastha, but still so as to leave the latter a decided majority in the class of vernacular teachers; while in the Behar districts this privilege is enjoyed in nearly its pristine completeness. Take the districts of Beerbhoom for an example. There are four Musalman teachers and the remainder are Hindus. The following list exhibits the castes of the latter and the number of each :—

Kayastha	256	Mayra	4	Suarnakar	1
Brahman	86	Goala	3	Rajput	1
Sadgop	12	Vaidya	2	Napit	1
Vaishnava	8	Aguri	2	Barayi	1
Grandhabanik	5	Yugi	2	Chhatri	1
Suvarnabanik	5	Tanti	2	Dhoba	1
Bhatta	4	Kalu	2	Malo	1
Baivarta	4	Sunris	2	Chandal	1

Now, here are several castes, the members of which were by the customs of society formerly wholly debarred from the benefit of instruction in letters; but the above enumeration shows that some individuals of those castes have even become instructors of others. The following presents, at one view, a comparison of the number of Kayastha teachers with those of other castes:—

Moorshedabad,	total teachers	67;	Writer caste	39;	Other castes	28
Beerbhoom	,,	412	,,	256	,,	156
Burdwan	,,	639	,,	369	,,	270
South Behar	,,	285	,,	278	,,	7
Tirhoot	,,	80	,,	77	,,	3

In the Bengal districts Mr. Adam ascertained that about twenty in all gave their instructions gratuitously, as they had other and independent means of support; in the Behar districts, not one. In some of the former instances, however, it appeared that, though no fixed payment was received, either in the form of monthly wages or of fees, presents were accepted at the periods of the great annual festivals and other occasions. Very nearly the whole of the teachers therefore earn their livelihood by teaching, being regularly paid for their professional services. Bearing in mind that *presents*, whether monthly, yearly, or occasionally, consist of *rice*, *fish*, *salt*, *oil*, *vegetables*, *cooking utensils*, *tobacco*, *clothes*, &c., the following enumeration will present at once to the eye a tabulated view of the exceedingly varied, or rather grotesquely diversified ways in which the teachers are remunerated. As a specimen, we select the case of Tirhoot. In that district the number of vernacular teachers is *eighty*, whose pedagogal labours are thus rewarded:—

1	receives monthly wages only		Rs.	0	10	0
3	ditto ditto	fees only	,,	0	14	0
1	ditto ditto	subsistence money only	,,	1	4	9
1	ditto ditto	monthly wages and uncooked food	,,	2	8	0
1	ditto ditto	wages and subsistence money	,,	2	0	0
6	ditto ditto	fees and subsistence money	,,	9	2	6
1	ditto ditto	fees and weekly presents	,,	0	4	6
9	ditto ditto	fees and annual presents	,,	9	10	6
1	ditto ditto	weekly presents and annual presents	,,	2	11	9
2	ditto ditto	monthly wages, uncooked food, and subsistence money	,,	2	4	0
3	ditto ditto	fees, uncooked food, and subsistence money	,,	3	4	0
1	ditto ditto	fees, uncooked food, and annual presents	,,	0	8	0
4	ditto ditto	fees, subsistence money, and weekly presents	,,	4	10	0
1	ditto ditto	wages, subsistence money, and annual presents	,,	3	4	3
11	ditto ditto	fees, subsistence money, and annual presents	,,	30	3	3

7	receive monthly fees, weekly presents, and annual presents	Rs.	4	3	9
12	ditto ditto wages, uncooked food, subsistence money, and weekly presents	„	21	10	6
5	ditto ditto fees, uncooked food, subsistence money, and weekly presents	„	8	6	6
1	ditto ditto fees, uncooked food, subsistence money, and annual presents	„	0	13	6
1	ditto ditto fees, uncooked food, weekly presents, and annual presents	„	1	1	9
1	ditto ditto wages, subsistence money, weekly presents, and annual presents	„	1	5	0
4	ditto ditto fees, subsistence money, weekly presents, and annual presents	„	7	10	3
3	ditto ditto fees, uncooked food, subsistence money, weekly presents, and annual presents	„	4	13	6

Thus eighty teachers receive in all rs. 123-4-3, which averages to each teacher rs. 1-8-7. The mean rate of payment in each district, reducing all the items to a monthly estimate, is as follows :—

The City and District of Moorshedabad	Rs.	4	12	9
District of Beerbhoom	„	3	3	9
District of Burdwan	„	3	4	3
District of South Behar	„	2	0	10
District of Tirhoot	„	1	8	7

To all the vernacular teachers of Bengal and Behar, this affords an average monthly professional income of rs. 2-15-7 ! not above *one-half* of what is usually given in Calcutta to the lowest menials or domestic servants ! It may well excite surprise how, at such a *low* and disproportionate rate of remuneration, even in this highly favoured clime, any human being, pretending to the character of *teacher*, can manage to subsist or maintain habits of external common decency. On this subject Mr. Adam subjoins the following explanations :—

"It is possible that some sources of regular profit to teachers, in themselves insignificant, but to them not unimportant, may have been overlooked; and occasional profits, such as presents from old scholars, are too fluctuating and uncertain to be known or estimated. Teachers, moreover, often add other occupations to that of giving instruction; and when a teacher does not have recourse to any other employment, his income from teaching is most frequently valued chiefly as his contribution to the means of subsistence possessed by the family to which he belongs, since by itself it would be insufficient for his support. When a teacher is wholly dependent upon his own resources, and those are limited to his income in that capacity, the rate of payment is invariably higher."

The details already given abundantly show by what pinched and stinted contributions the class just below the wealthy, and the class just above the indigent, unite to support a school ; and it constitutes a proof of the very limited means of those who are anxious to give a Bengali education to their children, and of the

sacrifices which they make to accomplish the object. But, for emoluments so lean and so meagre, what qualifications can the teachers be expected to present? If it be an universal law that the price of a commodity may fairly be allowed to determine its intrinsic or relative or conventional value, what can be the value, intrinsically, relatively, or conventionally, of qualifications everywhere estimated and hired at a rate so low as those of the vernacular schoolmaster of Bengal and Behar? Accordingly, it is the fact, that, however low the emoluments in question are, in comparison with those to which competent men might be justly considered entitled, they can scarcely be said to be lower than the *paideutic* qualifications or marketable commodity of which they may be regarded as the pecuniary equivalent. The following is the result of Mr. Adam's extended observation on the subject:—

"The teachers consist both of young and middle aged men, for the most part simple minded, but poor and ignorant, and therefore having recourse to an occupation which is suitable both to their expectations and attainments, and on which they reflect as little honour as they derive emolument from it. They do not understand the importance of the task they have undertaken. They do not appear to have made it even a subject of thought. They do not appreciate the great influence which they might exert over the minds of their pupils, and they consequently neglect the highest duties which their situation would impose if they were better acquainted with their powers and obligations. At present they produce chiefly a mechanical effect upon the intellect of their pupils, which is worked upon and chiselled out, and that in a very rough style, but which remains nearly passive in their hands, and is seldom taught or encouraged to put forth its self-acting and self-judging capacities. As to any moral influence of the teachers over the pupils—any attempt to form the sentiments and habits, and to control and guide the passions and emotions—such a notion never enters into their conceptions, and the formation of the moral character of the young is, consequently, wholly left to the influence of the casual associations amidst which they are placed, without any endeavour to modify or direct them. Any measures that may be adopted to improve education in this country will be greatly inadequate if they are not directed to increase the attainments of the teachers, and to elevate and extend their views of the duties belonging to their vocation."

It may, last of all, be stated, that, the average age of all the teachers throughout Bengal and Behar is 38.

4. *The scholars; their class and caste, initiation and period of attendance.*—It is at once interesting and important to learn what classes and castes of the Native community aspire to confer the benefits of a scholastic education on their children. Apart from certain wild mountain tribes, which are usually regarded as a remnant of the aborigines of the soil, but which numerically constitute but an infinitesimal fraction of the dense mass of native inhabitants, the vast body or bulk of the people naturally divides itself into the two great classes of Muhammadans and Hindus. And the first question is, which of these two classes furnishes

proportionally the largest number of pupils? Or, which of them possesses the larger comparative degree of cultivation?

In order to settle this point, with any degree of satisfaction, it is clear that we must ascertain the relative proportions of the Musalman and Hindu population. And this is the more necessary, as hitherto the most erroneous impressions have prevailed on the subject. Indeed, it may with truth be affirmed, that ignorance of India, its affairs and people, has heretofore been the rule, and accurate or even approximately accurate information, the exception. Of this a singular instance has been irrefragably established by Mr. Adam. Before visiting Rajshahi, he had been led to suppose that it was "a *peculiarly Hindu* district." Hamilton, on *official authority*, states the proportion to be that of *two Hindus* to *one Musalman;* and the statement has been transferred, without question, into the various publications of the day. Now Mr. Adam ascertained, with a precision that defies all challenge, that in the selected or model Thana of Nattore, the proportion was *exactly reversed*—there being actually *two Musalmans to one Hindu!* In other *five* thanas he found the proportion of Musalmans to Hindus to be somewhat larger than even in Nattore; while in other *four*, it was still more in excess of the latter, amounting to not less than three Musalmans to one Hindu. Thus the aggregate average of the entire district or Zillah is that of *seven* Musalmans to *three* Hindus, or considerably more than *two to one*. How an impression so very contrary to the truth could have gained ground among the European functionaries Mr. Adam thus endeavours to explain:—

"The Hindus, with exceptions of course, are the principal zemindars, talookdars, public officers, men of learning, money-lenders, traders, shopkeepers, &c., engaging in the most active pursuits of life, and coming directly and frequently under the notice of the rulers of the country, while the Musalmans, with exceptions also, form a very large majority of the cultivators of the ground and of day labourers, and others engage in the very humblest forms of mechanical skill, and of buying and selling, as tailors, turban makers, makers of huqqa-snakes, dyers, wood-polishers, oil-sellers, sellers of vegetables, fish, &c., in few instances attracting the attention of those who do not mix much with the humbler classes of the people, or make special inquiry into their occupations and circumstances."

Elsewhere, as the general result of the whole of his researches, he speaks of "the greater degradation and ignorance of the lower classes of Musalmans when compared with the corresponding classes of the Hindu population, as a simple, undeniable, matter of fact."

Let us now present, at one view, the proportions of the Musalman and Hindu population in all the districts investigated by Mr. Adam:—

Thana Nattore, Rajshahi, Hindus to Musalmans as.....	50	to 100
City of Moorshedabad	100	to 48
Thuna Dowlatbazar ditto	100	to 86
Thana Nanglia, Beerbhoom	100	to 7½
Thana Culna, Burdwan	100	to 23
Thana Jehanabad, South Behar	100	to 17
Thana Bhawara, Tirhoot	100	to 9½

If these Thanas be taken as fair average specimens of their respective districts or Zillahs; and these districts or Zillahs fair average specimens of the rest of Bengal, this would give an average for all Bengal, in the proportion of 100 Hindus to 43 Musalmans, or considerably more than 2, or less than 3 to 1. Even this gives a vastly larger aggregate of Musalman population than has been ordinarily imagined or believed; as nothing is more common in ordinary converse and popular writings than the round assertion that the Hindu exceeds the Musalman population in the proportion of 10 to 1. But our chief concern is with the relative amount of scholastic culture possessed by these two great classes respectively. And one may at once say, that all the best authenticated facts go to prove that it is in favour of the Hindus. Thus in Nattore, Rajshahi, while the proportion of Musalmans to Hindus is that of two to one, the proportion of Musalman to Hindu children receiving domestic instruction is rather less than one to four. In all the other districts there is a somewhat similar or rather greater disproportion in favour of the Hindus against the Musalmans. Let the eye be simply directed to the above table of the proportions of the Hindu and Musalman population, and compare the different items successively with the following statements of the relative numbers of Hindu and Musalman children in the elementary vernacular schools:—

City and District of Moorshedabad,	Hindu scholars,	998;	Musalman,	82
District of Beerbhoom,	,,	6,125	,,	232
District of Burdwan,	,,	12,408	,,	769
District of South Behar,	,,	2,918	,,	172
District of Tirhoot,	,,	502	,,	5

This gives us an aggregate of 22,951 Hindu to 1,260 Musalman scholars; whence we deduce the grand result, that, whereas the Hindu population is to the Musalman in the proportion of rather more than *two* to *one*, the Hindu scholars, enjoying the benefit of an elementary indigenous education, are to the Musalman scholars in the proportion of about *eighteen* to *one!* This vast disproportion may, as Mr. Adam observes, be so far explained by the fact already stated, viz. "that a very large majority of the humblest grades of native society are composed of Musalmans, such as cultivators of the ground, day-labourers, fishermen, &c.,

who are regarded by themselves as well as by others, both in respect of condition and capacity, as quite beyond the reach of the simplest forms of literary instruction."

It next becomes a matter of peculiar interest and importance to inquire in what *castes* or classes of Hindu Society vernacular education is chiefly found, and in what classes it becomes increasingly deficient. The following enumeration of the castes of the Hindu scholars and of the number belonging to each, in the city and District of Moorshedabad, may, with certain unimportant variations, be viewed as an average specimen of other Districts:—

Brahman	181	Sutar	13	Gaurbanik	3
Kayastha	129	Osawal	12	Kandu	3
Kaivarta	96	Swarnakar	11	Kalawar	3
Suvarnabanik	62	Yugi	10	Kayali	3
Gandhabanik	59	Chhatri	9	Sadgop	2
Tanti	56	Kamar	9	Kahar	2
Sunri	39	Kumar	8	Jalia	2
Teli	36	Rajput	7	Lahari	2
Mayrà	29	Kansyabanik	7	Bagdhi	2
Kshetriya	26	Tili	6	Vaisya	1
Kurmi	24	Aguri	5	Kalu	1
Vaishnava	24	Luniar	5	Pashi	1
Tamli	22	Halwaikar	4	Gareri	1
Goala	19	Barayi	4	Dhoba	1
Malo	16	Mali	4	Kairi	1
Napit	15	Daibajna	4	Muchi	1
Vaidya	14	Chandal	4		

In three of the districts surveyed by Mr. Adam, the number of Brahman scholars greatly preponderates; in two of them, the Kayasthas stand next, and in a third, nearly so; while in South Behar there are three castes, and in Tirhoot not fewer than seven castes, each yielding a greater number of scholars than the Brahman caste, to which they are so greatly inferior in social estimation. And here Mr. Adam supplies us with a profound, if not original, reflection, when he suggests, that a consideration of the castes by which vernacular instruction is chiefly sought, not merely indicates the manner of its distribution among them, but also furnishes "one of the tests that may be supplied to judge of the integrity of native institutions and of the comparative condition of the people in different districts." Respecting the division of Hindu Society, Mr. Adam thus writes:—

"Hindu society, on a large scale, may be divided into three grades; first, Brahmans, who are prohibited by the laws of religion from engaging in worldly employment, for which vernacular instruction is deemed the fit and indispensable preparation; second, those castes who, though inferior to brahmans, are deemed worthy of association with them, or to whom the worldly employments requiring vernacular instruction are expressly assigned; and third, those castes who are so inferior as to be deemed unworthy both of association

with Brahmans, and of those worldly employments for which vernacular instruction is the preparation. This would exclude the first and third grades from the benefit of such instruction, and in the Behar districts few of them do partake of it, while in the Bengal districts the proportion of both is considerable."

From this statement several conclusions may be deduced, like so many natural corollaries. The fact already established, that so many of the *first* grade, or Brahmanical, particularly in Bengal, seek for vernacular instruction, in order to enable them to engage in worldly employments prohibited to their caste, incontestibly indicates the commencement of a real social change. The fact, on the other hand, that so many persons of the *third* grade seem to be almost imperceptibly acquiring a sense of the value of that humble instruction which is within their reach, is also a clear indication of incipient change. Thus writes Mr. Adam :—

"The time is not distant when it would have been considered contrary to all the maxims of Hindu civilization that individuals of the Malo, Chandal, Kahar, Jalia, Lahari, Bagdhi, Dhoba, and Muchi castes should learn to read, write, and keep accounts; and if some aged and venerable Brahman, who has passed his life removed from European contamination, were told that these low castes are now raising their aspirations so high, he would deplore it as one of the many proofs of the gross and increasing degeneracy of the age. The encroachment of these castes on the outskirts of learning is a spontaneous movement in native society, the effect of a strong foreign rule, unshackled by native usages and prejudices, and protecting all in the enjoyment of equal rights."

But while we cannot but hail the slightest indication of a change for the better, or the faintest tangible proof that the barrier of supposed insuperability has been in any way trenched upon, by the spontaneous self-elevating efforts of any members of any castes, that were not only on religious grounds excluded from association with the Brahmans, but, according to former custom and usage, were generally deemed unworthy—and what is more, were really as undesirous as they were deemed unworthy, of participating in the advantages of literary instruction even in its humblest forms; we must not forget that the number supplied by these low castes—being only one, two, three, or four—must be practically as next to nothing, while there are many castes that do not supply even one.

Respecting the age and mode of scholastic instruction, Mr. Adam thus writes :—

"It is expressly prescribed by the authorities of Hindu law, that children should be initiated in writing and reading in their fifth year, or if this should have been neglected, then in the seventh, ninth, or any subsequent year, being an odd number. Certain months of the year, and certain days of the month and week, are also prescribed as propitious to such a purpose, and on

the day fixed, a religious service is performed in the family by the family priest, consisting principally of the worship of Saraswati, the goddess of learning, after which, the hand of the child is guided by the priest to form the letters of the alphabet, and he is also then taught, for the first time, to pronounce them. This ceremony is not of indispensable obligation on Hindus, and is performed only by those parents who possess the means and intention of giving their children more extended instruction. It is strictly the commencement of the child's school-education, and in some parts of the country he is almost immediately sent to school."

It remains only farther to state, in connection with this subject, that as there is a specific routine of instruction, the age of leaving school must depend upon the age of commencement; and that the average age of the scholars for all the districts, when they enter school, is from 5 to 6 years; and the average age when they usually leave school, from 13 to 16 years. Hence, the whole period spent at school varies from 5 to 10 years,—"an enormous consumption of time," as Mr. Adam truly remarks, "specially at the more advanced ages, considering the nature and amount of the instruction communicated."

5. *The nature and amount of the instruction communicated.*—There are in general *four* stages or gradations in the course of instruction, indicated by the nature of the materials employed for writing on, viz. the ground, the palm-leaf, the plantain-leaf, and paper. The following is the lucid sketch which Mr. Adam supplies of a *complete course* of Bengali vernacular instruction:—

"The *first* period seldom exceeds ten days, which are employed in teaching the young scholars to form the letters of the alphabet on the ground with a small stick or slip of bamboo. The sand-board is not used in this district,* probably to save expense. The *second* period, extending from two and a half to four years, according to the capacity of the scholar, is distinguished by the use of the palm-leaf, as the material on which writing is performed. Hitherto the mere form and sound of the letters have been taught, without regard to their size and relative proportion; but the master, with an iron style, now writes on the palm-leaf letters of a determinate size, and in due proportion to each other, and the scholar is required to trace them on the same leaf with a reed-pen and with charcoal-ink, which easily rubs out. This process is repeated over and over again on the same leaf, until the scholar no longer requires the use of the copy to guide him in the formation of the letters of a fit size and proportion, and he is consequently next made to write them on another leaf which has no copy to direct him. He is afterwards exercised in writing and pronouncing the compound consonants, the syllables formed by the junction of vowels with consonants, and the most common names of persons. In other parts of the country, the names of castes, rivers, mountains, &c. are written, as well as of persons; but here the names of persons only are employed as a school-exercise. The scholar is then taught to write and read, and by frequent repetition he commits to memory the Cowrie Table, the Numeration Table as far as one hundred, the Katha Table (a land-measure table), and the Seer Table (a dry-measure table). There are other tables in use elsewhere, which are not taught in the schools of this district. The *third* stage of

* Nattore.

instruction extends from two to three years, which are employed in writing on the plantain-leaf. In some districts the tables just mentioned are postponed to this stage, but in this district they are included in the exercises of the second stage. The first exercise taught on the plantain-leaf is to initiate the scholar into the simplest form of letter-writing, to instruct him to connect words in a composition with each other, and to distinguish the written from the spoken forms of Bengali vocables. The written forms are often abbreviated in speech, by the omission of a vowel or a consonant, or by the running of two syllables into one; and the scholar is taught to use in writing the full, not the abbreviated form. The correct orthography of words of Sanskrit origin, which abound in the language of the people, is beyond the reach of the ordinary class of teachers. About the same time the scholar is taught the rules of arithmetic, beginning with addition and subtraction; but multiplication and division are not taught as separate rules, all the arithmetical processes hereafter mentioned being effected by addition and subtraction, with the aid of a multiplication-table which extends to the number of 20, and which is repeated aloud once every morning by the whole school, and is thus acquired, not as a separate task by each boy, but by the mere force of joint repetition and mutual imitation. After addition and subtraction, the arithmetical rules taught divide themselves into two classes, agricultural and commercial; in one or both of which instruction is given, more or less fully, according to the capacity of the teacher and the wishes of the parents. The rules, applied to agricultural accounts, explain the forms of keeping debt and credit accounts; the calculation of the value of daily or monthly labour, at a given monthly or annual rate; the calculation of the area of land, whose sides measure a given number of kathas or bighas; the description of the boundaries of land, and the determination of its length, breadth, and contents; and the form of revenue-accounts for a given quantity of land. There are numerous other forms of agricultural account, but no others appear to be taught in the schools of this district. The rules of commercial accounts explain the mode of calculating the value of a given number of seers, at a given price per maund; the price of a given number of quarters and chataks, at a given price per seer; the price of a tola, at a given rate per chatak; the number of cowries in a given number of annas, at a given number of cowries per rupee; the interest of money, and the discount chargeable on the exchange of the inferior sorts of rupees. There are other forms of commercial account also in common use, but these are not taught in the schools. The *fourth* and last stage of instruction generally includes a period of two years—often less, and seldom more. The accounts briefly and superficially taught in the preceding stage, are now taught more thoroughly, and at greater length; and this is accompanied by the composition in business letters, petitions, grants, leases, acceptances, notes of bond, &c., together with the forms of address belonging to the different grades of rank and station. When the scholars have written on paper about a year, they are considered qualified to engage in the unassisted perusal of Bengali works, and they often read at home such productions as the translation of the Ramayana, Manasa, Mangal, &c. &c."*

* There is this difference between Bengali and Hindi schools, that whereas in the second and third stages of the former the palm-leaf and plantain-leaf are generally used; in the same stages of the latter a wooden-board and brazen-plate are employed as the materials on which lessons in writing and accounts are given. Two modes are adopted of writing on the brazen-plate; first, by dissolving chalk in water to a consistency that permits the scholar to rub it on the plate, where it dries and receives the impression of a hard pin or reed-pen: and second, by writing on the plate with chalk-ink. The former is the mode chiefly employed in writing on the board, and mud is sometimes substituted for moistened chalk.

Such, according to Mr. Adam, is the sketch of a completed course of Bengali instruction; but he distinctly cautions us, that it "must be regarded rather as what it is intended to be, than what it is;" for "most of the schoolmasters whom he met were unqualified to give all the instructions here described, although he has thus placed the amount of their pretensions on record." All, however, he adds, "do not even pretend to teach the whole of what is here enumerated; some professing to limit themselves to agricultural, and others to include commercial accounts; while the most of them appeared to have a very superficial acquaintance with both."

In estimating the nature and amount of the instruction received, Mr. Adam very properly directs special attention to the fact, that "the use of *printed books in the native language* appears hitherto to have been almost wholly unknown." Yea, scarcely one even of the schoolmasters "had ever before seen a printed book; those which he presented to them from the Calcutta School-book Society being viewed more as curiosities than as instruments of knowledge." And not only are *printed* books not used in these schools, but in many whole thanas even manuscript text-books are unknown; and in all the districts, except Moorshedabad and Burdwan, the number of schools in which *written* works are *not* employed vastly exceeds the number in which they are employed. Thus, in Beerbhoom, the number of the former is 398, and of the latter only 13; in South Behar, of the latter 283, and of the former only 2. How, then, it may be asked, in the latter description of schools, is the business of education conducted? Why, simply thus:—All that the scholars learn is acquired from the oral dictation of the master. What is so acquired is firmly lodged in the memory, by dint of incessant repetition, without any understanding for a long time of what meaning the sounds, so imitated and repeated, convey. Or, at other times, it may, from oral dictation, be committed to writing.

But the point of chiefest importance is that which concerns the *subject-matter* of what is taught, whether *orally*, or by the aid of *manuscript* text-books. What constitutes the *staple* or *substance* of the intellectual, moral, and religious provision which is supplied to the opening minds of ingenuous Hindu youth? As regards the use of particular pieces or compositions, there is considerable variety; some being employed in one locality, and others in another,—one or two only being found in some schools, and a larger number in others. But, as regards their general and essential character, there is a distressing samenesss—a terrible uniformity. Apart from the rhyming arithmetical rules of *Sub-*

hankar—a writer whose name is as familiar in Bengal as Cocker in England, without any one knowing who or what he was, or when or where he lived—these scholastic compositions and text-books consist of translated extracts of wild and extravagant legends from the Purans and other shastras, more particularly works describing the adventures and loves of Radha and the incarnate god Krishna, together with the boyish amusements of the latter,—such as his boating pleasures on the Jumna, in the neighbourhood of Brindavan, and the tricks which he played the milkmen with his youthful companions. There are also hymns or songs without number in praise of the goddess Durga, and other popular divinities. But the works or pieces that are best known, and in most general use, throughout the country, appear to be the following:—The *Chanakya*, a series of slokes or brief sententious sayings in the proverbial style, avowedly in praise of learning and precepts of morality; the *Ganga Bandana*, describing the virtues of the river goddess; the *Saraswati Bandana*, or "Salutation to the Goddess of Learning," which is committed to memory by frequent repetitions, and is daily recited by the scholars in a body before they leave school, all kneeling with their heads bent to the ground, and following a leader or monitor in the pronunciation of the successive times or couplets; the *Guru Bandana*, a doggrel composition, containing an expression of the respect and devotion due from the scholar to his teacher; the *Guru Dakhina*, another doggrel composition, which, in glowing terms, describes the fee or reward which Krishna and his brother Balaram gave to their teacher, after having finished their education, and which is constantly sung by the elder boys of a school from house to house, to elicit donations for their master; and lastly, the *Data Karna*, illustrating the beneficence and hospitality of Karna, the prime-minister of Duryodhana, and the Hatim Tai of India.

But no mere general description can convey the remotest conception of the genuine nature and character of these almost universally current school compositions. Mr. Adam, in his report, furnishes no particulars. But having, through the kindness of some educated native friends,* got possession of authentic copies of the originals of most of them, accompanied with *literal* translations in English, we feel tempted to do what alone can convey any adequate impression, and that is, to supply a few specimens. Of

* We would willingly give the names of these, were it not that their own modesty has prohibited us from so doing. This much, however, we may state, that some of them are now usefully and honourably employed as teachers in the Free Church of Scotland's Institution, Calcutta, diligently conveying to others the knowledge which they themselves have learned to appreciate.

these, by far the most respectable is the *Chanakya*, which does contain many passages that are negatively unexceptionable, and a few that are positively good. But even its best parts can scarcely be said to rise beyond the inculcation of a *secular sort of prudence*, and never ascend, even in incidental allusion, into the lofty region of pure and godlike morality—the morality of essential truth, inflexible rectitude, unspotted holiness, and disinterested love. On the other hand, the work constantly descends into dead levels and depths far beneath the platform of a worldly-wise and enlightened prudence. The spirit of enmity, revenge, selfishnesss, covetousness, and carnal indulgence seems not sanctioned merely but positively inculcated. We quote a few slokes, as specimens:—

"A man should be kind and liberal to some enemy that he may, by his assistance, be able to kill another; as he would pick out the thorn sticking in his feet by means of another thorn.

"In the time of adversity it is proper to accumulate wealth, which, however, might be expended for the protection of your wife; but you should always preserve your personal welfare even at the sacrifice of your wife or wealth.

"A wife is requisite for the purpose of having a son, a son is requisite for the purpose of offering funeral cakes, a friend is requisite for assistance in time of need, but wealth is requisite for all purposes.

"Possessing plenty of eatables, a good appetite, the power of sexual intercourse, a handsome wife, a liberal heart, and property, are the sure indications of the meritorious actions of man in his former life.

"Fresh meat, soft rice newly prepared, cohabitation with young women, fresh clarified butter, warm milk and tepid water, are the six things which are beneficial to life."

We may next notice the *Ganga Bandana*, or hymn in praise of the Ganges, as a genuine specimen of that description of popular scholastic composition. As it is short, we shall give it entire—leaving it to the reader to infer the state of mind that can *believingly* entertain the sentiments expressed in it, and joyfully and triumphantly give them utterance. It is as follows:—

"O (Ganga) the river of the Gods, whom the Purans declare to be the sacrificer of the fallen, and the most ancient, to thee I pay my reverential bow. Thou art sprung from the foot of Vishnu, art called Drabamahi (fully dissolved), and art alike the mother of the gods, giants, and men. Thou didst reside in the drinking pot of Brahma, and wast with him, sanctifying his whole region by thy presence. But observing the wickedness of living creatures, and intending to destroy their fears of death, thou goddess of the gods, hast come down to this world. Bhagiratha, a descendant of the solar race first showing thee the way, conducted thee to this earth below. The most sinful and misbehaved, merely by touching thy waters, ascend up to heaven with their corporeal frame entire. Thy waters are perfectly pure, and the fruits of drinking them are so various, that even Brahma and Vishnu could not describe them. Who can speak of thy glory, since Shulapani (the spear-handed Shiva), holding thee on his head, thought himself dignified. If rice,

herbs, &c., be dressed in thy water, the gods would take the same, considering them as a rarity. That boiled rice also becomes full of Ambrosia,—and, according to Vyasa, the taking of it destroys the fear of death. The place of thy junction with the sea is equal to Baikunta in sanctity, and its importance is so great, that neither Brahma nor Vishnu could fully appreciate it. the very sight of it takes away *all* the sins of men. Thy waters possess such transcendant qualities that if a man (whether he be of low birth, a Shudra, or a religious mendicant) were to bathe in them on the last day of Pous, he secures for himself a mansion in the heaven of Vishnu. The very utterance of thy name is all that is necessary for *directly* sending a person to the abode of Vishnu, without the necessity of his visiting the realm of Yama. When the father, mother, son, or wife of a person unceremoniously throws his lifeless corpse upon the burning pile, and with feelings of abhorrence returns home, after having bathed in thy waters, it is thou who at that moment takest him into thy bosom. The kindred and friends who loved him, while he had the power of acquiring, mourn over his death only for a day or two. In such dreadful times, none but thy feet are his real friends. No sooner is the dead carcass of an individual, partly eaten up by crows and jackals, drifted by any means to thy shore, than hundreds of heavenly nymphs, holding fans* in their hands, come down and wait on him. I would rather be a lizard, a crab, or even the young one of an emaciated bitch, and live near thee, than be the lord of millions of elephants in a place not sanctified by thy presence. Worms, insects, and birds—even kings, down to millions of other living creatures, are equal in thy sight. If the most sinful and wicked once touch thy waters during their whole life-time, thou becomest a shelter to them on the last day. Even if, from the distance of a hundred yajanas, or eight hundred miles, from thy stream, a person were to utter thy name, immediately does he become perfectly holy. The ashes of the descendants of Sagar, who had been destroyed by the curse of a Brahman, having come in contact with thy waters, assumed human forms with four hands, and ascended up to Baikunta (the heaven of Vishnu). Thy glory, oh Ganga! is far beyond my power to describe; the Agama and Purans unfold it full length."

There is one other popular work extensively employed in vernacular schools, which, for the sake of exhibiting another variety in the way of scholastic instruction, may be briefly noticed;—and that is, the *Data Karna*. It is too long to be inserted entire; but the following is a faithful epitome of it:—

"Once on a time a certain King requested a *Muni*, or a sage, to furnish him with some information about Krishna, to which he said he would attentively listen. The *Muni* agreed to it, and began to speak thus:—

"There was a certain man, whose name was Datakarna. He was reported to be a person of unparalleled liberality. One day the thought of ascertaining the reality of this spontaneously arose in the mind of Krishna. The more effectually to accomplish his end, he metamorphosed himself into a Brahman, so utterly decrepit, that he not only well nigh lost the use of his eyes, but became almost wholly unable to support his tottering footsteps. With this appearance so reverential, and shivering all the way, he made towards the house where Datakarna resided. No sooner did he hear of the approach of a Brahman, than he immediately came to the spot where he was, and received

* In the original, chamara, which means the tail of the cow of Tartary used as a fan, is for the purpose of fanning the gods in particular.

him with every demonstration of joy. He afterwards, with a piece of cloth round his neck, and with his hands closed against each other, prayed the Brahman to satisfy him by stating the reason of his coming,—to which the latter answered as follows:—

"'Hear me, O King! From various persons I have heard that you are surpassingly virtuous! Yesterday I fasted; therefore give me something to eat. But I have one fixed resolution, which I have formed, and that is, that I will not eat anything without flesh.'

"Datakarna listened to the words of the Brahman with profound respect, and made him the widest possible promise—that he should not deprive him of any kind of flesh whatever, which he might be desirous to eat. Out came immediately from the mouth of the Brahman the words 'Blessed, Blessed, art thou! There is no other person in this universe equal to you in benevolence!'

"The flesh upon which the Brahman insisted, was that of Brasaketu, the son of Datakarna and Padmabati, who were enjoined by him to saw asunder the child, maintaining all the while a sprightly and cheerful demeanour, without betraying the least degree or symptom of sorrow. If they could thoroughly act upon this order, he would eat the flesh, and every thing would be prosperous; if otherwise, then would he return to his own home, while the unhappy parents must be sent down into eternal perdition. When Karna heard of this, he was thunderstruck, and sadly reflected how, after so long a time, destruction awaited him, and how the glory of his name must be for ever tarnished. With overwhelming anguish, he went to his wife Padmabati, and recounted to her this dreadful interlocution. She replied, that she would part with all her wealth, and sacrifice her own life rather than that of her son. However, after much altercation between them, they agreed to saw the child asunder in the way prescribed. When the child, who was only five years of age, heard that a Brahman was to eat his flesh, he exclaimed thus:—

"'My life, after so long a time, become truly life! Is it possible that a Brahman will feed upon the flesh of such a wretched being as I am?' When the head of the child was, by the mutual consent of his parents, severed from his body, it cried out—'Krishna! Krishna!' Then it shrieked out with a loud voice, 'Krishna, where art thou? Krishna, where art thou?'

"Padmabati then concealed the head in a private place, without the knowledge of her husband, in the hope that, when the Brahman departed, she might be able, by placing it before her, to bewail the loss of her child.

"As soon as the flesh was dressed in diverse forms, Datakarna, the father of Brasaketu, called the guest to eat it. But he said he would not eat any thing unless some flesh be acidulated. Datakarna, on hearing this, answered, —'All the flesh is dressed, not a bit remains for acidification.' The guest in return replied,—'The head of the child is concealed by his mother. Go, therefore, and acidify it.' Datakarna went and did accordingly. When everything was prepared, the guest was called to dine; to which he answered, 'Divide the flesh and all other curries into four dishes, one for you, another for me, the third for Padmabati, and the fourth for a child. Go, therefore, and call an infant from the city.' Datakarna went accordingly; and as he gazed on all sides, being overpowered with grief and sorrow, he saw his child Brasaketu. Datakarna instantly took him in his arms with great ecstasy of joy, went to the Brahman, and prostrated himself repeatedly in the very dust before him. Thereafter, Padmabati and Datakarna, with their hands folded against each other, supplicated him to make known to them who he was; if not, then they would immediately plunge a dagger in their breasts, and expire before him on the spot. The Brahman took compassion on them, resumed his former appearance, and ascended up into heaven.

"He that listens to these words (says the author of the legend), is free from malady, sorrow, and danger, and will ultimately go to heaven. But he that employs persons (says Veda Vyasa, a person believed by the Hindus to have been inspired by Brahma, their chief Deity) for the singing of these words, is to be blessed with sons and wealth."

We shall not insult the understandings of our readers with any comments on this most loathsome legend; or with any reclamation or protest against its revolting barbarism. We shall only remind them that it is but a *specimen* of the atrocious and abominable stuff that constitutes so much of the scholastic provender of thousands of Bengali youth.

Having requested an intelligent and respectable native to furnish us with a set of the *slokes*, or *metrical couplets*, which he had learned *memoriter* when in the *Patshala* or vernacular school, he sent *one* as a *specimen*, accompanied with a literal translation in English, and enclosed in a note of which the following is a *verbatim et literatim* copy:—

"Sir,—I beg to state that when I was translating this sloke, which I learned by heart when very young, from my *Gura mahashai*, or teacher, without at the time understanding the meaning of it, whether it implied a dog or an ass, a kind of unpleasurable sensation arose in my mind, which made me indeed miserable. Afterwards, the whole mind rebelled, with frown and anguish, against the ideas which that sloke conveys, as if they were more than virulent venom, fit only to bring destruction on man. Therefore, I humbly beg that you will kindly excuse me for not translating the other slokes, which are more or less obscene than the one already translated; for I am afraid they will make me unhappy too; nay, they will make me worse. I wish that all the waters of forgetfulness would come to wash away from the tablet of my memory such slokes as these—they are most baneful.

I have, &c. &c.

————————."

While the translated sloke is of so gross a nature that we dare not insert it here, we need scarcely add that we hastened to release our native friend from the odious task which we had unconsciously imposed upon him;—with feelings of deep and unfeigned regret at the discovery, that one portion of the vernacular scholastic instruction is, in some respects, even worse than our previous experience of its puerile and legendary absurdities, or its idolatrous and barbarous teachings, had led us to expect or conceive.

6. *The System of Discipline.*—This is a subject which apparently did not attract Mr. Adam's attention. But as it is one of vast importance in enabling us to arrive at a just and sober estimate of the genuine character and practical effects of the existing system of scholastic tuition, we must endeavour to supply a few brief notes, founded on our own inquiry and experience.

If the scheme of teaching be throughout one of dull, dry,

plodding, monotonous mechanism, acting on head and heart with all the force of a congealing efficacy, the scheme of discipline may be truly characterized as throughout a *reign of terror*. Kindness, patience, generosity, love—all are alike unknown here. Fear is the first and last and only motive brought into play; punishment, the first and last and only stimulant. In varying the modes of this punitory discipline the utmost ingenuity is exercised. With the cane the master is always armed, as with an instrument as indispensable to his vocation as the eyes for seeing, or the ears for hearing; and it is in constant and faithful exercise. The open palm and clenched fist are also vigorously applied to the back, the cheek, and the head. These are but the common droppings that fall with the frequency and the fulness of tropical showers. Of the other varieties constantly exhibited, the following may be taken as those of most ordinary occurrence. A boy is made to bend forward with his face toward the ground; a heavy brick is then placed on his back and another on his neck; and should he let either of them fall, within the prescribed period of half an hour or so, he is punished with the cane. Or, a boy is condemned to stand, for half an hour or an hour, on one foot; and should he shake or quiver, or let down the uplifted leg before the time, he is severely punished. Again, a boy is made to sit on the floor in an exceedingly constrained position, with one leg turned up behind his neck. Or, still worse, he is made to sit with his feet resting on two bricks, and his head bent down between both legs, with his hands twisted round each leg so as painfully to catch the ears. Again, a boy is made to hang for a few minutes with his head downwards from the branch of a neighbouring tree. Or, his hands and feet are bound with cords; to these members so bound a rope is fastened; and the boy is then hoisted up by means of a pulley attached to the beams or rafters of the school. Again, nettles, dipped in water, are applied to the body, which becomes irritated and swollen; the pain is excruciating and often lasts a whole day; but, however great the itching and the pain, the sufferer is not allowed to rub or touch the skin for relief, under the dread of a flagellation in addition. Or, the boy is put up in a sack along with some nettles, or a cat, or some other noisesome creature, and then rolled along the ground. Again, the fingers of both hands are inserted across each other with a stick between, and two sticks without, drawn close together and tied. Or, a boy is made to measure so many cubits on the ground, by marking it along with the tip of his nose. Again, four boys are made to seize another, two holding the arms, and two the feet; they then alternately swing him, and

throw him violently to the ground. Or, two boys are made to seize another by the ears; and, with these organs well outstretched, he is made to run along for the amusement of the bystanders. Again, a boy is constrained to pull his own ears; and if he fail to extend them sufficiently he is visited with a sorer chastisement. Or, two boys, when both have given offence, are made to knock their heads several times against each other. Again, the boy who first comes to school in the morning, receives one stroke of the cane on the palm of the hand; the next receives two strokes; and so each in succession, as he arrives, receives a number of strokes equal to the number of boys that preceded him;—the first being the privileged administrator of them all. When a boy wants to go out, the common practice is to throw some spittle on the floor; if it dries up before he returns, he is punished with the cane; or if not, a boy hostile to him may, with or without the cognizance and connivance of the master, come and wipe it out in order to ensure his punishment. When, instead of teaching, the *Guru mahashai* or master betakes himself to the making or the copying of almanacks and horoscopes, as he constantly does, to eke out his scanty allowances; the boys, too, very naturally betake themselves to extraneous modes of diversion and employment, such as playing and pinching, chattering and frolic, waggery and abuse; but when, forgetting themselves too far, they become obstreperous, and the noise swells into tumult, the teacher is suddenly roused into red burning wrath, and gives vent to his uncontrollable fury in a crushing tempest of indiscriminate flagellation, intermingled with the loud sound of vituperative epithets, too gross and shocking to be recorded here.

No wonder that the *Patshala*, or vernacular school, should be viewed, as it uniformly is, as an object of terror by the young. The conductor of it is the ghost that haunts and scares the young. When a child misbehaves, the most severe and awe-inspiring threat of the mother is, "Call the *Guru mahashai* to take him to school." Apart from its general influence in paralysing the intellectual and moral powers, this system of terror leads to many specific practices of a baneful tendency. It superinduces the habit of crouching servility towards the master in his presence, and the rendering of many menial and even dishonest services. To propitiate the dreaded tyrant, the boys are glad to prepare his hookah, to bring fire for smoking, gather flowers for his pujah, sweep his lodging, wash his brazen pots, cleave thick pieces of wood for fuel, &c. They are induced to go to the bazaar with their written plantain-leaves, and to give them to the shopkeepers as packing materials, in exchange for cowries,

fish, tobacco, fruits, betel-nut, pawn, &c., which they present as offerings to the master. Or, they are positively encouraged, for his sake, to bring, that is, in reality, to purloin or steal wood, rice, salt, dhal, oil, &c., from home, or from anywhere else; seeing that those who succeed, by fair means or foul, in presenting such gifts most frequently, have the best chance of escaping the dreaded rod, the best chance of being praised for cleverness though the greatest dunces, for diligence though the greatest sluggards, and for knowledge though the greatest ignoramuses.

On the other hand, as might be expected, the system tends to generate the spirit of hatred, retaliation, and revenge towards the master. This spirit practically shows itself in various ways. For example, in preparing his hookah, it is a common trick for the boys to mix the tobacco with *chillies* and other pungent ingredients, so that when he smokes he is made to cough violently, while the whole school is convulsed with laughter;—or, beneath the mats on which he sits may be strewn thorns and sharp prickles which soon display their effects in the contortions of the crest-fallen and discomfited master;—or, at night, he is way-laid by his pupils, who, from their concealed position in a tree, or thicket, or behind a wall, pelt him with pebbles, bricks, or stones;—or, once more, they rehearse doggerel songs in which they implore the gods, and more particularly Kali, to remove him by death—vowing, in the event of the prayer being heard, to present offerings of sugar and cocoa-nuts.

Once more, the system, naturally, and even necessarily, leads the young to regard the *Patshala*, not as a place for healthful, renovative, mental exercise, but as a sort of dungeon or grievous prison-house, to escape from which is the chiefest of all ends, as the desire to do so is the most powerful of all instincts. Many, accordingly, are the pretexts and the expedients resorted to in order to escape the "durance vile" of scholastic imprisonment. The boy often runs off for several days to the house of a relation or friend at a distance, and, on his return, asseverates that he was sent there by his parents. To throw boiled rice on domestic vessels ceremonially defiles them;—hence, when a boy is bent on a day's release from school, he peremptorily disobeys his admonishing mother, saying, "No; if you insist on my going I shall throw about the boiled rice"—a threat which usually gains him the victory. If a person of a different caste, or unbathed, or with shoes on his feet, touch the boiled rice or pot of another, it is polluted; hence, when a boy effects his escape from school, he often hastens to some kitchen, touches the boiled rice, or the pots in which it has been boiled, and thus

becomes himself polluted; and, until he bathes, no one can touch or seize him, without being polluted too. A temporary impunity is thus secured. At other times, the boy finds his way to filthy and unclean places, where he remains for hours, or a whole day, defying the master and his emissaries to touch him, knowing full well that they cannot do so, without partaking of his own contracted pollution. So determined are boys to evade the torturous system of discipline, that, in making good their escape, they often wade or swim through tanks, or along the current of running drains, with a large earthen-pot over their head, so that the suspicion of passers by, or of those in pursuit, is not even excited, seeing that nought appears on the surface but a floating pot; or, they run off, and climb into the loftiest neighbouring tree, where they laugh to scorn the efforts of their assailants to dislodge them. In the recent case of one personally known to our informant, the runaway actually remained for three days on the top of a cocoa-nut tree, vigorously hurling the cocoa-nuts, as missiles, at the heads of all who attempted to ascend for the purpose of securing him.

Not sufficiently adverting to the deleterious influence of the substantive instruction communicated, and apparently overlooking altogether the noxious system of discipline, Mr. Adam was led to view those vernacular schools in a more favourable light than their intrinsic merits or rather demerits warrant. Regarding them chiefly as instruments for simply teaching reading, writing, and accounts, he was disposed to view them as negatively defective rather than positively vicious. But, even under this aspect of the case, he could not help penning the following delineation and verdict:—

"No one will deny that a knowledge of Bengali writing, and of native accounts, is requisite to natives of Bengal, but when these are made the substance and sum of proper instruction and knowledge, the popular mind is necessarily cabined, cribbed, and confined, within the smallest possible range of ideas, and those of the most limited local and temporary interest, and it fails even to acquire those habits of accuracy and precision which the exclusive devotion to forms of calculation might seem fitted to produce. What is wanted is something to awaken and expand the mind, to unshackle it from the trammels of mere usage, and to teach it to employ its own powers; and for such purposes, the introduction into the system of common instruction of some branch of knowledge, in itself perfectly useless (if such a one could be found), would at least rouse and interest by its novelty, and in this way be of some benefit. Of course the benefit would be much greater if the supposed new branch of knowledge were of a useful tendency, stimulating the mind to the increased observation and comparison of external objects, and throwing it back upon itself with a larger stock of materials for thought. A higher intellectual cultivation, however, is not all that is required. That, to be beneficial to the individual and to society, must be

accompanied by the cultivation of the moral sentiments and habits. Here the native system presents a perfect blank. The hand, the eye, and the ear are employed; the memory is a good deal exercised; the judgment is not wholly neglected; and the religious sentiment is early and perseveringly cherished, however misdirected. But the passions and affections are allowed to grow up wild without any thought of pruning their luxuriances, or directing their exercise to good purposes. Hence, I am inclined to believe, the frequency in native society of enlarged views of moral and social obligation; and hence the corresponding radical defect of the native character, which appears to be that of a narrow and contracted selfishness, naturally arising from the fact that the young mind is seldom, if ever, taught to look for the means of its own happiness and improvement in the indulgence of benevolent feelings, and the performance of benevolent acts to those who are beyond a certain pale. The radical defect of the system of elementary instruction seems to explain the radical defect of the native character; and if I have rightly estimated cause and effect, it follows that no material improvement of the native character can be expected, and no improvement whatever of the system of elementary education will be sufficient, without a large infusion into it of moral instruction that shall always connect in the mind of the pupil, with the knowledge which he requires, some useful purpose to which it may be and ought to be applied, not necessarily productive of personal gain or advantage to himself."

II. *Private or Domestic Instruction.*—Meagre and imperfect as is the system of instruction in public schools, we have Mr. Adam's express authority for asserting "that the instruction given in families is still more limited and imperfect." Elsewhere he adds, "there can be no doubt that the instruction given at home is in general more crude and imperfect, more interrupted and desultory, than that which is obtained at the common schools." In some cases he found that "it did not extend beyond the writing of the letters of the alphabet, in others the writing of words." Pundits and priests, "unless where there is some landed property in the family, confine the Bengali instruction they give their children to reading and writing, addition and subtraction, with scarcely any of the application of numbers to agricultural and commercial affairs. Farmers and traders naturally limit their instructions to what they best know, and what is to them and their children of greater direct utility, the calculations and measurements peculiar to their immediate occupations." The parents with whom Mr. Adam conversed on the subject did "not attach the same value to the domestic instruction their children received which they ascribed to the instruction of a professional schoolmaster, both because in their opinion such instruction would be more regular and systematic, and because the teacher would be probably better qualified."

The fact is, that this domestic instruction can be regarded only as "a sort of traditionary knowledge of written language and accounts, preserved in families from father to son, and from

generation to generation." Sometimes the father is the instructor, but quite as often an uncle, or an elder brother. Sometimes a *pujari Brahman*, or family chaplain, is bound by agreement to employ his leisure hours instructing the children. Sometimes, in villages, in which Mr. Adam could *not find a single individual able either to read or write*, he was, notwithstanding, assured that the children were not wholly without instruction; and when he asked who taught them, the answer was, "that the gomastha, in his periodical visits for the collection of the master's rents, gave a few lessons to one or more of the children of the village."

Since this domestic elementary instruction is, from its very nature, more imperfect and precarious than even the scholastic elementary instruction, and is consequently less esteemed, it may create surprise that it should be allowed to form a substitute for the other at all. The reasons are twofold. In some cases poverty, or inability, to pay for school-instruction is the sole cause of preference. In other instances, the pride or rank of station, of birth and learning, acting also upon circumscribed means, prevents the respective parties from looking beyond their own respective households for the instruction which their children need. Accordingly, the classes of Hindu society to which these families belong, that give domestic instruction to their children, are thus specified by Mr. Adam:—

"Those who give their children domestic instruction are Zemindars, Talukdars, and persons of some little substance; shopkeepers and traders, possessing some enterprize and forecast in their callings; Zemindar's agents or factors (Gomashtas), and heads of villages (Mandals), who know practically the advantage of writing and accounts; and sometimes persons of straitened resources but respectable character, who have been in better circumstances, and wish to give their children the means of making their way in the world. Pandits, too, who intend that their children should pursue the study of Sanskrit, begin by instructing them at home in the rudiments of their mother tongue; and Brahmans, who have themselves gone through only a partial course of Sanskrit reading, seek to qualify their children by such instruction as they can give for the office and duties of a family priest, or spiritual guide."

In connection with this subject, there is one other point worthy of note. It has already been shown, in the case of school-instruction, how much, proportionably, the Hindu pupils in numbers preponderate over the Musalman. The following table will exhibit, at one view, a specimen of similar preponderance, as regards domestic instruction:—

	Families.			Children.		
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Total.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Total.
City of Moorshedabad	147	69	216	195	105	300
Thana Daulatbazar .	201	53	254	265	61	326
Thana Nanglia . .	197	10	207	267	18	285
Thana Culna . .	414	61	475	595	81	676
Thana Jehanabad .	295	65	360	435	104	539
Thana Bhawara .	223	12	235	275	13	288

SCHOOLS OF LEARNING.

The state of learned education may be considered with reference to the two great divisions of the population, the Musalmans and the Hindus. Of the former, the grand media of instruction are the Persian and the Arabic; of the latter, the Sanskrit. The schools or colleges in which these are taught claim a separate notice.

1. *Persian Schools.*—While Bengali and Urdu are the languages of ordinary conversation with the great mass of the Muhammadan population, it is easy to see why Persian must have peculiar attractions for the educated. It is the language of their popular literature, science, and philosophy. It is the language of "the former conquerors and rulers of Hindustan, from whom they have directly or indirectly sprung, and the memory both of a proud ancestry and of a past dominion—the loyalty which attaches itself rather to religion and to race than to country,—attract them to its cultivation." Apart from such motives, however, the importance given to the Persian language, under the Mogul Sovereigns, and till recently under the British Government, in the administration of justice and police, and in the collection of the revenue, must have exerted no inconsiderable influence. And, in the case of the Hindus, that consideration must have had almost conclusive weight. For it is a remarkable fact, that though, as regards the Hindus, the Persian be altogether a foreign language, the number of Hindu scholars in the Persian schools considerably exceeds that of the Musalman pupils; there being, in the five districts visited by Mr. Adam, 2,096 of the former, and only 1,558 of the latter. This is a fact which can only be accounted for in one way. It is the effect of the artificial stimulus supplied by the long, and until very recently, the almost exclusive use of the Persian in the ordinary routine of Government and local administration. And, as it has

been an unnaturally forced growth, Mr. Adam very justly remarks, that "*some of the considerations by which Persian is recommended might be brought with much more force in favour of English if it would be made more accessible*,"—*and that* "*it would not be difficult not merely to substitute English for it, but to make English much more popular*."

The Persian teachers, Mr. Adam was led to regard as "intellectually of a higher grade than the teachers of Bengali schools, although that grade is not high, compared with what is to be desired, and is attainable. Morally, they appear to have as little notion as Bengali teachers of the salutary influence they might exercise on the dispositions and character of their pupils." Their remuneration arises, as in the case of the vernacular teachers, from wages, fees, presents, and a variety of other sources. Their average monthly gain varies "from rs. 8-14 in Moorshedabad to rs. 3 in Tirhoot, the medium rates being rs. 6-6-1 in Beerbhoom, 6-10-8 in Burdwan, and 5-2 in South Behar. The difference between the highest and the lowest rates Mr. Adam explains by a reference to various causes:—

"One cause will be found in the average number of scholars taught by each master, the highest average being 9-3 in Burdwan, the lowest 2-5 in Tirhoot, and the medium average being 6-7 in Beerbhoom, 5-7 in Moorshedabad, and 5-1 in South Behar. The lowest rate of monthly gain, and the smallest average number of scholars, are found in Tirhoot. Further, the persons acquainted with Persian, and seeking employment, are numerous; the general standard of living is very low, and both the number of those who receive, and the poverty of those who give employment of this kind, combine to establish a very low rate of remuneration. In Behar, too, and especially in Tirhoot, parents do not, nearly to the same extent as in the Bengal districts, unite with each other to support a teacher for the benefit of their children; and thus each teacher is very much isolated, seldom extending his instructions beyond the children of four or three families, and often limiting them to two and even one. The effects are waste of power, and degradation of character, to teachers and taught."

Of the nature of the instruction given in the Persian schools, Mr. Adam gives the following sketch:—

"Although printed books are unknown, yet manuscript works are in constant use. The general course of instruction has no very marked stages or gradations into which it is divided. Like the Hindus, however, the Musalmans formally initiate their children into the study of letters. When a child, whether a boy or a girl, is four years, four months, and four days old, the friends of the family assemble, and the child is dressed in his best clothes, brought into the company, and seated on a cushion in the presence of all. The alphabet, the form of letters used for computation, the introduction to the Koran, some verses of Chapter LV., and the whole of Chapter LXXXVII. are placed before him, and he is taught to pronounce them in succession. If the child is self-willed, and refuses to read, he is made to pronounce the Bismillah, which answers every purpose, and from that day his education is deemed

to have commenced. At school he is taught the alphabet, as with ourselves, by the eye and ear, the forms of the letters being presented to him in writing, and their names pronounced in his hearing, which he is required to repeat until he is able to connect the names and the forms with each other in his mind. The scholar is afterwards made to read the thirtieth section of the Koran, the chapters of which are short, and are generally used at the times of prayer, and in the burial service. The words are marked with the diacritical points, in order that the knowledge of letters, their junction and correct orthography, and their pronunciation from the appropriate organs, may be thoroughly acquired, but the sense is entirely unknown. The next book put into his hands is the Pandanamah of Sadi, a collection of moral sayings, many of which are above his comprehension, but he is not taught or required to understand any of them. The work is solely used for the purpose of instructing him in the art of reading, and of forming a correct pronunciation, without any regard to the sense of the words pronounced.

"It is generally after this that the scholar is taught to write the letters, to join vowels and consonants, and to form syllables. The next book is the Amadnameh, exhibiting the forms of conjugating the Persian verbs, which are read to the master, and by frequent repetition committed to memory. The first book which is read for the purpose of being understood is the Gulistan of Sadi, containing lessons on life and manners, and this is followed or accompanied by the Bostan of the same author. Two or three sections of each are read; and simultaneously short Persian sentences, relating to going and coming, sitting and standing, and the common affairs of life, are read and explained. The pupil is afterwards made to write Persian names, then Arabic names, and next Hindu names, especially such as contain letters, to the writing or pronunciation of which difficulty is supposed to attach. Elegant penmanship is considered a great accomplishment, and those who devote themselves to this art, employ from three to six hours every day in the exercise of it, writing first single letters, then double or treble, then couplets, quatrains, &c. They first write upon a board with a thick pen, then with a finer pen on pieces of paper pasted together, and last of all, when they have acquired considerable command of the pen, they begin to write upon paper in single fold. This is accompanied or followed by the perusal of some of the most popular poetical productions, such as Joseph and Zubikha, founded on a well-known incident in Hebrew history; the loves of Leila and Majnun, the Secander Nameh, an account of the exploits of Alexander the Great, &c. &c. The mode of computing by the Abjad, or letters of the alphabet, is also taught, and is of two sorts; in the first, the letters of the alphabet in the order of the Abjad being taken to denote units, tens, and hundreds, to a thousand; and in the second, the letters composing the names of the letters of the alphabet being employed for the same purpose. Arithmetic, by means of the Arabic numerals, and instruction of great length in different styles of address, and in the forms of correspondence, petitions, &c. &c. complete a course of Persian instruction. But in many schools the course is very superficially taught, and some of the teachers do not even profess to carry their pupils beyond the Gulistan and Bostan."

After showing that the average age of entering school, for all the districts, is about 8½ years, of leaving school 22, and the average period of the duration of study about 12, Mr. Adam thus sums up his impression of the results of the protracted term of scholastic apprenticeship :—

"Upon the whole, the course of Persian instruction, even in its less perfect

forms, such as are found to exist in this district, has a more comprehensive character, and a more liberal tendency, than that pursued in the Bengali schools. The systematic use of books, although in manuscript, is a great step in advance, accustoming the minds of the pupil to forms of regular composition, to correct and elegant language, and to trains of consecutive thought, and thus aiding both to stimulate the intellect and to form the taste. It might be supposed that the moral bearing of some of the text-books would have a beneficial effect on the character of the pupils; but, as far as I have been able to observe or ascertain, those books are employed like all the rest solely for the purpose of conveying lessons in language—lessons in the knowledge of sounds and words, in the construction of sentences, or in anecdotical information, but not for the purpose of sharpening the moral perceptions or strengthening the moral habits. This, in general native estimation, does not belong to the business of instruction, and it never appears to be thought of or attempted. Others will judge, from their own observation and experience, whether the Musalman character, as we see it in India, has been formed or influenced by such a course of instruction. The result of my own observation is that of two classes of persons—one exclusively educated in Muhammadan and the other in Hindu literature—the former appears to me to possess an intellectual superiority, but the moral superiority does not seem to exist."

2. *Arabic Schools.*—Of this description there are two sorts, which may be contradistinguished as *Formal Arabic* and *Learned Arabic*, properly so called.

The former of these institutions may be described as intended *exclusively* for "instruction in the formal or ceremonial reading of certain passages of the Koran."

"The whole time stated to be spent at school varies from one to five years. The teachers possess the lowest degree of attainment to which it is possible to assign the task of instruction. They do not pretend to be able even to sign their names; and they disclaim altogether the ability to understand that which they read and teach. The mere forms, names, and sounds of certain letters and combinations of letters they know and teach, and what they teach is all that they know of written language, without presuming, or pretending, or aiming to elicit the feeblest glimmering of meaning from these empty vocables. This whole class of schools is as consummate a burlesque upon mere forms of instruction, separate from a radical meaning and purpose, as can well be imagined. The teachers are all Kath-Mollas—that is, the lowest grade of Musalman priests, who chiefly derive their support from the ignorance and superstition of the poor classes of their co-religionists, and the scholars are in training for the same office."

After such a statement, we need not be surprised at Mr. Adam's conclusion, that "no institution can be more insignificant and useless, and in every respect less worthy of notice, than those Arabic schools, viewed as places of instruction."

The learned schools, properly so called, are of course of a higher order. They are intimately connected with the Persian, and almost imperceptibly run into each other.

"The Arabic teacher teaches Persian also in the same school and to the same pupils; and an Arabic school is sometimes known from a Persian school only by having a single Arabic scholar studying the most elementary Arabic

work, while all the other scholars read Persian. The same scholars, who are now studying Arabic, formerly read or may still be reading Persian in the same school and under the same teacher; and the scholars in an Arabic school, who are reading Persian only, will probably, in the same school and under the same teacher, advance to the study of Arabic. The only distinction that can be drawn is, that while there is no Arabic teacher who does not or may not teach Persian, there are many Persian teachers who do not and cannot teach Arabic. But the class for which both Persian and Arabic schools exist is the same, and that is the upper class of native society, whether Hindus or Musalmans are the scholars, and whether Persian or Arabic is the language taught. Both languages are foreign, and both classes of schools are inaccessible to the body of the people."

In these schools, the average duration of study is about eleven or twelve years, generally extending to the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of age—affording ample time for the introduction of, or the improvement and extension of old courses of study. The subjects taught are somewhat varied. The works on grammar occupy a prominent place. These are numerous, systematized, and often profound. Complete courses of reading on rhetoric, logic, and law, are embraced. The external observances and fundamental doctrines of Islam are minutely studied. The works of Euclid on geometry, and Ptolemy on astronomy in translation, are not unknown; other branches of natural philosophy are also taught; and the whole course is crowned by the perusal of treatises on metaphysics, deemed the highest attainment of the instructed scholar. Perhaps, adds Mr. Adams, "we shall not err widely if we suppose that the state of learning amongst the Musalmans of India resembles that which existed among the nations of Europe before the invention of printing."

This is the most favourable picture which, in a generalized way, can be given of these Arabic institutions; for in none of them singly can it be found fully realized. And if the subjects taught be not, by any means, of a liberalizing and edifying character, the deficiency is certainly not supplied by any redeeming qualities in the mode of teaching, or the system of discipline. No mere words can possibly convey any adequate conception of the indolence and listlessness, the drowsiness and sleepiness, the disorder and anarchy, which reign paramount in a Persico-Arabic institution. The following is a brief sketch of one of the best endowed and best circumstanced in the district of Rajshahi. And from our own experience of the system of discipline, or rather no discipline, generally pursued, we have no hesitation in saying that the picture falls far short of the reality, as it is ordinarily exhibited:—

"There is no fixed age for admission or dismission for beginning or completing the course of study. Students are admitted at the arbitrary pleasure of Musafir-ul-Islam, and they leave sooner or later according to their own

caprice. During the period that they are nominally students, their attendance from day to day is equally uncontrolled and unregulated except by their own wishes and convenience. Many of the students are mere children, while others are grown up men. The business of the school commences at six in the morning and continues till eleven, and again at mid-day and continues till four. Every scholar reads a separate lesson to the master, one coming when another withdraws, so that there is a total absence of classification.

"The weekly periods of vacation are for Arabic students every Tuesday and Friday, and for Persian students every Thursday and Friday, and the annual periods of vacation are the whole of the month Ramzan, ten days for the Mohurrum, and five days at four different periods of the year required by other religious observances. It thus appears that this institution has no organisation or discipline, and that the course of instruction is exceedingly meagre."

From such a course of teaching and discipline what beneficial effect on the mind and character could possibly be expected to result? To suppose any such sanatory influence possible, would be to annihilate or reverse the established laws of antecedence and consequence. Perhaps the only consolation consists in knowing, that, in these lower provinces, the whole scheme of a purely Arabic education is so extremely limited in its extent. In the five zillahs or districts, so often named already, Mr. Adam found only 158 Arabic students, of whom nine were Hindus and 149 Musalmans. When we reflect on the genuine spirit of the Muhammadan system—how it inculcates a mere negative faith of lifeless empty Theism—re-establishes the reign of sensuality on earth to be terminated by a " paradise of lust" in the world to come—encourages the craving thirst of conquest and blood—stimulates the malignant passions of hatred and revenge—and even " commands irreconcilable enmity, eternal warfare, eternal slaughter, to propagate throughout the world a belief in its blood-stained prophet of pride and lust;" when we reflect on all this, we may be disposed to reckon it a gracious interposition of Providence, that the study of the higher Arabic literature is at so low an ebb, instead of regretting that the more advanced disciples of this " pure old doctrine of all-conquering Islam and of all-surpassing faith" are so few in number, and drink so scantily at its original well-heads.

3. *Sanskrit Schools.*—This class of schools is that in which " the literature, law, philosophy, and religion of the Hindus are taught through the medium of the Sanskrit language; and with reference to the number of seminaries and students, the nature of the influence which learned Hindus possess, and the amount of the population over whom it is exercised, this can be considered inferior in importance only to the class of vernacular schools, from which the great body of the people derive the chief part of the instruction they receive." Sanskrit learning is, to

a certain extent, open to all respectable classes of native society. Castes, inferior to the Brahmanical, *may* study the more secular branches, such as "grammar and lexicology, poetical and dramatical literature, rhetoric, astrology and medicine;" but the higher and more sacred branches, such as "law, the writings of the six schools of philosophy, and the sacred mythological poems are the peculiar inheritance of the Brahman caste." Such, in theory, is "the distinction recognised in the legal and religious economy of Hinduism; but, practically, Brahmans monopolize not only a part, but nearly the whole of Sanskrit learning." In the Behar districts, visited by Mr. Adam, *both teachers and students, without a single exception, belonged to that caste;* and the exceptions in the Bengal districts were *comparatively few.* Indeed, the only exceptions to the Brahmanical monopoly of Sanskrit teaching were a few *Vaidyas* or native physicians.

In some instances, the schools are endowed; but, for the most part, they owe their origin to the voluntary efforts of single individuals. There is no combination or co-operation. Each pandit sets up a school for himself, in which he "teaches separately the branch or branches of learning which he has studied most, or for which there is the greatest demand; and the students make their selections and remove from one to another at their pleasure." The students again are "divided into two classes, one of which consists of those who are natives of the villages in which the schools are situated, and the other of natives of the other villages—the former called *natives*, and the latter *foreigners*, corresponding respectively with the *externes* and *internes* of the Royal Colleges of France. The students of a school or college who are natives of the village, are the *externes*, attending it daily for the purpose of receiving instruction, and daily returning home to their parents, relatives, or friends with whom they board and lodge, while the students who are natives of other villages than that in which the school is situated are the *internes*, residing in the house of the teacher and receiving from him not only instruction but also lodging and food." The majority of the teachers have separate school-houses, "either built at their own charge or at the expense of patrons and friends, or by the subscriptions of the most respectable inhabitants of the village where the school is situated. In those instances in which there is no regular school-house, the Baithakhana or Chandimandap of the pandit or of some wealthy friend answers the purpose." The school-house is also frequently used as a place of accommodation for the students who have no house in the village; or these may be accommodated in separate lodging apartments attached to the school-room—apartments of the humblest

description, consisting of huts with raised earthen floors, the whole of which may have cost from ten to sixty rupees.

In those instances—and they are not few—in which the teachers are too poor to erect separate apartments, they are constrained to give their instructions within their own dwellings. In these also the stranger students are lodged and fed, and pursue their studies, whether by night or by day.

Since, then, instruction is given gratuitously nearly to all, and food and lodging in addition, to so large a proportion, it may naturally be asked, whence do the teachers acquire the means of accomplishing all this? As the inquiry is fraught with interest, inasmuch as it tends to throw much light on the whole internal economy of learned or scholastic Hinduism, we shall quote Mr. Adam's full and lucid statement on the subject:—

"The custom of inviting learned men on the occasion of funeral obsequies, marriages, festivals, &c., and at such times of bestowing gifts on them proportioned in value and amount to the estimation in which they are held as teachers, is general amongst those Hindus who are of sufficiently pure caste to be considered worthy of the association of Brahmans. The presents bestowed consist of two parts—first, articles of consumption, principally various sorts of food; and, second, gifts of money. In the distribution of the latter, at the conclusion of the celebration, a distinction is made between sabdikas, philologers, or teachers of general literature—smarttas, teachers of law—and naiyayikas, teachers of logic,—of whom the first class ranks lowest, the second next, and the third highest. The value of the gifts bestowed rises not merely with the acquirements of the individual in his own department of learning, but with the dignity of the department to which he has devoted his chief labours, and in which he is most distinguished. It does not, however, follow that the professors of the most highly honoured branch of learning are always on the whole the most highly rewarded; for in Rajshahi, logic, which, by the admission of all, ranks highest, from whatever cause, is not extensively cultivated, and has few professors, and these receive a small number of invitations, and consequently of gifts, in proportion to the limited number of their pupils, and the practical disuse of the study. Their total receipts, therefore, are not superior, and even not equal to the emoluments enjoyed by learned men of an inferior grade, who have moreover a source of profit in the performance of ceremonial recitations on public occasions, which the pride or self-respect of the logicians will not permit them to undertake. Whatever the amount, it is from the income thus obtained* that the teachers of the different classes and grades are enabled to build school-houses, and to provide food and lodging for their scholars: but several have assured me that, to meet these expenses, they have often incurred debt, from which they are relieved only by the occasional and unexpected liberality of individual benefactors.

"When a teacher of learning receives such an invitation as is above described, he generally takes one or two of his pupils with him, giving each pupil his turn of such an advantage in due course; and when the master of the

* Besides the principal sources of income now indicated, there are individual cases in which the teachers mainly depend on the liberality of a patron, on the proceeds of an endowment, on the emoluments derived from the practice of divination, on village subscriptions, on the wages derived from officiating as family priests, or initiating priests, or reciters of the Purans, &c.

feast bestows a gift of money on the teacher, it is always accompanied by a present to the pupil less in amount, but proportioned to the respectability of the teacher's character and the extent of his attainments. The teacher sometimes takes a favorite pupil more frequently than others, the object being to give a practical proof of the success of his instructions, as well as to accustom the pupil to the intercourse of learned and respectable society. As the student is furnished with instruction, food, and lodging without cost, the only remaining sources of expense to him are his books, clothes, and minor personal expenses, all of which, exclusive of books, are estimated to cost him in no case more, and often less, than seven rupees per annum. His books he either inherits from some aged relative, or, at his own expense and with his own hands, he copies those works that are used in the college as text-books. In the latter case the expense of copying includes the expense of paper, pen, ink, ochre, and oil. The ochre is mixed with the gum of the tamarind seed, extracted by boiling, and the compound is rubbed over the paper, which is thus made impervious to insects, and capable of bearing writing on both sides. The oil is for light, as most of the labour of copying is performed by night, after the studies of the day have been brought to a close. An economical student is sometimes able, with the presents he receives when he accompanies his teacher to assemblies, both to defray these expenses and to relieve the straitened circumstances of his family at a distance. I have learned, on good authority, that ten and even twenty rupees per annum have been saved and remitted by a student to his family; but the majority of students require assistance from their families, although, I am assured, that what they receive probably never in any case exceeds four rupees per annum."

To the *subject-matter* of learned instruction, it is scarcely possible, within our narrow limits, to do more than briefly allude. From the preceding statement, it has appeared that there are "*three principal classes* into which the teachers and schools of Hindu learning are divided. The acquirements of a teacher of *logic* in general pre-suppose those of a teacher of *law;* and the acquirements of the latter in general pre-suppose those of a teacher of *general literature,* who, for the most part, has made very limited attainments beyond those of his immediate class." As a preliminary remark equally applicable to all the classes, it may be stated, that "the youths who commence the study of Sanskrit are expected to have acquired, either at home or in a Bengali school, merely a knowledge of Bengali writing and reading, and a very slight acquaintance with the rules of arithmetic, viz., addition and subtraction, without a knowledge of their application. Hence, learned Hindus having entered with these superficial acquirements at an early age on the study of Sanskrit, and having devoted themselves almost exclusively to its literature, are ignorant of almost everything else."

The chief object of the *first* or lowest department, which is that of *philology and general literature*, is, "the knowledge of language as an instrument for the communication of ideas." A *full* course of instruction in it embraces *grammar*, the most extensive and profound treatises on which, such as Panini, the

Kalapa, Mugdhabodha, and the Ratnamala, are in general use; *Lexicology*, or that branch of study by which, simultaneously with the study of grammar, a knowledge of single words classified under heads of objects, qualities, actions, with their synonyms, is acquired, the words being first committed to memory from the Amarakosha, the great standard work on the subject, without the meaning, and afterwards explained by the teacher; *Poetry* and the *Drama*, on which the works in most common use are the Bhatti Kavya or the life and actions of Ram—the Raghu Kavya, also on the history of Ram—Magha Kavya, on the war between the Sisupala and Krishna—Naishada Kavya, on the loves of Nala and Damayanti—Bharavi Kavya, on the war between Yudisthira and Durgodhana—Sakuntala, the well known drama, so elegantly translated by the celebrated orientalist, Sir W. Jones; *Rhetoric*, the Chando Manyan, Kavya Chandrika, Sahitya Darpana, Kavya Prakasa and other similar works on prosody and poetical composition. It is proper, however, to add that all these branches of general literature are not taught by every teacher. Some teach only one; and others two or more; the mere grammarian ranking in the lowest scale of learned men, and raising his reputation and emoluments in proportion to the number of the other branches which he adds to his acquirements.

The department next in dignity to general literature is that of *Law*. The teachers of law must, in all cases, be conversant with the grammar and lexicology of the Sanskrit language, and prepared to give instructions in them; and some are also acquainted more or less familiarly with the poetical, dramatic, and rhetorical writings. Every teacher of law "receives students at the earliest stage, and instructs them according to the extent of his own acquirements in general literature, and when he has reached that limit, he carries them on to the study of law. The majority of law students, however, begin and end their studies in general literature, to whatever extent they desire to proceed, with a professor of that branch of learning, and afterwards resort to a teacher of law, for instruction in his peculiar department." On the subject of law, the Daya Bhaga, the Mitakshara, and other standard works, are more or less studied. But the great work is the compilation of Raghunandana on every branch of Hindu law, comprised in twenty-eight books, which, besides the prescriptions of religion, treat of the rules of inheritance, contract, &c. It consists, according to Mr. Colebrooke, of "texts collected from the institutes attributed to ancient legislators, with a glossary explanatory of the sense, and reconciling seeming contradictions." Of the twenty-eight books, as Mr. Adam assures us, "those are almost exclusively read which pre-

seribe and explain the ritual of Hinduism. The first book invariably read is that on lunar days; and this is followed by others, without any fixed order of succession, sueh as those on marriage, on penance, on purification, on obsequies, on the intercalary month of the Hindu ealendar," &c. In most distriets also, it appears, that the number of books read is "seldom more than ten, and never exceeds twelve, and is sometimes not more than four, three, and even two." And, as if superstition were inherent in the soil of this land, and all-pervading as its atmosphere, it must, even in the department of legal seholastie discipline, ease its claims to be heard, and the feelings which it engenders to be systematically eherished. For, up to this hour, there is a rigorous observanee of many of the puerile forms and meaningless ceremonies prescribed by the great Indian legislator, *Manu;* and, more particularly, of the injunetions which specially direct the study of law to be suspended during either of the twilights, at the conjunction, on the fourteenth day, at the opposition, and on the eighth day, of the moon; when the lightning flashes and the thunder roars, with or without rain; on the oecasion of preternatural sounds from the sky, of an earthquake, or an obscuration of the heavenly bodies, or an ordinary eclipse caused by the dragon's head; while dust falls like a shower; while the quarters of the firmament are inflamed; while jackals yell, while dogs bark or yelp, while asses or eamels bray, or while men in company chatter, &c. &e.

In the department of *logic* (Nyaya), whieh, *in general estimation*, ranks higher than that of law, various works* are read and explained, on the definitions of terms, qualities, and objeets; the derivation and meaning of the radical portions, and of the suffixes and affixes of words, on the necessary or inherent qualities of objects; on the definition of classes or genera; on inferential propositions; on syllogisms and fallacies; on the proofs of the Divine existence, the attributes of the Divine nature, and the means of absorption into it, &e. Though eminently fitted to acuminate and subtilize the intelleet, the system as a whole must be regarded as tending to waste its powers on hair-splitting distinctions, and to paralyze its energies by the expenditure of these on the pursuit of what is frivolous, or meaningless, or useless, or worse. The stupendous pile of subtleties—whieh, throughout the entire eycle of the dark ages, the European mind, for laek of more

* Not to encumber the text with harsh and, to the general reader, unintelligible names, we may here furnish a few of the titles of works that are perused in the logical schools:—Siddhanta Muktavali; the Murthuri commentaries of Tarka, and Vyapti Panchaka; the Godahari commentaries of Avayava and Satpratipaksha, and the Sabdasakiprakasika; the Jagadisi commentaries of Purva Paksha, Savyabhichara, Kevalanwaya, and Vyaddhikaranadharmachinnabhava, &c. &c.

wholesome nutriment, as well as more fitting materials to work on, continued ingeniously to spin out of its own substance, and which it required the "Reformation" of a Luther and the "Instauration" of a Bacon, with the convulsions of empire and the crash of ancient institutions, to sweep away—can alone convey an approximate conception of the masses of sharp-edged *organa*, and gossamer-like tenuities that have accumulated in our Indian schools of logic, and constitute the staple commodities of intellectual production and distribution there.

Besides the three principal grades of schools of learning now briefly described, there are seminaries for the inculcation of other branches of Sanskrit learning, which, though fewer in number, must not be wholly passed by unnoticed. There are *Medical* schools, for the study of the most approved medical shastras, which, containing much that is useful, though inter mixed with the strangest fallacies and quackeries, have, in their own department, exercised for ages a supremacy "so absolute and undisputed, as to have repressed all independent inquiry, observation, and experiment." There are *Philosophical* schools, in which the Sankya, the Mimansa, and other theistic, atheistic, atomic, and ideal schemes of philosophy are propounded with as much zeal as if they were the happy discoveries of yesterday, instead of the periodically reviving and periodically exploded errors of successive ages and of different climes. There are *Puranic* or *mythological* schools, in which are read portions of the Bhagavat and other Puranas, containing fabulous accounts of the creation, the genealogy and achievements of gods and heroes, with all manner of wild and extravagant legends; as also selections from the Ramayana and Mahabharat, the gigantic epic poems of India, the former of which rehearses the exploits of the incarnate deity Ram, and the latter the misfortunes and final victory of a race of kings descended from the great Bharat. There are *astrological* schools, which not only embrace the teaching of the art of divination and the casting of nativities by the situation and aspect of the stars, but also the science of computation in its widest sense, together with mathematical and astronomical knowledge. There are *Tantric* schools, in which are taught those works that are employed in explaining "the formulæ peculiar to the votaries of Shiva and the female deities, by which they seek to attain supernatural powers, and accomplish objects either good or bad for themselves or others." The followers of the Tantric system have been justly described by Mr. Adam as "intemperate and licentious in their habits and manners, not only believing that the use of intoxicating liquors (and it might truly be added, an unlimited indul-

gence in licentiousness) is permitted, but that it is enjoined by the system which they profess." And lastly, there are *Vedantic* schools, in which are read the Bhagavat Gita, a celebrated episode of the Mahabharat, unfolding a curious scheme of half mythological, half philosophical rationalism; the Vedanta Sara, and other treatises expository of pantheism,—a system which, in its more ideal and spiritual, not less than its grosser forms, impiously confounds the creature with the Creator, inflates the soul with a pride vastly more towering than that of stoicism, sanctions or inculcates the popular polytheistic idolatry, enforces the abhorrent dogma of transmigration through the various forms of animate and inanimate nature, and, by authoritatively teaching that final beatitude consists in a literal immersion or absorption of the human spirit in the unfathomable abyss of the divine essence, virtually points to the atheist's hope and the godly man's fear—a moral and intellectual self-annihilation.

As regards the number of schools, the allowances of the teachers, the number of pupils, the period of scholastic attendance, and other details we may select, the district of Burdwan is, on the whole, the most favourable specimen. In this district there are 190 Sanskrit schools, conducted by as many learned teachers. In these schools there are 1,358 students, averaging 7-1 to each school. Of the total number, 590 are natives of the villages in which the schools are situated, and 768 natives of other villages. In respect of caste, they are thus distributed:—Brahmans, 1,296; Vaidyas, or medical students, 45; Daivajoras, a degraded class of Brahmans, 11; Vaishnavas, or followers of the god Vishnu, 6. The average age of the teachers is 45 years. In the form of presents at public assemblies, &c., the entire body of professors of learning annually receive, in all, rs. 11,960, averaging to each *per annum* Rs. 63-4-5. The students of one hundred and five schools receive nothing in the form of presents, or by mendicancy. Those of eighty-five schools receive rs. 391, averaging about rs. 4-9-7 annually to the students collectively of each school. The following presents, at one view, an enumeration of the studies pursued, the number of students engaged in each, the average age of commencing andc ompleting the several branches of study:—

Subjects of Study.	Number of Students.	Average age of commencing study.	Average age of completing study.
Grammar . . .	644	11.4	20.7
Lexicology . . .	31	15.7	17.8
Literature . . .	90	18.6	24.9
Rhetoric . . .	8	23.6	27.1
Law	238	23.2	33.5
Logic	277	17.8	29.0
Vedanta . . .	3	24.3	34.6
Medicine . . .	15	16 2	24.2
Mythology . . .	43	24.6	31.6
Astrology . . .	7	23.4	30.5
Tantras . . .	2	27.5	32.5

In other districts there are considerable differences as regards the *numerical proportion* of students pursuing the several branches of learning. Thus, in Tirhoot, while there are only 16 that study logic, there are 53 students of astrology. But, while similar variations will be found in most of the other departments, there is a remarkable uniformity throughout, as respects the average age of commencing and completing the different branches of study. grammar, lexicology, and literature which includes poetical, dramatic and rhetorical productions, although begun in succession, are generally studied simultaneously; and the same remark is in some measure applicable to law, logic, and other higher departments. A glance at the foregoing table, will at once show that the average of the whole period of scholastic study varies from *twelve* to *twenty-two years!*—a prodigious proportion of the best and most active years of one's life, if we take into account the *nature and amount* of the acquisitions gained!

In estimating the value of these institutions, it is important to note, that, even if the benefits conferred by them were vastly greater than they really are, these are practically limited to a *single* class of the community. There is not, Mr. Adam assures us, "any mutual connection or dependence between vernacular and Sanskrit schools. The former are not considered preparatory to the other; nor do the latter profess to complete the course of study which has been begun elsewhere. They are two separate classes of institutions, each existing for distinct classes of society —the one, for the trading and agricultural, and the other, for the religious and learned classes. They are so unconnected that the instruction in Bengali and Hindi, reading and writing, which is necessary at the commencement of a course of Sanskrit study, is seldom acquired in the vernacular schools, but generally under

the domestic roof; and, unless under peculiar circumstances, it is not extended to accounts, which are deemed the ultimate object of vernacular school instruction." And the total disconnection farther appears from the fact, that, in some divisions of districts, there are vernacular schools with no institution of learning; and, in certain divisions of other districts, the learned institutions abound most where there are no vernacular schools at all!

While Mr. Adam testifies that, as a class, he found the learned Brahmans, "in general, shrewd, discriminating, and mild in their demeanour," he also strongly avers that, beyond the narrow limits of their own immediate circle, "none of the humanizing influences of learning are seen in the improved moral and intellectual character or physical condition of the surrounding humbler classes of society. It seems never to have entered into the conceptions of the learned that it was their duty to do something for the instruction of those classes, who are as ignorant and degraded where learning abounds as where it does not exist; nor has learning any practical influence upon the physical comforts even of its professors, for their houses are as rude, confined, and inconvenient as those of the more ignorant, and the path-ways of Brahman villages are as narrow, dirty, and irregular as those inhabited by the humblest and most despised Chasas and Chandalas." Or, as Mr. A. has elsewhere expressed it;—

"I saw men not only unpretending, but plain and simple, in their manners —and although seldom if ever offensively coarse, yet reminding me of the very humblest classes of English and Scottish peasantry—living constantly half-naked, and realizing in this respect the descriptions of savage life; inhabiting huts which, if we connect moral consequences with physical causes, might be supposed to have the effect of stunting the growth of their minds, or in which only the most contracted minds might be supposed to have room to dwell; and yet several of those men are adepts in the subtleties of the profoundest grammar of what is probable the most philosophical language in existence,—not only practically skilled in the niceties of its usage, but also in the principles of its structure; familiar with all the varieties and applications of their national laws and literature; and indulging in the abstrusest and most interesting disquisitions in logical and ethical philosophy."

This latter clause is the glowing generalization of an indiscriminating panegyrist rather than the measured and qualified conclusion of a sober judge. And it is but justice to Mr. Adam, whose candour of mind and honesty of purpose are beyond all suspicion, to say, that at a later period, with a more enlarged experience and a maturer judgment, he was led to indite and put on record the following more accurate and truthful estimate:—

"The native mind of the present day, although it is asleep, is not dead. It has a dreamy sort of existence, in separating, combining, and recasting,

in various forms, the fables and speculations of past ages. The amount of authorship shown to exist in the different districts, is a measure of the intellectual activity which, however now misdirected, might be employed for useful purposes. The same men who have wasted, and are still wasting, their learning and their powers in weaving complicated alliterations, recompounding absurd and vicious fictions, and revolving in perpetual circles of metaphysical abstractions—never ending, still beginning—have professed to me their readiness to engage in any sort of literary composition that would obtain the patronage of Government."

Apart, then, altogether from the distorted views of moral and religious truth inculcated in the Sanskrit institutions and the perverted habits of mind contracted in acquiring them, we have Mr. Adam's own distinct admission that both the teachers and the taught are only wasting their learning and their powers on what is utterly frivolous, or useless, or worse. In such a case, the more learned any man is, the more frivolous and useless do his labours become. And this is a fact, which Mr. Adam himself amply exemplifies in his third Report. He there recounts the literary achievements of the most learned men in the different districts. The most voluminous author he met with, was a native of Burdwan; of whose works he enumerates nearly forty. Of these, some are of great extent, such as the history of Rama, written on 889 leaves or 1,776 pages, containing 30,000 slokas or metrical stanzas. The greater part of them relate to fabulous, mythological, or purely scholastic subjects. And amongst these, we find such rarities and ingenuities as the following;—a work on the praises of Vishnu and Shiva, so composed that every sloka has two senses, of which one is applicable to Vishnu and the other to Shiva—another, exhibiting a double sense, one expressing the praises of Shiva, and the other some different meaning—a third, containing the praises of Krishna, written in a species of alliteration by a repetition of the same sounds—a fourth, in question and answer, so framed that the answer to one question contains the answers to all the questions in the same sloka—a fifth, containing the praises of Radha and Krishna, and so framed that they may be read either backward or forward—a sixth, so framed that each sloka contains materials for 64 slokas by the transposition of each letter in succession from the beginning to the end, first the thirty-two syllable from the left to right, and afterwards the thirty-two from right to left, &c. &c. How forcibly may all this remind us of the dark ages in Europe—those ages of coarse taste and rude discernment, of laborious trifling and busy indolence—when the learned could find no better employment for their time and talents than in unceasingly spinning and weaving the most fantastic subtleties out of their own racked and wearied brains; and when one of the loftiest and most charac-

teristic achievements, in the favourite department of antithesis and alliteration, was the production of the celebrated mock heroic, the *Pugna Porcorum per Publium Porcium Poetam*, consisting of hundreds of lines and thousands of words, selected with such singularly mis-studied artifice that every one of them began with the letter P!!

We have thus, as we trust, calmly and dispassionately portrayed the genuine *nature and character of indigenous instruction*, throughout all its divisions and sub-divisions of elementary and learned Education. In doing so, we have purposely followed, and for the most part, only faithfully epitomized the official reports of Mr. Adam, the special government commissioner—reports, the accuracy of whose minute yet comprehensive details has hitherto been as unimpeached, as from its very nature, it is seemingly unimpeachable. It now only remains, therefore, that we should shortly endeavour to point out *the extent* to which indigenous instruction, *such as it is*, may be communicated. And for this end, we shall appeal to the same authentic source—the same high and indisputable authority.

If the instruction conveyed were better and more unexceptionable than it has been found to be, it would be sad to reflect that, as has already appeared, *whole castes and classes* of the native community are *entirely excluded* from its benefits. Or, if no whole classes were virtually or entirely so excluded, it would still be melancholy to consider not merely the *utter inadequacy* but the *anomalous inequality* of the supply in point of *local distribution*. In the city and district of Moorshedabad, for example, there are *four thanas*, or police sub-divisions, *without any institution of education whatsoever; four* others, in each of which there is only *one* vernacular school; and *two* others, in which there are a Persian and an Arabic school, or a Sanskrit and a Persian one, but *no vernacular school at all*. So, in Tirhoot, there are *two thanas*, in each of which there is *only one vernacular* school; and a *third*, in which *not even one is to be found;* while this latter is *the one* in which is the largest number of *Sanskrit* institutions! Or, if once more, the instruction were of a superior quality, and its denial to particular classes less extensive or complete, and its local distribution less unequal, there would still remain, to distress and harrow us, the appaling fact, that *everywhere*, with scarcely any exceptions, the *entire half of every class from the highest to the lowest grades of Native Society is systematically deprived of any of its benefits!* Mr. Adam's elaborate census amply proves what our experience of all other lands would lead us antecedently to anticipate, viz., that the numerical proportion between the male and

female population is, as nearly as possible, one of equality, while the same census as authoritatively confirms what had been often asserted, but often captiously and ignorantly cavilled at, disputed, or denied, viz., that *the entire female population with hardly any known exceptions are hereditarily debarred from the advantages of instruction of any kind, and consequently abandoned to the absolute dominion of an all-enveloping night of starless and rayless ignorance!* But, as the subject is one fraught with painful, yea, tremendous importance to the interests and welfare of society at large, we must, in order to obviate the possibility of any farther cavils, quote Mr. Adam's own clear and explicit statements. In his second Report to the Supreme Government of India, he thus writes:—

"The state of instruction amongst this unfortunate class (females) cannot be said to be low, for, with a very few individual exceptions, there is no instruction at all. Absolute and hopeless ignorance is in general their lot. The notion of providing the means of instruction for female children never enters into the minds of parents; and girls are equally deprived of that imperfect domestic instruction which is sometimes given to boys. A superstitious feeling is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu females, principally cherished by the women, and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to write and read will soon after marriage become a widow, an event which is regarded as nearly the worst misfortune that can befal the sex; and the belief is also generally entertained in native society, that intrigue is facilitated by a knowledge of letters on the part of females. Under the influence of these fears, there is not only nothing done in a native family to promote female instruction, but an anxiety is often evinced to discourage any inclination to acquire the most elementary knowledge; so that when a sister, in the playful innocence of childhood, is observed imitating her brother's attempts at penmanship, she is expressly forbidden to do so, and her attention drawn to something else. The Muhammadans participate in all the prejudices of the Hindus against the instruction of their female offspring; besides that, a very large majority of them are in the very lowest grades of poverty, and are thus unable, even if they were willing, to give education to their children. It may therefore be affirmed that the juvenile female population of this district—that is, the female population of the teachable age, or of the age between fourteen and five years, without any known exception, and with so few probable* exceptions, that they can scarcely be taken into the account—is growing up wholly destitute of the knowledge of reading and writing."

* The few probable exceptions here alluded to are these:—1st. Zemindars are said occasionally to instruct their daughters in writing and accounts, since, without such knowledge, they would, in the event of widowhood, be incompetent to the management of their deceased husband's estates, and would unavoidably become a prey to the interested and unprincipled; although, as Mr. Adam adds, "it is difficult to obtain from them an admission of the fact"—such, in social repute, is the disgrace of instructing a female in letters! 2nd. The mendicant Vaishnavas or followers of Chaitanya, a comparatively recent sect consisting of a *colluvies* from all other sects, are alleged, in some measure at least, to instruct their daughters in reading and writing. Yet, as Mr. Adam adds, it is a fact that, "as a sect, they rank precisely the lowest in point of general morality, and especially in respect of the virtue of their women." 3d. Many of the wretched class of *nautch girls*, who

In this third report to the same government, and with the advantages of a still wider experience, after substantially reiterating the statement of the fact, that nowhere is there any indigenous school for girls, he proceeds thus :—

"I made it an object to ascertain, in those localities in which a census of the population was taken, whether the absence of public means of native origin for the instruction of girls was to any extent compensated by domestic instruction. The result is, that in thanas Nanglia, Culna, Jehanabad, and Bhawara, domestic instruction was not in any one instance shared by the girls of those families in which the boys enjoyed its benefit; and that in the city of Moorshedabad, and in thana Daulatbazar of the Moorshedabad district, I found only five, and those Musalman families, in which the daughters received some instruction at home. In one of these instances, a girl about seven years of age was taught by a Kath Molla the formal reading of the Koran; in another instance two girls, about eight and ten years of age, were taught Persian by their father, a Pathan, whose object in instructing his daughters was stated to be to procure a respectable alliance for them; and in the three remaining families, four girls were taught mere reading and writing. This is another feature in the degraded condition of native society; the whole of the juvenile female population, with exceptions so few that they can scarcely be estimated, are growing up without a single ray of instruction to dawn upon their minds."

As the natural and unavoidable result of such total deprivation of the means of instruction in youth, the state of instruction amongst the adult female population is that of an utter blank. In the whole city and district of Moorshedabad he only found *nine* women, who could read or write, or rather who could merely decipher writing, or sign their names. "*In all the other localities*," adds he, with unwonted emphasis, "*in all the other localities, of which a census was taken, no adult females were found to possess even the lowest grade of instruction.*"

Lastly, in order to convey a clear and definite view of the *precise extent* of indigenous education, and consequently a clear and definite apprehension as to how far it comes short of the great object to be accomplished, which is none other than that of affording the means of instruction to the whole teachable population,—we shall present an aggregate estimate of the number and proportion of the instructed and uninstructed divisions of the juvenile community. Let it be remembered that the teachable or school-going age has, after due consideration and inquiry, been assumed to be between 14 and 5 years. Let it also be remembered, that under the term "instructed," are

are prostitutes by profession, also acquire some knowledge of reading and writing, in order to enable them the better to carry on their clandestine correspondence and intrigues. With these few unimportant exceptions, Mr. Adam peremptorily assures us, that "*the total number of grown up females may be reckoned as destitute of instruction in letters.*"

included all that have obtained *any kind or degree* of instruction, however humble, including even those who can *merely decipher writing*, or *sign their names.* With this understanding, the following table and remarks, supplied by Mr. Adam, will exhibit a complete representation of the whole subject:—

	Total number of children between 14 and 5 years of age.	Number of children receiving school instruction.	Number of children receiving domestic instruction.	Total number of children receiving domestic and school instruction.	Children receiving neither domestic nor school instruction.	Proportion of children capable of receiving to children actually receiving instruction is as 100 to
City of Moorshedabad	15,092	959	300	1,259	13,833	8.3
Thana Daulatbazar,	10,428	305	326	631	9,797	6.05
Thana Nanglia . .	8,929	439	285	724	8,205	8.1
Thana Culna . . .	18,172	2,243	676	2,919	15,257	16.05
Thana Jehanabad .	15,595	366	539	905	14,690	5.8
Thana Bhawara . .	13,409	60	288	348	13,061	2.5

"The last column of the preceding table shows, that in the Culna thana of the Burdwan district, where the amount of instruction is greater than in any other of the localities mentioned, of every 100 children of the teachable age, 16 only receive any kind or degree of instruction, while the remaining 84 are destitute of all kinds and all degrees of it; and that in the Bahwara thana of the Tirhoot district, where the amount of instruction is less than in any other of the localities mentioned, of every 100 children of the teachable age, 2½ only receive any kind or degree of instruction, while the remaining 97½ are destitute of all kinds and all degrees of it. The intermediate proportions are those of thana Jehanabad, in South Behar, and thana Daulatbazar, in the Moorshedabad district, where there are about 6 children in every 100 who receive some instruction, leaving 94 wholly uninstructed; and those of thana Nanglia, in the Beerbhoom district, and the city of Moorshedabad, in which there are about 8 children in every 100 who receive some instruction, leaving 92 wholly uninstructed."

Thus in Burdwan, the most highly cultured district visited, only 16 per cent. of the teachable or school-going population do actually receive any kind or degree of instruction at all; and in Tirhoot, the least cultured district visited, only 2½ per cent. receive any kind or degree of instruction;—while the *aggregate average* for *all* the districts is no more than 7¾ per cent.—leaving 82¼ out of every 100 children of the teachable age *wholly destitute of all kinds and degrees of instruction whatsoever!* And taking

this as a fair, legitimate, and inductively established average for all Bengal and Behar with their many millions, how fearful —how utterly appalling the aggregate amount of educational destitution!

In order still farther to complete and render more impressive our view of the utter inadequacy of the means of indigenous instruction, it is necessary to direct special attention to the literary condition of the adults. When the number of the *juvenile* population actually receiving any sort of instruction is so disproportionably small, compared with the number actually needing instruction, it might, as a necessary consequence, be anticipated, that a similar disproportion would be found in the respective numbers of the instructed and uninstructed *adult* population. And such a result, Mr. Adam, on entirely independent grounds, has ascertained and established, as the following table, partly extracted, and partly framed out of his materials, will abundantly verify:—

Names of Districts.	Total adult population.	Different classes of instructed adult population.				Total number of adults who have any kind or degree of instruction.	Total number of the wholly uninstructed adult population.	Proportion of total adult population to instructed adult population is
		Adults who have received a learned education.	Adults who have received an education superior to mere reading & writing.	Adults who can merely read and write.	Adults who can merely decipher writing or sign their names.			
								as 100 to
City of Moorshedabad	97,818	108	4832	1700	715	7355	90,463	7.5
Thana Daulat bazar	42,837	13	580	614	565	1772	41,065	4.1
Thana Nanglia . .	30,410	14	386	593	620	1613	28,797	5.3
Thana Culna . .	81,045	137	2517	2304	2350	7308	73,737	9.01
Thana Jehanabad .	57,573	25	1045	761	1004	2835	54,738	4.9
Thana Bhawara .	44,416	34	431	303	265	1033	43,381	2.3

To this table we subjoin some of Mr. Adam's appropriate remarks, both of a deductive and an explanatory character:—

"The total adult population is the population, male and female, above 14 years of age, including the students both of Hindu and Muhammadan schools of learning, as being generally above that age; and the instructed adult population is the total number of those who were ascertained to possess any kind or degree of instruction, from the lowest grade to the highest attainments of learning. The result is a natural consequence of the degree of instruction found to exist amongst the juvenile population, and is confirmatory of the proportions given in the last table. The Culna thana

of the Burdwan district, in which the highest proportion of juvenile instruction was found, is that also in which the highest proportion of adult instruction is found, viz., about 9 in every 100, leaving 91 of the adult population wholly uninstructed. The Bhawara thana of the Tirhoot district, in which the lowest proportion of juvenile instruction was found, is that also in which the lowest proportion of adult instruction is found, viz., 2 and 3-10ths in every 100, leaving 97 and 7-10ths of the adult population wholly uninstructed. The intermediate proportions have also a correspondence. Thus, in the comparison of one locality with another, the state of adult instruction is found to rise and fall with the state of juvenile instruction; and although this is what might have been anticipated on the most obvious grounds, yet the actual correspondence deserves to be distinctly indicated, for the sake of the confirmation which it gives to the general accuracy of the numerous details and calculations by which the conclusion has been established."*

From the preceding table and statements, it will be seen that the *aggregate average* for *all* the districts is no more than 5½ per cent.! leaving 94½ of every 100 adults *wholly destitute of all kinds and degrees of instruction whatsoever!* What, then, must be the amount of educational destitution among the adult population of Bengal and Behar with their many millions?

In order to have the mind not only penetrated but absolutely saturated with a sense of the fearful extent of the destitution, let us endeavour to form an approximate estimate of the actual numbers of the juvenile and adult population that are without any educational instruction whatever, even of the humblest description, such as simple reading and writing. In the statistical tables supplied by Mr. Montgomery Martin, in his recent and most authoritative work on the subject, we find the aggregate population of Bengal and Behar estimated, in round numbers, at *thirty-six millions*. First, as regards the juvenile population, from the most favourable average furnished by European statists, it appears that 366 in 1000, or about *eleven-thirtieths* of

* "Although this correspondence is shown to exist so that in comparing one locality with another the proportion of adult instruction rises or falls with the proportion of juvenile instruction, yet the proportions are by no means identical. Not only are the proportions not identical, but in comparing the proportion of juvenile instruction in one locality with the proportion of adult instruction in the same locality, the former is found to be uniformly higher. Still further, the excess in the proportion of juvenile instruction above that of adult instruction is found much higher in the Bengal than in the Behar thanas. These results are explained and confirmed by the conclusion at which we arrived on independent grounds, viz., that within a comparatively recent period certain classes of the native population, hitherto excluded by usage from vernacular instruction, have begun to aspire to its advantages; and that this hitherto unobserved movement in native society has taken place to a greater extent in Bengal than in Behar. Such a movement must apparently have the effect which has been found actually to exist, that of increasing the proportion of juvenile instruction as compared with that of adult instruction, and of increasing it in a higher ratio in Bengal than in Behar."

the whole people of any nation, may be reckoned as under *fourteen* years of age, and that of this entire population of children, *three-sevenths* are of an age to go to school, even when the school-commencing age is fixed at *seven years complete*. In India, however, the school-commencing age is, in point of fact, not *seven* but *five* years; and at this lower rate it has been reckoned all along. This would render the proportion of the juvenile population of the school-going age not *three-sevenths*, but about *three-sixths*, or *one-half*. Let us now, then, actually apply these proportions to the case before us. In Bengal and Behar, there is a population of about 36,000,000,—thirty-six millions. Eleven-thirtieths of this aggregate will give us a juvenile population amounting to 13,200,000, or upwards of thirteen millions. The half of this gives us 6,600,000, or upwards of six and a half millions, as the number of children of the school-going age. But we have already ascertained that of children of the school-going age, only $7\frac{3}{4}$ in 100 receive instruction of any kind. Consequently, of the 6,600,000, or upwards of six and a half millions, of the school-going age, only 511,500 or about *half a million*, receive any kind of instruction, —leaving 6,088,500, or about *six millions* of children, capable of receiving school instruction, wholly uneducated!—that is, a number of school-going children in the provinces of Bengal and Behar alone, wholly uneducated, *greatly more than double the aggregate of the entire population of Scotland, including men, women, and children!* Then, again, as to the adults:—deducting the juvenile population of 13,200,000, or upwards of thirteen millions, from the sum-total of 36,000,000, or thirty-six millions, it will leave 22,800,000, or *nearly three millions*, as the aggregate of the *adult* population. But we have already found that, of the adult population, only an average of $5\frac{1}{2}$ in 100 receive instruction of any kind. It will hence appear, that of the entire adult population of about twenty-three millions, only 1,254,000, or about a million and a fourth, receive instruction of any kind; —leaving 21,546,000, or upwards of *twenty-one and a half* millions of adults wholly uneducated!—that is a number of adults, in the provinces of Bengal and Behar alone, wholly uneducated, considerably exceeding in amount the entire aggregate of the population of England and Scotland united, including men, women, and children! What a tremendous conclusion, to have been arrived at, is this! Upwards of *six millions* of children, of the school-going age, and upwards of *twenty-one and a half millions* of adults, in the provinces of Bengal and Behar alone, without one shred or tittle of school or domestic instruction of any kind or degree, however humble, meagre, or inadequate! And yet,

whoever has given a patient attention to the cautious inductive process by which these fearful results have been obtained, must feel satisfied that they cannot be far wide of the truth. Let, then, these terrific summations be kept ringing in the ears of our statesmen at home and abroad, aye, and of the whole sovereign British public, till some educational movement be originated, somewhat commensurate in its nature and extent with the clamant necessities of the living and moving masses of ignorance around us. For, viewed even as a case of simple ignorance or blank vacuity, who can, without painful emotion, contemplate its vastness—its almost boundlessness of expanse? Who, that has in any adequate degree realized the astounding fact, can maintain anything like silence, when he reflects that, in the two provinces of Bengal and Behar alone, the amount of ignorance is numerically far more extensive than it would be if, in the British isles, including England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their several insular appendages, not a single man, woman, or child, could be found, endowed with the humblest of all scholastic attainments —the attainment that would capacitate them simply to read, cypher, or write!

Mr. Adam himself, albeit not a man over much given to the melting or emotive mood, seems to have felt something like an indescribable sensation taking possession of his soul when, looking down from the high tower of his educational survey, he gazed at the wide waste of utter sterility, intellectual and moral, that stretched out in all directions around him. In summing up the details of his first report on the educational statistics of the thana Nattore in the district of Rajshahi, he thus gives vent to the uncontrollable feelings which had gained the ascendancy over his usually cool and phlegmatic temperament:—"The conclusions to which I have come on the state of ignorance both of the male and female, the adult and the juvenile population of this district, require only to be distinctly apprehended in order to impress the mind with their importance. No declamation is required for that purpose. I cannot, however, expect that the reading of the report should convey the impression which I have received from daily witnessing the mere animal life to which ignorance consigns its victims, unconscious of any wants or enjoyments beyond those which they participate with the beasts of the field—unconscious of any of the higher purposes for which existence has been bestowed, society has been constituted, and government is exercised. I am not acquainted with any facts which permit me to suppose that, in any other country subject to an enlightened government, and brought into direct and immediate contact with European civilization, in an equal population, there

is an equal amount of ignorance with that which has been shown to exist in this district." And when a more enlarged experience forced on his mind the appalling fact that this was not a solitary district, but only an average specimen of all the districts and provinces of Bengal and Behar, he thus embodies his confirmed impressions and quickened aspirations :—"While ignorance is so extensive, can it be matter of wonder that poverty is extreme, that industry languishes, that crime prevails, and that, in the adoption of measures of policy, however salutary or ameliorating their tendency, government cannot reckon with confidence on the moral support of an intelligent and instructed community? Is it possible that a benevolent, a wise, a just government can allow this state of things any longer to continue?"

Thus to look down on an expanse of absolute ignorance—a sheer intellectual and moral waste—would be sufficiently painful. But, alas, there is something more painful still—and that is, to look down on a region that is not merely sterile of all that is useful or wholesome, but spontaneously prolific of all that is unprofitable and noxious. Now that is precisely what truth and reality—justice to the great cause we advocate and justice to the people of India—imperatively demand of us. Mr. Adam was too much disposed to view the whole case *negatively*—in other words, to treat it simply as a question of *ignorance*. Even then, as we have seen, on his own showing and in accordance with his own clear admissions, the contemplation is a harrowing one. But how much more so does it become when we reflect that, as regards the overwhelming majority of the juvenile and adult population, there is not merely a *total absence of school-instruction of any kind for good, but the positive presence and ever-active energy of an education of circumstances for all manner of evil?*

As regards *actual innate* ideas or impressions, the mind of man may be truly allowed, agreeably to the phraseology of Locke, to come into the world as unvaried a blank as "a sheet of white paper." But then all sound philosophy, backed by Scripture and experience to boot, must convince us that, though destitute of actual innate ideas or impressions, the mind does come into the world endowed with various *innate powers, susceptibilities, or tendencies*, which only await the presentation of their appropriate objects to insure their various and fitting development. In this truer aspect of the case, the mind may be said rather to resemble "a sheet of white paper," which has been written all over with divers chemical solutions—the letters, words, and sentences remaining wholly invisible, until brought in contact with heat or any other exciting cause, fitted to reveal them in perceptible legible forms. The mind of man, somewhat

similarly endowed with latent and undeveloped powers, susceptibilities, and tendencies, is, immediately on its introduction on the actual stage of time, plunged, as it were, into an atmosphere of circumstances, which, calling these varied powers, susceptibilities, and tendencies into active exercise, impart unto them all their own peculiar tinge and colouring. It is thus that the intellectual and moral faculties are most influentially moulded, the future life and character most effectually shaped and formed. The manners, language, and pleasurable associations of earliest youth become the habits of maturer years. The feelings, prejudices, and predilections of the susceptible mind of the child become the predominant feelings, prejudices, and predilections of the indurated mind of the man. In this view of the case, we cannot but respond to the truth and accuracy of the sentiment expressed by a British journalist, when he exclaims,—"How infinitely small is the education which is obtained at school compared with that which is obtained at home! The formation of habits and the acquisition of rules of conduct, the most efficacious of all processes of education, take place outside the walls of schools, and are derived chiefly from example and association in infancy. It is, indeed, in the dwellings of the people that the mind and character of the people are formed, that their physical frames are matured, their moral natures educated, their judgments guided and directed, and that their future place in the scale of morality and intellect is determined."

Such being the acknowledged potency of the education of external circumstances, let us consider, for a moment, the social atmosphere into which every Hindu is plunged from the very dawn of his palpable being! What sights and sounds encompass him all around, by night and by day—imprinting the most vivid images of sense on the captive mind, and exciting the most carnal propensities of the unregenerate heart! The subject is too vast to be entered on here; we can only passingly and incidentally allude to it. It would require whole volumes to depict the endless round of shows, spectacles, and revelries,—the monotonous circle of mechanical forms, frivolous rites and ceremonial mummeries—which constitute the popular worship of Hinduism, and endow it with resistless fascinations to infantile minds, whether of earlier or of riper years. To prevent even the suspicion of misrepresentation on the subject we shall here quote the words of a celebrated native writer, who, though he never renounced Hinduism in its more refined form, was quite alive to the evils of the popular idolatry :—

"We often see the idolaters act in the most childish manner whilst engaged in what they call their religious worship. As children present food

and couches to their playthings, so they, both old and young, offer food to their idols, and afterwards eat it themselves with the greatest delight, pretending that they have left it. We see them occasionally marrying male and female idols together, and acting more like madmen than rational beings. They whirl their hands round their head, snap with their hands, breathe with the greatest rapidity, knock with their arms forcibly against their sides, beat themselves on the cheek, bend their hands and fingers, and their whole body, in various unnatural ways, and perform a thousand other gesticulations of a similar nature, and call this spiritual worship. At certain festivals they engage in pugilistic contests, and, with a view of performing religious actions, bedaub their face and hands and all their limbs with mud, or even blood, and fight together, or strike each other with their fists, and commit such outrages, and play such gambols before the gods, as one would hardly think rational beings capable of performing. Occasionally they substitute another person in the place of their favourite god, and make him dance before them, and amuse themselves by ridiculing and reviling him through Bashoodeb, Kashoodeb,* and other such like buffoons, so that it is truly distressing to behold them. They consider their blocks as animated beings, and though they cannot eat, offer them food; and though they cannot smell, present them with various flowers; and lest in the cold season they might suffer from the cold, they furnish them with warm clothes; and in the hot season, they fan them; and lest the musquitoes should bite them, they place them within curtains at night. They are constantly afraid lest the hands and feet of these their gods should be broken, and are therefore very anxious about their preservation; and yet, with all their care, we sometimes see that the rats and cockroaches spoil their colour, and make holes in their bodies; and the flies, after sitting upon various unclean things, come and sit upon them. Alas! where then is their divinity, seeing they suffer themselves to be thus insulted? And how is it that they are so entirely dependent for protection upon the diligence of their worshippers, if they are really animated, as their adherents suppose, by the spirit of the gods? Again, idolaters, to get rid of their sins, likewise pay their adoration to a shell or a bell. For the same purpose, they also anoint their gods of wood and stone, with milk, curds, ghee, sugar, and honey; they present to them clothes, sandal-wood, and garlands; they burn incense, and kindle lamps, present eatable offerings, cocoa-nuts, betel, and money, and scatter flowers before them. They sometimes worship them by standing in their presence, placing their fingers in their mouth, and bleating like sheep; sometimes they bawl out before them in the most unnatural way, and use language which it would be highly improper here to repeat. They beat drums, play on various instruments, walk in procession, wave clubs, twigs, &c."

Now, viewed in reference to its effect on the *intellect* only, what must be the influence of a system like this in perpetual operation?—a system, which robs the divine Being of every attribute fitted to awaken veneration, gratitude, or love; a system which virtually and practically converts cows, monkeys, dogs, jackals, squirrels, birds, and other animals; trees, plants, books, wood, stone, and other lifeless substances, into gods or objects of religious reverence; a system studiously inculcating as worship a mass of trivialities such as one would think "could

* Names of persons employed for the purpose of ridiculing the representatives of their favourite gods.

only be practised by infants taught to do so by their nurses, or by persons devoid of intellect?" What, we ask, must be the direct and legitimate influence of such a system on the intellect of its enthusiastic votaries, young and old? What can it be, except a resistless influence in depraving the reason and judgment—in crippling and degrading the cognitive powers—in paralysing the energies of original thought—in fettering or even crushing the spirit of inquiry—in contracting, if not wholly annihilating, the capacity of accurate discriminative discernment; in a word, in superinducing and perpetuating a state of hopeless childhood and mental imbecility?

And if such be the inevitable effect of the existing system of things on the *intellect*, still more disastrous is the influence which it exerts on the *moral nature* of the Hindu community.

In the existing circumstances of that community, there is not merely the absence of any principles fitted to elevate the moral character, but the positive presence of every principle fitted to destroy it. Think of the mantas or popular formularies for inflicting damage or mortal injury on enemies. Think of the rites and ceremonies for obtaining success in invading the rights of property, and violating the sanctity of a neighbour's home. Think of the promiscuousness with which persons of all sexes, with scarcely a covering, perform their ablutions in tanks and sacred streams. Think of the wanton and lascivious dances, constantly exhibited before the idols, with their fitting accompaniments of filthy and abominable songs. Think of the apathy, the hard-heartedness, the unfeeling disregard of human suffering produced by the distinctions of caste, the self-inflicted cruelties, and the brutal exposures of the sick and the dying. Think of the boundless license to all vice and crime afforded by the unseemly characters of the gods—the very objects of devotion and worship—whose unworthy exploits are perpetually rehearsed amid the excitement of festivity, music, and song; how they quarrelled with each other, kicked and abused each other, and, in their various social feuds and domestic scuffles, often bore away the most unmistakeable badges of their folly and shame, in the loss of an eye, a tooth, or a head; how, in their personal bearing and demeanour towards others, they were ever and anon guilty of the worst possible excesses—excesses of dishonesty and fraud, of lying and deceit, of intemperance and licentiousness, of ferocious cruelty and bloody revenge; in a word, how the popular gods of Hinduism, whose lives and actions are constantly imaged before the mental eye of their deluded votaries, are beings who seem to differ from the most depraved of the race of man only by their superiority

in power and wickedness—beings, whose society, *if they were merely human*, would be systematically shunned by the wise and the good; whose movements would be scrupulously watched by the myrmidons of a vigilant magistracy; whose most frequent homes ought to be the penitentiary or the jail; and whose exit from the stage of time might well be the penalty-consecrated pathway of the most reprobate of felons! Think of all this, with seriousness and sobriety, and then say, whether the unavoidable *tendency* of the whole be not to blunt the sense of decency—to extinguish all feeling of delicacy—to replenish the imagination with thoughts of impurity—to pollute the best of the affections—to sear and deaden the conscience, and so render it insensible to the distinctions of right and wrong, truth and falsehood; to stunt the growth of every nobler and more generous aspiration — to excite into inordinate development every grosser and more prurient inclination of the naturally corrupt heart; in a word, to habituate to scenes, sentiments, and practices which cannot fail to issue in a depravation of all morals and a deterioration of all manly character. And yet, is not this, with exceptions so few, and modifications so partial and unimportant, as not materially to affect the general estimate —is not this indisputably, in its broad and characteristic lineaments, a painful but a faithful portraiture of the actual condition of the great masses of the native population?

From a picture so deplorable of the wholly uninstructed many, who are thus entirely abandoned to the education of circumstances, it may be thought that some relief must be found in turning the eyes away and fixing them on the variously instructed few. In other more highly favoured lands, such relief is to be found as an ever ready refuge. In Great Britain it is calculated that there may be a million of youth without any means of school instruction, and several millions of adults that exhibit the bitter fruits of ignorance, and so entail on society at large the retributive awards of its criminal neglect. But there, if, at the foundations of the social pyramid, we are painfully compelled to behold a huge chaotic congeries of base materials, such as iron mixed with clay, we may, above these, be cheered with the spectacle of a finer stratum of brass—on which may be superimposed another of silver—while the whole may be seen surmounted with a head or apex of gold. As to the cultivation of intellect, and the acquisition of useful knowledge, are there not thousands and even tens of thousands who have reached the highest standard to which civilized humanity has yet attained? Witness the effects! effects which, in real, tangible, visible forms, seem almost to outstrip the fabled metamorphoses of antiquity. What changes, what transitions,

what triumphs, in the arts and sciences! What gigantic strides in the mastery of mind over nature's elements! What a shadowing of omnipotence in the power by which all are made tributary to the augmented comforts and enhanced enjoyments of man! But this is not all. The apex of the British social pyramid, with its clustering pinnacles, does not sparkle with the brilliancy of a cultured intellectualism only; for then might it merely exemplify and realise the garnishing of a corpse or the whitening of a sepulchre. No, there are—thanks to a gracious over-ruling Providence—thousands and tens of thousands that are *morally and spiritually good*, as well as intellectually enlightened. These, from higher, nobler, and more constraining motives than the children of this world ever knew, strive immeasurably to outstrip the latter, even in the chosen sphere of their own favourite earthborn moralities. As they name the name of Jesus, they feel themselves under solemn oath and covenant to depart from all iniquity—to be holy as He is holy—to refrain from all those fleshly lusts and carnal desires by which men's lives are polluted and their religion defiled, from all riotous and luxurious excesses, from all covetousness and usury, from all extortion and oppression, from all envy and jealousy, from all hatred and malice, from all pride and arrogancy, from all ambition and vain glory, from all slander and backbiting, from all enmity, and strife, an uncharitableness. From the same high and holy motives thed feel themselves also bound positively to cultivate all the personal virtues, all the social and domestic charities; that tenderness which awakens sympathy; that gentleness which wins on the affections; that generosity which excites the sense of gratitude; that benevolence which stimulates affectionate regard; that unflinching integrity which is greeted with salutations in the haunts of business, and unbending fidelity, with the tribute of warmest acknowledgments, and open-handed liberality, with the heart-felt responses of the poor, the needy, and the fatherless; and unalterable friendship, with the enthusiasm of quickened sensibility; and untainted honour, with the generous approbation of high-minded men; and devoted patriotism, with the enkindled ecstasies of a benefited people. And, above and beyond all those virtues and moralities, which may not have their roots deeper than in the more generous impulses of unrenewed nature, or the more prudential maxims of a wisely-regulated self-love, and which, consequently, may never raise their heads, or exhale their perfume beyond the unsettled region of this earthly atmosphere; these feel themselves additionally bound, by every obligation, the most sacred and divine, to cultivate those purely evangelical tempers and graces, the roots of

which strike deep into the soil that has been upturned under the husbandry of the Almighty Spirit of all grace, and the flowers and fruits of which, after beautifying and enriching for a season these wintry climes of earth, are destined to appear in richer and more beauteous forms, amid the never-withering flowers and fruits of Paradise. They feel themselves bound, by every obligation the most sacred and divine, to cultivate that poverty of spirit without which the kingdom of heaven is not theirs; that mourning for sin, without which they shall never be comforted; that meekness, without which they shall never inherit the earth; that hungering and thirsting after righteousness, without which they shall never be filled; that mercifulness, without which they shall never obtain mercy; that purity of heart, without which they shall never see God; that patience and forbearance, forgiveness and good-will, that shall ever prompt them to love their very enemies, to bless those that curse them, to do good to them that hate them, and to pray for those that despitefully use them and persecute them. Above all, they feel themselves bound to cultivate that charity, or heavenly love, of all the graces best, without which they know they may speak with the tongues of men and of angels, possess all faith, so that they would remove mountains, bestow all their goods to feed the poor, and give their body to be burned, and yet be nothing; that charity which suffereth long and is kind, which envieth not, which vaunteth not itself and is not puffed up, which rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth, which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; that charity, which, like "the immortal amaranth, a flower that once in Paradise, fast by the tree of life, began to bloom," derives its origin from heaven, and, after temporarily gracing and adorning earth with its presence, thence returns to heaven again where first it grew, and there for ever grows, peering aloft, the richest and most beauteous flower in the garland of immortality. The thousands and the tens of thousands, who, amid many cleaving infirmities and many acknowledged imperfections, thus habitually strive, in humble dependence on Divine aid, to have the lower vestment of their practical life and conduct, which is of earthly texture, thus inwoven with the moral virtues, and the upper robe, which is of heavenly fabric, thus begemmed with the heavenly graces; these, constituting, as they do, at once the preservative "salt" and the irradiating "light" of British society, diffuse all round them the most healthful influences—influences, which circulate in multiplied reflections from the minds and characters of myriads more, that have little or no intrinsic savour and lustre of their own. It is the very nature of moral and spiritual good-

ness to be, like the pure light of heaven, freely and exhaustlessly communicative. "A good man," observes an eloquent writer of antiquity, "a man who feels the power of religion, is not a blessing only to himself, but the common benefit of all other men; as he really communicates to all others the advantages which he himself enjoys. For, as the sun is a light to all those who have eyes, so the pious, the divinely wise, are the light of all rational beings: as the aromatic spices, which exhaling spread on the breeze and fill with their sweet odour those who are near; in the same manner, the friends and acquaintances of a good man derive from the breath of virtue, which emanates far and wide from his character, a perfume that adorns and enriches their own."

But, in India, whither are we to turn, or where are we to look for relief in the privilege of gazing at the bright side of a picture like this?—or one, in any way approximating to this?—or one, containing even the seeds, germs, or primordial elements of anything resembling this?—We confess, we know not. The intellectual and moral condition of the wholly uninstructed masses, constituting the overwhelming majority, we have already glanced at; and, in the preceding pages, will be found ample materials, from which to form an accurate estimate of the intellectual and moral condition of the partially or inadequately instructed minority. To spare the reader the tedium of a lengthened recapitulation, we have only to request that he may be pleased to look back and carefully re-ponder the *statements of fact* already given. Let him look at the nature, character, and influence of the instruction imparted in the *elementary schools*, and say, whether Mr. Ward's estimate of it does not fall far short of the reality, rather than exceed it. Education in these schools, "is confined," says he, "to a few rudiments, qualifying the pupils to write a letter on business, and initiating them into the first rules of arithmetic. A Hindu school is a mere shop, in which, by a certain process, the human mind is prepared to act as a copying machine, or as a lithographic press. The culture of the mind is never contemplated in these seminaries. Hence Hindu youths, though of a capacity exceedingly quick, never find the means of strengthening or enlarging the faculties. The bud withers as soon as it is ready to expand. Destitute, therefore, of all that is reclaiming in education, of all that contributes to the formation of good dispositions and habits, these youths herd together for mutual corruption. Destitute of knowledge themselves, the parents, the tutors cannot impart to others that which they themselves have not received; human nature takes its unrestrained course; and whatever is in the human heart receives an unbounded gratification." These schools, thus viewed,

as by Mr. Ward, chiefly in their negative character, are sufficiently unproductive of good and prolific of evil. How much more so, when viewed in their positive character! Under the endless recurrence of a dull, monotonous, mechanical routine, the intellectual soil, light by nature and wholly unmanured by art, soon becomes impoverished altogether. Under the combined influences of an utterly vicious system of discipline, the forced initiation into deceptive and dishonest practices, the habitual inculcation of loose, grovelling, carnalizing maxims for the regulation of future conduct, the unceasing repetition of abominably filthy or grossly idolatrous legends,—the moral and religious soil is transformed into a fertile nursery of all manner of rank, unprofitable, and noxious weeds!

Nor is the aspect of things materially improved, when we turn aside to contemplate the nature, character. and influence of the education in the *schools of learning*, whether Muhammadan or Hindu. Besides the details already supplied, we may, instead of deducing any further inferences of our own, appeal to the well-weighed judgments of the most disinterested, impartial, and unsuspicious witnesses. The English translator of Schlegel's work on the Philosophy of History, adduces, from the illustrious Goerres, the following passage as a brief summary of his estimate of the *practical influence* of the system so enthusiastically propounded by the prophet of Mecca, and, by his credulous followers, embraced and propagated with such resolute and inflexible zeal. "The *rigid monotheism*," says he, "of his (the prophet's) doctrine, which, by denying the Trinity and with it all personal manifestation of the Deity, limits its idea to the depths of eternity, without admitting any true or living communication of the Godhead with what appertains to time, naturally allures the *metaphysical pride* which in this abstraction hath made itself its own God. The *ethical Pantheism* which this religion professes, while it furnishes a pretext, a motive and a palliation to all the pretences of the mighty, to the ambition of usurpers, the violence of pride, and the arrogance of tyranny, and at the same time consoles and disarms the injured and the oppressed by the inevitableness of destiny, must draw to its preacher the men of the sword, of violence, and of blood, and links those once bound indissolubly to him. The *sensual Eudaimonism*, to which his creed opens so free a scope both in this world and the next, must rally round the apostle of lust the multitude that burns with all the passionate glow of that fervid zone, and place under his control all the wild fiery energies of that region." With reference to the *practical influence* of Sanskrit learning, we have the recorded testimony of the equally illustrious Rammohun Roy. Being himself one

of the profoundest Oriental scholars of his day, and being also conversant with European literature and science, he was peculiarly qualified and entitled to deliver an authoritative opinion. Accordingly, in a memorial and remonstrance against the establishment of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, addressed to Lord Amherst, we find the following emphatic passages:— "This seminary" (the proposed Sanskrit College), "similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon, can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India. The Sanskrit language, so difficult that almost a lifetime is necessary for its acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian Philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the Schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner, the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legislative." And when, to the useless, the frivolous, and the puerile acquisitions of Sanskrit lore, which, instead of truly bracing and invigorating the mental faculties, tend rather to dilute and rarefy them into a vain and subtilizing spirit of error, we add the louring pride thereby engendered, the callousness of feeling, the total insensibility to the wants and miseries of man, together with the defence which it involves and entails of all that is blasphemous in literate pantheism and all that is revolting in the popular idolatry;—we have a picture in which the resemblance of each better light is wholly shrouded and eclipsed by the reality of the darksome shadows.

Whether, therefore, we look at the wholly uninstructed majority, or the partially instructed minority of the people of this land, we cannot help concluding that the work of *education*, in any right and proper sense of that term, has, with very few isolated exceptions, *yet to be begun*. For, by education, we mean that process by which the faculties are not only developed but improved and set to work in the right way—which does not teach merely but train—which regards oral precepts, however excellent, when unaccompanied with wholesome restraint, discipline, and good example, as altogether insufficient guides for child-

hood and youth—which systematically aims at making its subjects moral and virtuous as well as learned—which habitually inculcates the great truth, that a conquest over the evil passions and desires of the heart is a mightier achievement far than any triumphs over the ignorance of the head—which studiously and decidedly prefers purity of life, and integrity, and sincerity of conduct to all the merely bookish knowledge in the world—which, taking the word of the ever-living God for its guide, lays its foundations deep in religious culture, and, by imbuing the youthful mind with the love and fear of the true God, teaches most effectually the love of our neighbour, together with all due respect for his personal rights and social privileges.

In the present article, we have restricted ourselves to the subject of education and its kindred or collateral topics. But though we have done so, it has been purposely, and not because we are ignorant of, or indifferent to, other subjects which are intimately linked with it, or inseparably interwoven with its effective operation and success. We allude particularly to the reign of terror and insecurity that is abroad under the tyranny and oppression of the zemindars, the guilty connivance of a corrupt and unprincipled police, and the briberies, perjuries, and law-form mockeries of our Mofussil court of justice. We not only admit, but solemnly record, our deliberate conviction that the whole of this system—most iniquitous in its results though not in the intention of our rulers—demands revision, reform, remodelling. Moreover, we candidly admit that, without such revision and reconstruction of the Zemindary, Police, and Judicial systems, education itself, however vigorously set on foot and prosecuted, will be, in a thousand ways, baulked, thwarted, neutralized, and evacuated of its legitimate fruits. True it is, most true, that *if* an enlightened education *could* everywhere be communicated, it would eventually tear off, and "flutter into rags," a vast deal of the present external organism, that is wielded in crushing and prostrating the energies of the people. In this respect we fully concur in the sentiments so honourably and creditably expressed by a young native gentleman—himself a zemindar—at a public meeting of the Native inhabitants recently held in the hall of the Free Church Institution, to vote an address of thankful acknowledgment to the Governor-General, on account of his enlightened educational enactment of the 10th October last. "Educate the people," said he, "and you will find them manfully resisting the oppressions of the zemindar. Educate the people, and they will cease to be victimized by the Darogah. Educate the people, and they will burst asunder those fetters by which they are now bandaged and trampled on."

That such would be the ultimate effects of a sound and whole-

some system of education, we have not the shadow of a doubt. Our only doubt is, as to how, or in what way, such a system could be *generally* established, with hopeful prospects of efficiency and success, in the face of the all-pervading, all-grinding demon of oppression that now stalks forth in all the lordliness of unchallenged supremacy, over the length and breadth of the land. Some would, consequently, have us wholly to suspend educational operations, until this evil demon in its multiplex forms is exorcised and fairly expelled from our borders. Others, on the contrary, would have us wholly to refrain from agitation on the subject of oppression, and proceed exclusively with educational measures. Now, in our sober judgment, both these extremes are wrong, and both equally to be avoided. Why should not administrative reforms, in the police and judicial departments, advance hand in hand with reform and extension in the educational departments? Why should the one be done and the other left undone? Rather, why should not both be prosecuted simultaneously? If both systems have, in point of fact, been allowed to grow up to a full maturity of evil—if both, acting and reacting on each other in a mutually strengthening process of mischief and misery—are leagued together in a terrible conspiracy against the welfare and prosperity of unhappy millions, why should we, in such an emergency, keep dallying and loitering in blank unprofitableness, or waste precious time in tracing their respective genealogies—in settling antiquarian questions as to which may be regarded as the cause and which the effect, which the antecedent and which the consequent, which the parent and which the child? Be the primary source or origin what it may, it is but too palpable that both systems now are inextricably blended in reciprocal influences for evil. And ought not this to be enough to persuade us to seek earnestly for the rectification of both, and plead unweariedly for the expansion of both in rectified and improved forms? Administrative reform can come from Government alone. Let us, then, unceasingly refresh the memory and stimulate the conscience of a not unwilling Government; let us accept, with cheerfulness and candour, any reformational instalment as a pledge of sincerity and good-will on its part; and let us ever wisely view such instalment as a stepping-stone of facility towards the ultimate attainment of more beneficial measures, under the ascendancy of more auspicious circumstances. Educational reform, on the other hand, is, to a certain extent, within reach of every member of the community at large. Each one, who has a will, may find a way of doing something; and that something, under whatever drawbacks or discouragements, each one is sacredly bound to attempt to do. However insignificant the result of individual

endeavour, it is always another atom added to the momentum of onward improvement; and, however insignificant when viewed prospectively in reference to the grand design of national regeneration, it is sure to be viewed with peculiar satisfaction in retrospect, as one of the units in that mighty aggregate of influences, which contributed to ensure so glorious a consummation. Let us, then, each and all of us, resolve to discharge aright his own individual part in this great work; and let the recorded utterances of a wisdom that may be pronounced oracular, incite us to perseverance in such a course. Let the cutting reflection of Pythagoras shame us, as rational beings: "He that knoweth not that which he ought to know, is a brute beast among men; he that knoweth no more than he hath need of, is a man amongst brute beasts; and he that knoweth all that may be known is as a celestial being amongst men." Let the sententious aphorism of our great English moralist quicken us, as accountable beings: "He that voluntarily continues in ignorance is guilty of all the crimes which ignorance produces; as to him that should extinguish the tapers of a light-house might justly be imputed the calamities of shipwreck." Let the generous sentiment of Sir P. Sidney encourage us, as philanthropic beings: "Whatever be our learning, we ought to communicate it freely; imparting knowledge is only lighting other men's candles at our lamp, without depriving ourselves of any flame." Let the weighty remarks of a living statesman, in reference to the circumstances of another land, accommodated and applied to those of India, alarm us, as social beings: "Consider, too, the rapid progress of time. In ten years from this hour—no long period in the history of a nation—all who are nine years of age will have reached the age of nineteen years; a period in which, with the ten years that follow, there is the least sense of responsibility, the power of the liveliest action, and the greatest disregard of human suffering and human life. The early years are of incalculable value; an idle reprobate of fourteen is almost irreclaimable; every year of delay abstracts from us thousands of useful fellow-citizens; nay, rather it adds them to the ranks of viciousness, of misery, and of disorder. So long as this plague-spot is festering among our people, all our labours will be in vain; our recent triumphs will avail us nothing. To no purpose, while we are rotten at heart, shall we toil to improve our finances, to extend our commerce, and explore the hidden sources of our difficulty and alarm. We feel that all is wrong; we grope at noonday as though it were night, disregarding the lessons of history and the word of God, that there is neither hope nor strength, nor comfort, nor peace, but in a virtuous, a wise, and understanding people."

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11. *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul. By the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone. London* 1839.

12. *The History of Persia, by Sir John Malcolm. Murray, London*, 1815.*

TURNING over a large collection of children's books—and the children's books of the present day are so great an improvement on those of the past, that we often envy the intellectual pleasures of the rising generation—we have just alighted upon one with the title of "Facts to correct Fictions." Necessary as it often is, to carry out the design which these words convey, it is assuredly never so necessary as when India is the great subject of discourse; for, in European countries, there are current more fictions, and fewer facts, of which India and the neighbouring regions are the staple, than any other subject puts in circulation. The fictions are imbibed in early youth; the facts are taught by hard experience, or *never*. We begin life with splendid delusions, learned from the Arabian Nights and the scenic melodramas of the London stage; as we advance, the gorgeous poetry

* We do not prefix the above catalogue to our present remarks, with any affectation of reviewing the books it enumerates, but as the most convenient way of at once setting before our readers the authorities from whom we are about, chiefly, to draw our illustrations. They are works of old date; but confining ourselves exclusively to Indian topics, we cannot hope to be supplied with a succession of new works sufficient to keep our machinery going. Our review, therefore, must partake more or less of the retrospective.

of Lallah Rookh stamps these delusions still more deeply on our mind; and we go on, from year to year, still fancying, still dreaming, until the reality is presented to the fleshly eye; and then the many-coloured bubble is burst, and, running as mortals will run into extremes, we see nothing but hard, dry, dull, common-place facts; "the beautiful has vanished and returns not;" and we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the country, which once we looked upon as the region of romance, is to be viewed in any picturesque aspect. We are disappointed, and disappointment deadens our sensibilities. The imagination will make no compromises.

India—how many a young fancy has indulged itself with bright visions of this gorgeous land; how many a young heart panted eagerly to visit these fairy regions of bright romance. The school-boy, eager for a life of activity, and taught from his childhood to look to the "shining orient,"

> "Where in wild Mahratta battle fell his father evil-starred,"

as the theatre of his future exploits, dreams of turbaned horsemen, and glittering scimitars, and snorting Arabs; scans in the prospect the gorgeous parade of an eastern camp; magnificent tents and castellated elephants, and all the pride and pomp of war in a land where all is proud and pompous; sees himself, in imagination, the conqueror of Rajahs, whose robes are hemmed with jewels, and the trappings of whose horses are of gold; and beholds heaped up before him the spolia opima of conquest—the richest silks, and the finest muslins, and the costliest gems, and heaps of mohurs and pagodas.—Before the mental eye of the young maiden flit gentler visions than these. She dreams of the soft balmy air, the melodious bulbul, the gushing waters, the coral strand of Ind. She sees tall palm trees and browsing camels, rose-gardens and citron-groves. She thinks of the blue rivers; the fair lands,

> "Whose mountains, pregnant by the beam
> Of the warm sun, with diamonds teem;"

of the fertile valleys; of the white cities; of the gilded minarets; the dark-eyed daughters of the East. She thinks of Hindostan as the region of romance; the chosen home of love; where life is a succession of stirring incidents, and the heart of man the home of passionate thoughts. She longs to quit the chilly conventional atmosphere of European society, and to begin anew life in the exciting East. Fiction has done its work upon her. She longs to realise her rosy dreams.

And then, if it be permitted to youth or maiden to change the romance for the reality of Indian life, how soon are all the

airy fabrics demolished—how soon does the spell dissolve, and the fairy-raised carriage, with its liveried attendants, subside into pumpkins and mice. For a few days there is a certain sense of strangeness; the eye is not at once accommodated to the sight of snow-white garments and mahogany-coloured skins; there is a whirl of not very pleasurable excitement, and then the reaction begins. "And this is India?" the disappointed dreamer exclaims, not without bitterness of spirit—and thenceforward he sees nothing in the country but what is essentially commonplace—unromantic, unpicturesque. He escapes from one error only to fall into another. If when India was to him an unknown land, or rather a land unvisited, for by many though visited it ever is unknown, he indulged in over-wrought visions of its romantic aspects, his subsequent estimate falls as far short of the truth as his anticipations had exceeded it. Arrived in India, as though exasperated by his former credulity, he is unjust to the country, for which in the ardour of youth he panted. The most eager lover often becomes the most phlegmatic husband—the wife is undervalued as much as the charms of the mistress have been exaggerated. A sort of discontented torpor supervenes; and to Indian romance he is stone-blind. He cannot believe that in India the romantic and the picturesque can possibly have any place. And yet if he would but open his eyes, he would see that he is surrounded by the romantic and picturesque. It is in part familiarity, in part ignorance, that leads him to reject, with scorn, the belief in India's romance. In one case too much is before him, in the other too little to enable him to form a correct judgment. The white turban, the dark eye, the curled moustache, and the flowing muslin robes of an Indian domestic are precisely the same things which he has seen on the stage, or in the illustrations of the "Arabian Nights." They are, as picturesque accompaniments, no less superior to the powdered head, the white neckcloth, the tail coat, and the knee breeches, of an English footman, than the most vivid imagination can have conceived them to be; but with his name entered in a little book, endorsed "Servants' Wages," opposite to the sum of 8 rs., the "dark-eyed moslem" loses at once all his picturesque attributes, and becomes a very unromantic khitmudgar, to be abused, fined, perhaps beaten at discretion. On the very country itself he revenges himself. The first glimpse of it disappoints him;* and from that hour he determines to see no

* And peculiarly strong is the disappointment of all who enter India by the Hooghly. A recent writer of fiction gives the following somewhat overcharged picture of the disappointment and dismay, which the first sight of our eastern shores occasion—"What an uncommonly fine thing in poetry is the rolling tide of the sinuous Ganges—but how wretchedly unpoetical is this said Ganges in reality as you enter it from

beauty in it—" nothing can bring back the hour of glory in the grass, of splendour in the flower," which his young imagination conjured up. The sky is as blue, the trees are as tall, the rivers are as grand, the vegetation as luxuriant as he had seen them in his own fancy, or on the walls of Somerset House; but his eye will not form the whole into a picturesque landscape. There is glare and dust, and both are to be shut out; and the luxuriant herbage is condemned as jungle, suggesting thoughts of dire disease; and the plantain and cocoa-nut trees excite contempt, accompanied with a longing after the more delicious fruits of our own snug island. Drawbacks are there, it must be acknowledged, many and great. "When Aboo Talib Khan"—we quote from a pamphlet written some fifteen years ago by Mr. Robertson, late Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces —" whose appearance in London, about the beginning of the 'century, excited such a sensation, even in the highest circles, 'returned to India, he obtained a situation in the revenue de-'partment, in the district of Bundlekhund, on the western side 'of the river Jumna. One morning he called upon the judge 'of the district, with whom his manners (acquired during his 'residence in England), had placed him on a more intimate 'footing than is generally established between the European 'and native functionaries in India. It was at the most sultry 'season of the year, and whilst the hot winds were blowing with 'the utmost fury. Aboo Talib called his English friend to a 'window, and pointing to the dreary scene without, the arid plain, 'the lurid atmosphere, heavy with dust, and breathing intoler-'able heat, the brown and burning winter of a torrid clime, he 'exclaimed, 'Look at that, sir! Do you think that God Al-'mighty ever meant this country for an Englishman to reside in?'"

There are, doubtless, frequent temptations to ask this question; and often, in querulousness and discontent, is it asked, when no sufficient reason for such questionings exists. But it is difficult to induce people to look upon the bright side of the pic-

the Bay of Bengal. It is not common-place, for the utter absence of one redeeming feature to render it in the least degree picturesque, prevents it from being that. It is, in fact, almost sublime from the utter absence of beauty it exhibits. It is so desolate, so unlovely, so unearthly in its aspect, that, as you look upon it, you can scarcely believe it to be a part of that world which God made, and said that it was good. After a sojourn of months on the great waters, the first sight of land, if there be anything about it that wears the least look of gladsomeness, is hailed by the weary voyager as a very paradise, and is decked out, as he views it with the eye of his imagination, in exaggerated tints of joyousness and beauty; but for the voyager as he enters the Hooghly river, though there be youth on his cheek, and hope in his heart, and abundant fancy in his brain, there is not one object to gladden his eye, not one sight to raise pleasant expectations. All seems characteristic of the world he is about to enter, where sickness, and death, and desolation are the grand ingredients of the cup that is offered to him."—*Peregrine Pultuney.*

ture—difficult to induce them to look with interest upon what is really interesting. Not only is there on the surface, if we would condescend to look at it, much that is picturesque and attractive; but beneath the surface of Indian life is there a rich vein of romance, which would afford many a lesson to the student of humanity. It is too much the fashion to undervalue what is Indian. That which is noticeable in itself is not to be noticed because it is Indian. A returned Anglo-Indian will peradventure walk miles in England to see an aloe in bloom, though he would not when in India condescend to look at one blooming on the margin of his own compound.* It is in the same spirit that the Anglo-Indian reads with interest the murders detailed in the London papers, however unromantic the character of the events in which they originated; but can rarely be persuaded that any interest attaches to records of murders committed by natives upon natives of India, though the events which led to them be of the same character as those which form the staple of poetical romances. Interesting though they be in themselves, they are Indian—and, therefore, to be turned away from with contempt.

We repeat that this is a grave error—and it is one which carries its own punishment with it. The loss is all our own. We close our hearts against many a stream of pleasure, which would, were it suffered to have its way, diffuse itself benignantly over our souls, and make us at once happier and wiser. We may be disappointed at the outset of our career by the external aspects of Indian life. We miss much of the luxury and magnificence, the oriental gilding which our youth had been led to anticipate; but manhood may find brighter joys than these in all that surrounds it. The man who feels himself from first to last a wretched exile, whose life is one of discontent, ever hankering after change, who looks upon India as a country in which he is condemned so many years to suffer, and from which it is the main object of his existence to escape—is a self-tormentor, who may feel assured that he is wretched only because he has not done his duty. The environments of Indian life properly regarded are capable of affording a constant succession of pleasures to the most enthusiastic and ardent temperaments.

India, indeed, presents a noble field for every degree and

* Some of the illustrated London periodicals have lately published engravings of the interior of the grand conservatory at Chatsworth, which very closely resembles a snatch of an Indian jungle. We have seen, in India, people in ecstasies over some of the beautiful woodcuts in the illustrated edition of the *Chaumiere Indienne*, who could not be persuaded to admire the originals—who would not, indeed, stop a moment to look at them. And yet everywhere may Indian cottages be seen as picturesque as those which the artists have copied or imagined.

species of talent and industry. Those, however, who would reap it, must remember the dying farmer's address to his sons, "There is a treasure buried in my estate, but you must dig for it." Like the sons we are apt to be disappointed at not finding the treasure in the shape of a bag of gold or casket of jewels, though, if we open our eyes, we may, in another form, find it within our reach. In the Company's service nothing short of actual and glaring misconduct can lead to ruin; and, if health remains (which it does now far more frequently than of yore), a man of moderate views may look forward, after a useful and honourable and by no means unenjoyable career, to the calm delight of passing the last years of life at home, possessed of means sufficient for the comfortable maintenance of himself and family, and for the bestowal on them of an education that will fit them for a career like his own. The youth who sets out with rational views and right principles, has a comfortable conviction that, though he has not started in the race where the prizes are blue ribbons or elephant loads of gold, yet he is in the safer course, where industry and integrity always secure the means of subsistence—where, unlike any profession in England, learned or unlearned, he is certain of advancing in rank and emolument, independent of patronage or prejudice, of person or party. So much is within the reach of the most moderately endowed head and hands that ever were invested with a foraging cap and sword; such a degree of success can only (health, as already said, being granted) be forfeited by gross misbehaviour. But the Company's service presents higher prizes, open to all the various degrees of talent and energy. Let a man learn his duty, and perform it heartily; acquaint himself with the language, history, and character of the people among whom his lot is cast; treat them as he, under like circumstances, would be treated,—let him do this, and he will find countless interests and pleasures clustering round the daily duties of his profession.

The higher offices of the Company's service more than realize the most brilliant ideas of importance that ever entered a reasonable mind, for such minds do not speculate on *unearned reward*, chance distinctions, and lucky hits. The sons and brothers of humble citizens, raised above princes, armed with power over the destiny of millions! But influence and responsibility are not limited to the more conspicuous positions in India. There is not an ensign who may not make himself the centre of a little circle of benefits bestowed, and returning with rich increase to the giver.

In no other country do talent and energy *so surely* earn dis-

tinction. In no other service is unpatronized mediocrity so sure of obtaining a sufficiency, and of advancing to comparative affluence. The day has gone by when, as with Clive, thirty thousand a year was to be gained by a morning's work. Munro, Malcolm, and Ochterlony toiled for their honours, and in the civil service, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, and others, worked nearly as long and not less honourably for their competencies.

The grand delusion of most young men who come to India is the expectation of advancement *through others;* and to all such the lesson which we would inculcate, is self-dependent industry and unbending integrity. All who enter the army must encounter privations which this climate aggravates into positive hardships. The treasure-guard in the hot winds or rains—the dull monotony of a cantonment life—the moonshee armed with the *prem sagur* and the *gulistan*—the morning parade and the evening ride on the course—none of these are acceptable aliment to a romance-filled soldier more than are details of petty theft or village squabbles to a young and enthusiastic civilian. But a kernel lies within this unpromising husk. We are told of certain individuals possessing a divining power, by which they instinctively discern where lie the water-springs, and point out where we are to dig for them. Some minds seem gifted with a somewhat analogous power whereby to discern the springs of good that lie beneath the dusty beaten surface of daily life; and happily this, like most other truly valuable endowments, is not arbitrarily bestowed, like the colour of our eyes, but may be elicited and cultivated, more or less, in every rational being. Each officer in our service may earn the gratifying testimony of affectionate recognition, in after days, by those who have served under him; may be thought of as the friend and protector of the deserving, not the *gharib purwar* (*patron*, or rather *nepotist*, using that word in its most obnoxious signification), but as one ever ready to listen to each individual's story, give him a fair hearing, and as far as possible redress his wrong, or, if that lie beyond his sphere, to comfort and advise the unfortunate. A kindly word in sickness or trouble has a healing influence, and is remembered where pompous nothings are forgotten, or only recollected with hatred and contempt.

If the soldier's sphere presents opportunities like these, the civilian, though beset with many temptations, enters on an almost boundless field for useful, honourable, even romantic activity. From the first day on which he enters his office, the destinies of thousands are at his disposal. His word is law; his very countenance studied, and his look inspires confidence or blights the remnant of hope; disappoints the corrupt, wily, and liti-

gious moonshee, or sends the poor client home to his hovel with a heavy heart, feeling that the new ruler is ignorant or careless, contented to see through the eyes of his native subordinates—theirs being the power, his the responsibility. Thus every functionary has each day an opportunity to strengthen or weaken the foundation of our rule, and may aggravate or lighten the burden of human woe, verifying Cowper's beautiful picture—

> "Oh! bright occasions of dispensing good,
> How seldom used, how little understood!
> To pour in virtue's lap her just reward,
> Keep vice restrained behind a double guard;
> * * * * *
> Covetous only of a virtuous praise,
> His life a lesson to the land he sways."

Allowing for all the disappointment, ingratitude, deception, and other evils that must beset the best administration, there remains an incalculable balance of practicable good, immeasureable means for relieving the distressed and righting the wronged; for putting down the oppressor, teaching "him that stole to steal no more, but rather to labour"—awakening confidence and rousing effort in hearts long debased by oppression and its attendant vices. For the most degraded human being there rests a hope of improvement, if he can be convinced of the reality of such things as truth and disinterested kindness; and every living example of Christian goodness lays another stone for the foundation of a purer religion in this country.

We will not apologise for having lingered thus long on the threshold of our subject, because we would not imply that our readers consider these initial remarks devoid of interest. The man who treats as visionary, pure and philanthropic motives or actions, is to be pitied. Either his heart is dead, or he voluntarily foregoes the highest, the most unalloyed happiness; but if he be in authority, our pity extends to the thousands who must suffer from the defect in his moral organisation. The man that cannot see the beauty of goodness is unlikely to be very zealous in its pursuit; and as no European in India, especially if he be in office, can be simply harmless, it would be better, far better, that our ranks should be thinned, and that such spirits should be removed from among us, than that heathen India should consider such men as specimens of Christian England. Englishmen, sprinkled as they are over this wide empire, may literally be as salt to the land wherein they sojourn, exercising a silent, penetrating, and purifying influence on the surrounding mass. "But if the salt have lost its savour," it is worse than useless. And thus, if our example be not salutary, it must be pernicious.

We have said that many sojourners in this country see little and know little of the life by which they are surrounded. They are scarcely less ignorant of Indian society than are the far-off dwellers in the West. If no interest in the subject at present exist, we shall do well to endeavour to create one; or if it be slight, to exert ourselves to strengthen it. A few chapters on Eastern manners, in such a journal as this, cannot be misplaced.

Looking first at the Mussulmans, we are met at the outset by the formidable word *Haram*,* forbidding all entrance to the uninitiated, and casting a mystery little less than masonic on everything connected with Mohamedan women; but, after gazing for a while on this "palpable obscure," gleams of light appear here and there, so that by ascertaining, comparing, and inferring, we may form some tolerably correct ideas on this interesting subject. The writers from whom we shall principally borrow are Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, Mr. Lane, and Mr. Urquhart; Albania, Egypt, and India, afford a tolerably wide field of research, but the above writers confirm the opinion we have always held, that Mussulman domestic manners vary little with either time or place, and that on this point we do not find the differences between Constantinople, Cairo, and Lucknow, that strikes us in the Christian cities of London, Madrid, and Philadelphia. What follows is therefore applicable to Hindoostan as to Turkey:—

"Individual character, such as it was in the days of conquest, remains the same in these times, when every external circumstance, and every foreign opinion and influence, coincide to place it in the last stage of dissolution. This unexampled circumstance ought particularly to be borne in mind, in looking at, or in endeavouring to render to ourselves, an account of that half of the population—women, who are too commonly neglected in our reasonings on all nations, but who have been wholly omitted in our estimate of the Turks: among whom, however, they have a more distinct existence, a more special and definable character, greater influence on education, morals, and habits, than with us, and where, consequently, they form

* *Haram* (or, as Mr. Lane spells it, Hhareem) signifies *sacred*, *prohibited*, and although to European ears it seldom conveys any idea beyond the female apartments, it correctly admits of a much wider application. The temple at Mecca is honoured with the title of Musjid or Alharam, *i.e.* the sacred inviolable temple. The whole territory of Mecca is also Haram. The Seraglio of the Turks is a compound word, formed from Sura, house, apartment, and Ahul, family, domestic; which may be converted into Surahulio, or Seraglio, the family or female apartment. Haram Sera and Muhul Sera are nearly synonymous words, and are often used to express the inner apartments in India, the common term is Zenana, from Zun, a woman, Zunan, women; being one of many proofs of the prevalence of Persian over the vernacular.

a much more important part of the political body."—(*Urquhart*, vol. ii., p. 379.)

Early familiarity with our Holy Scriptures cannot but unconsciously accustom us to Eastern style and imagery; and this is one of the many advantages we derive from that book, viewing it only as an intellectual storehouse. Though the transition be somewhat startling, it is with no irreverent feeling that we next mention "The Thousand and One Nights." As a magazine of oriental instruction, they have been the delight of each rising generation, to whom they have been accessible. To these delightful tales scholars and travellers refer as giving the best illustrations of what they have to tell us. From this source most of us have drunk in our early ideas of Eastern life and manners; and, so far as we learn to separate the natural from the supernatural, the real from the fabulous, those ideas are correct; but as we grow older, we are apt, in the pride of our own increasing discernment, to cast the whole aside as alike visionary, and turn for information to what we assume to be pictures of *real life* given by English story-tellers.

Byron, Fraser, Morier, and a few others, write from personal observation, and mislead us only when we take their extreme instances for general samples; but the same cannot be said for authors who *describe from descriptions.* In Europe, we can read these tales, enjoying all the talent and imagination they exhibit, without having the spell broken by a mispronounced *Shibboleth;* but how is the illusion dispelled when we view the picture, side by side with the original! The best story-tellers of modern times have vainly essayed to be at home in the East,—Johnson, Moore, Scott, Edgeworth, have all tried. We study "Rasselas," "Lala Rookh," "The Surgeon's Daughter," or "Murad the Unlucky," as compositions of various merit and beauty. We admire the research and ingenuity they manifest, but no more take them for living realities than we do Madame Tussaud's wax figures. It is a masquerade, where the costume is *wonderfully* correct, and the characters are *wonderfully* kept up, but we never *wonder* at what goes straight to our hearts. There is nothing wonderful in the words "Oh! Absalom! My son! my son!" or in, the pity of it. "Oh! Iago, Oh! Iago, the pity of it."

The failure that signalizes every attempt to depict scenes and characters of which we have only read, is obvious without leaving home. The different portions of Great Britain do not appear so very unlike that one might not readily adopt the idioms of thought and speech characteristic of the others; yet who, that had always lived in England, ever dressed up a Scotch or Irishman that could deceive a *native?* Compare the sketches of two

of our best living domestic portrait-painters, Edgeworth and Martineau. "Clonbrony Castle"* is a real place, where we become acquainted with real people. "The Glen of Echoes"† is a pretty panorama.

Among English writers, Lady Mary Wortley Montague was the first who gave any authentic details of the interior of a haram; details that have the stamp of reality—unambitious, simple, and lifelike: nothing put in for the sake of effect, and no really effective particular omitted. Some of her ladyship's descriptions and sentiments startle us, as some of Hogarth's pictures would, if the work of a woman; but genius is as unquestionable in one as in the other.

After more than a century another authoress appears, with no pretensions to talent, but useful, as supplying information not to be found elsewhere, the general accuracy of which there appears no ground for questioning. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's details coincide remarkably with those given by Lane. We consider her trustworthy, and as such recommend her not only to readers at home, but to the hundreds who live in India, as ignorant of the domestic life of those around them, as our cooks are of the theories of combustion and evaporation. We respect the reserve this lady has shown on her own personal affairs too much to distress her by impertinent conjectures or inquiries; but there is no breach of decorum in mentioning some particulars currently known in India, which may help our readers to understand and appreciate the "Observations." Meer Hassan Ali will be remembered by many still in this country, as the assistant Hindustani teacher at Addiscombe, some twenty or thirty years ago. The lady whom he persuaded to become his wife was, we have heard, attached in some capacity to the household of the late Princess Augusta. We have no intimation of what was *her* romance, when she allied herself to one of a different creed, country, and colour; but there is nothing in the reality she depicts encouraging to modern Desdemonas, notwithstanding the healthy tone of mind that led Mrs. Meer to make the best of every thing she encountered, and the good sense that has withheld her from seeking public sympathy in her domestic troubles. She accompanied her husband to Lucknow, and some other places in the N. W. provinces, where he filled trifling appointments, such as Tehsildar.‡ She remained with him for twelve years, and is still remembered at Lucknow with respect and esteem. Her grounds of separation from her husband arose, we have heard, on the death of the old Syad, her

* In "The Absentee."
† In the "Illustrations of Political Economy."
‡ A subordinate native collector of the land revenue.

father-in-law, whom she always mentions with affectionate veneration. When he was gone, the Meer broke his promise of giving his English wife no rival in the zenana, and, as might be expected, she found nature more powerful than theory on so tender a point. She left her husband; and most of our readers, probably—all the ladies, certainly—will think she was justified in the step. He still flourishes at Lucknow, where he has the appointment of Residency Vakeel, or agent between the Oude Durbar and the British Resident; but he is best known by the title earned by his travels, of Meer Londonee (which Mr. Vigne would probably translate "London Sahib," or "Lord" London).

Mrs. Meer we accept as an authority only on matters within her own personal experience, for her ignorance on other topics is obvious, as soon as she gets beyond the zenanah walls; as when she calls Loodiana "the capital city of the Punjab territory."—(Vol. ii. p. 377.) The language spoken around her she could only have picked up by ear, and that, too, by a *Cockney* ear, which led her into the grievous misdemeanour of writing Am (a Mangoe) "Orme;" Ag (fire) "Arg;" *Andhee* (a tempest) *handhee;* and so on.

This lady and Mr. Urquhart both write as zealous partizans of, we might almost conjecture converts to, the Mussulman faith. Mr. Lane's tone is less earnest, but he appears, in all his intercourse with orientals, to have most cautiously kept back every point of Christianity that could give offence to men of a different faith. This is a subject on which we would touch tenderly; for it is one that must ultimately rest between a man and his Maker. Nobody disputes that we ought willingly to waive all non-essentials, for the sake of peace; but it is hard to understand where these concessions cease on the part of writers, whose devout expressions leave us often undetermined whether we are listening to a pious disciple of Jesus or of Mahomed, and whether the precepts spoken of are to be found in the New Testament or in the Koran.

With unfeigned satisfaction we greet all that is good in the latter, as springing from the source that inspired the former; but those who judge and act according to the light given them, be it ever so scanty, or even deceptive, are in a much safer position than others, who quench "the day-spring from on high that has visited them." Having entered this protest, we turn with pleasure to such a picture as follows of a pious Mussulman:—

"Meer Hadjee Shah delighted in religious conversation; it was his happiest time when, in the quiet of the night, his son translated, as I read, the Holy Bible to him."—(*Observations*, vol. i. p. 144.)

Then follow some very interesting particulars regarding

the old man's temper and practice, concluding with these words :—

"'Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold : them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice ; and there shall be one fold and one shepherd,'—also, 'In my Father's house are many mansions.' These were particularly pleasing passages to him, and often referred to in our scriptural conversations."—(*Ibid.* p. 146.)

Surely the old Hadjee would have been claimed as a brother by "Cornelius the centurion" and the Ethiopian Treasurer! Few ideas suggested by the volumes under consideration will, we apprehend, be newer to European readers than the doctrine that Mussulmans regard women as immortal creatures. It is hard to conjecture how the opposite idea obtained currency, for it is not be found in the Koran, which affirms that "women, in the next life, will not only be punished for their evil actions, but will also receive the reward of their good deeds, as well as men."—(Sale's Koran, vol. i. pref. p. 133, text p. 90). On the same subject, Sale adds an anecdote to show Mahomed's politeness—an elderly lady asked him to intercede for her admission to Paradise ; he replied "that there were no old women to be found *there ;*" but, to assuage the sorrow produced by this declaration, he politely added, "that she should then become young again."

That Mussulmans of the present day admit women to a share of all religious hopes and observances, is abundantly evident from the following quotations :—

"The Mussulman faith does not exclude the females from a participation in the eternal world, as has so often been asserted by people who could not have known them : and the good Mussulman proves it by his instruction of the females under his control in the doctrines of Mahumud, and who he believes to be as much dependent on him for guidance on the road to heaven, as for present protection from want or worldly dangers."—(*Observations*, &c. vol. i. p. 76.)

"Women are not to be excluded from paradise, according to the Mahommedan faith ; though it has been asserted by many Christians, that the Mooslims believe women to have no souls. In several places in the Koran, paradise is promised to all true believers, whether males or females."—(*Lane*, vol. i. p. 74.)

Indeed Lane gives a very strong incidental proof that women originally received their full share of religious veneration, of which they are now defrauded at Cairo :—

"Most of the sanctuaries of saints in Egypt, are tombs" * * "Among others but little inferior in sanctity are the Mosques

of the Sey'yideh Zeyneb (daughter of the Imam Alee, and grand-daughter of the prophet); the Sey'yideh Sekeeneh, (daughter of the Imam El. Hhoseyn), the Sey'yideh Nefeeseh, (great grand-daughter of the Imam El. Hhasan), and the Imam Esh—sha'fe'ee, already mentioned as the author of one of the four great Mooslim sects, that to which most of the people of Cairo belong."—(*Ibid.* p. 303.)

The prevailing spirit of the Koran, particularly of the fourth chapter, entitled, "Of Women," quite keeps pace with, if it be not in advance, of the most liberal doctrines on the same subject promulgated by any heathen legislator. Our modern authorities show that the Mussulman ladies do not fall behind their husbands either in their zeal for religious observances, or in their adherence to the more valuable or moral precepts of the Koran. "In the Zeenahnah, the females fast with zealous rigidness; and those who have not the happiness to possess a knowledge of books, or a husband or father disposed to read to them, will still find the benefit of employment in their gold embroidery of bags and trimmings, or other ornamental needlework."—(*Observations, &c.* p. 181.)

Our next extract shall be a case of melancholy fanaticism within the zenana, where the parents madly encouraged their two children, a boy and girl of thirteen and eleven years of age, to distinguish themselves by observing the Ramazan:—

"The children bore the trial well throughout the morning; and even until the third watch of the day had passed, their firmness would have reflected credit on people twice their age, making their first fast. After the third watch, the day was oppressively hot, and the children evinced symptoms of weariness and fatigue; they were advised to try and compose themselves to sleep; this lulled them for a short time, but their thirst was more acute when they awoke than before. The mother and her friends endeavoured to divert their attention by amusing stories, praising their perseverance, &c. The poor weak lady was anxious that they should persevere, as the day was now so far gone, she did not like her children to lose the benefit of their fast, nor the credit due to them for their forbearance. The children endeavoured to support with patience the agony that bowed them down—they fainted, and then the mother was almost frantic, blaming herself for having encouraged them to prolong their fast against their strength. Cold water was thrown over them; attempts were made to force water into their mouths; but, alas! their tender throats were so swollen, that not a drop passed beyond their mouths. They died within a few minutes of each other."—(*Observation, &c.* vol. i. p. 188).

Infatuation that might not easily gain credence, did we not see it matched at home, where young growing creatures are compelled to fast from fresh air, active exercise, and sufficient repose, "that their education may be attended to."

As is but fair, the ladies share the festivities that terminate the Ramazan, of which Mrs. Meer gives an amusing account:

"The ladies' assemblies, on this *Eade*, are marked by all the amusements and indulgences they can possibly invent or enjoy, in their secluded state. Some receiving, others paying visits, in covered conveyances; all doing honour to the day, by wearing their best jewellery and splendid dress. The zeenahnah rings with the festive songs and loud music, the cheerful meeting of friends, the distribution of presents to dependents, and remembrances to the poor; all is life and joy, cheerful bustle and amusement, on this happy day of Eade, when the good lady of the mansion sits in state to receive nuzzas from inferiors, and granting proofs of her favour to others."—(*Ibid.* p. 192.)

And, to the credit of zenana morals, we add, "The nautchnies are entirely excluded from the female apartments of the better sort of people; no respectable Mussulman would allow these impudent women to perform before their wives and daughters."—(*Ibid.* p. 195.)

"The performers admitted are termed Domenies, and these, on the contrary, are women of good character, and their songs are of the most chaste description, chiefly in the Hindostanee tongue."—(*Ibid.* p. 195.)

The Mohurrum is not less zealously observed than the Ramazan by all good Sheeas; we select a few passages thereanent of illustrative female occupations:—

"The ladies celebrate the returning season of Mohurrum with as much spirit and zeal as the confinement in which they exist can possibly admit of."—(*Observations*, vol. i. p. 45.)

"In commemorating this remarkable event in the Mussulman history, the expressions of grief manifested by the ladies are far greater, and appear to me more lasting, than with the other sex; indeed, I never could have given credit to the extent of their bewailings, without witnessing, as I have done for many years, the season for tears and profound grief return with the month of Mohurrum."—(*Ibid.* pp. 41-42.)

"The few females who have been educated are in great request at this season; they read the Dhie mudgelluss, and chant the Musseeah with good effect. These women, being hired for the purpose, are detained during the ten days; when the Mohurrum ceases, they are dismissed to their own houses, loaded with the best gifts the good lady, their employer, can conveniently

spare, commensurate with the services performed. These educated females are chiefly daughters of poor Syaads, who have not been married for the lack of a dowry; they live devoutly in the service of God, according to their faith. They are sometimes required in the families of the nobility, to teach the Koran to the young ladies; and in that capacity they are called Oustaardie, or more familiarly Artoojee."—(*Ibid.* p. 51.)

"The third day after the accomplishment of the Mohurrum ceremonies is a busy time with the inmates of zeenahnahs, when generally the mourning garb is thrown off, and preparations commence, at an early hour in the morning, for bathing and replacing the banished ornaments. Abstinence and privation being no longer deemed meritorious by the Mussulmans, the pawn—the dear delightful pawn, which constitutes the greatest possible luxury to the natives—pours in from the bazar, to gladden the eye and rejoice the heart of all classes, who, after this temporary self-denial, enjoy the luxury with increased zest."—(*Ibid.* p. 101.)

Mr. Urquhart's evidence on the same subject is not without value; though this is a good deal vitiated by the thoroughgoing spirit of partisanship, which ventures to assert, of any class of human beings, that "they have no pride, and little vanity." "The women are generally far more observant than the men of religious practices; but among the former there is none of that religious pride and exclusiveness that is found amongst the latter. With the men, religion has been mixed up with political differences; and thus political causes have given a haughtiness and a stubbornness to their intercourse with the subjects of the Christian powers, and thus has arisen a strange opposition between their personal and their national character. Amongst the women, the former class of feelings is less brought into play: they have no pride, and little vanity; and although strictly observant of the practices of religion, they do not show their piety by contempt for others. There is here no class of persons to take advantage of devotional feelings for their own private interest; there are no ceremonies of religion for which money is to be paid or received; no auricular confession, no absolution, and no ghostly visits of family priests to excite lucrative devotion."—(*Spirit of the East*, vol. ii. p. 400.)

Mahomed, though recognising the religious equality of women, forbade their congregating with men to public worship! the former were either to pray at home, or to resort to the Musjid separately, "lest their presence inspire a different kind of devotion from that which is requisite in a place dedicated to the

worship of God." It would be well if the spirit of this law were more attended to in places of Christian worship, as well as of the next precept of the Koran, which forbids believers "addressing themselves to God in sumptuous apparel, though they are obliged to be decently clothed."—(Sale, Pref. i. p. 144.) Having ascertained the Mahomedan doctrine respecting women in the next life, let us now consider their condition in the present world. Mrs. Meer is entitled to give her opinion first, on the important question of their conjugal happiness:

"The young lady, from her rigid seclusion, has no prior attachment, and she is educated to be obedient to her husband. She is taught, from her earliest youth, to look forward to such match as her kind parents may think proper to provide for her, and therefore can have no objection to accepting the husband selected for her by them. The parents, loving their daughter, and aware of the responsibility resting on them, are cautious in selecting for their girls suitable husbands, according to their particular view of the eligibility of the suitor."—(*Observations*, vol. i. p. 339.)

And to the same purport is the following:—

"If it be the happy lot of a kind-hearted, good man to be married to a woman of assimilating mind, possessing the needful requisites to render home agreeable, and a prospect of an increasing family, then the husband has no motive to draw him into further engagements, and he is satisfied with one wife. Many such men I have known in Hindoostaun particularly among the Syaads and religious characters, who deem a plurality of wives a plague to the possessors in proportion to their numbers.

"The affluent, the sensualist, and the ambitious are most prone to swell the numbers in their harem. With some men, who are not highly gifted intellectually, it is esteemed a mark of gentility to have several wives."—(*Ibid.* p. 341.)

Before proceeding with Mrs. Meer's remarks on the consequences of indulging in this "mark of gentility," it may not be amiss to point out the legal limits of this expensive luxury.

Sale remarks, that polygamy is allowed by the Koran, "every one knows, though few are acquainted with the limitations with which it is allowed."—(*Koran*, vol. i. preface, p. 176.) The misconceptions prevalent when Sale wrote still prevail, and it may astonish some western readers to learn that, "according to the Koran, no man can have more than *four*, whether wives or concubines."—(*Ibid.* p. 177.)

We shall see that even the legal plurality of wives is *practically* restricted to the rich, and whether the wealthy indulge in this "mark of gentility" to gratify their own tastes, or merely as a

matter of show, we can easily believe that the practice brings its own punishment, heart-burnings, rivalries, intrigues of every sort; evils that are incidentally admitted by the very writers who advocate most warmly all that belongs to Mussulman faith and practice.

"Although polygamy is permitted by the laws of Mahomet, that permission does not alter the proportions of men and women. While, therefore, the law of nature renders this practice an impossibility as regards the community, it is here still further restrained among the few who have the means of indulging in it, both by the domestic unquiet that results from it, and by the public censure and reprobation of which it is the object."—(*Spirit of East*, vol. ii. p. 416.)

To the same effect is Mr. Lane's evidence:—

"When there are two or more wives belonging to one man, the first (that is, the one first married) generally enjoys the highest rank; and is called 'the great lady.' Hence it often happens that when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first wife be previously divorced. The women, of course, do not approve of a man marrying more than one wife."

* * * * * *

"A fellow wife is called doorrah. The quarrels of doorrahs are often talked off: for it may naturally be inferred, that when two wives share the affection and attentions of the same man they are not on terms of amity with each other; and the same is generally the case with a wife and a concubine slave, living in the same house and under similar circumstances. If the chief lady be barren, and an inferior, either wife or slave, bear a child to her husband or master, it commonly results that the latter woman becomes a favourite of the man, and that the chief wife or mistress is 'despised in her eyes;' Abraham's wife was, in the eyes of Hagar, on the same account. It therefore not very unfrequently happens that the first wife loses her rank and privileges; another becomes the chief lady, and being the favourite of her husband is treated by her rival or rivals, and by all the members and visitors of the Hhareem with the same degree of outward respect which the first wife previously enjoyed; but sometimes the poisoned cup is employed to remove her. A preference given to the second wife is often the cause of the first being registered as *na shizeh*,* either on her husband's or her own application at the Mahhkemeh; yet many

* Na shizeh, contumacious refusing to obey her husband's authority.

instances are known of neglected wives behaving with exemplary and unfeigned submission to their husband, in such cases, and with amiable good nature towards the favourite."—(*Lane*, vol. i. p. 230.)

Unfortunately, all this is more shrewd and intelligible than the glowing descriptions that follow:—

"Even a Sultan's harem, composed of elements so diversified, and of numbers of hearts and dispositions so perplexing, where nothing exists, according to our notions to occupy their thoughts or to restrain their passions, will exhibit a scene of the most picturelike representation, where courtly forms are never for a moment violated, and which yet professes so much of enjoyment, that deliverance and liberty with a dower and a husband is considered and often felt a punishment and disgrace."—(*Spirit of the East*, Vol. ii. p. 382.)

* * * * * *

The above is very absurd special pleading, resting as it does on a mere perversion of words. The "deliverance" and "marriage" spoken of are only a transfer from one prison and one proprietor, to another and probably more irksome bondage. A change from the abundance of a great man's household, with the honour of his occasional notice, for the privations of poverty, and the bondage of being wife, or rather slave to a menial, perhaps to a ruffian or to a eunuch. Nor do we consider the argument that follows more cogent. We do not believe that men are indifferent to their wives in proportion as they are affectionate to their mothers and other relatives, but rather the very reverse. "Thou shalt leave thy father and thy mother and cleave unto thy wife" has not been transcribed from the Gospel to the Koran. "The facility of divorce, the facility of having more wives than one, are not the causes but the effects of the existing difference of national habits. Where the affections are so strongly involved in the other relationships, and where, from habit and the consequent structure of their houses, the family lives so constantly in common, the wife cannot acquire that exclusive affection or that domestic power, which she derives in Europe from the force of habit as well as from the comparative weakness of other, and especially of filial and parental ties. The wife in the East is not the mistress of the household, she is the daughter of her husband's mother."—(*Spirit of the East*, Vol. ii. p. 382.)

Our countrywoman, too, found it easier to admire than to practice such "instances of generosity" as she describes:—

"There are some instances of remarkable generosity in the conduct of good wives (which would hardly gain credit with females

differently educated), not necessary to the subject before me; but I may here add, to the praise of a good wife among these people, that she never utters a reproach, nor gives evidence by word or manner, in her husband's presence, that she has any cause for regret; she receives him with undisguised pleasure, although she has just before learned that another member has been added to his well peopled harem. The good and forbearing wife, by this line of conduct secures to herself the confidence of her husband; who, feeling assured that the amiable woman has an interest in his happiness, will consult her and take her advice in the domestic affairs of his children by other wives, and even arrange by her judgment all the settlements for their marriages, &c. He can speak of other wives without restraint—for she knows he has others—and her education has taught her, that they deserve her respect in proportion as they contribute to her husband's happiness. The children of her husband are admitted at all times and seasons, without restraint or prejudice; she loves them next to her own, because they are her husband's. She receives the mothers of such children without a shade of jealousy in her manner, and delights in distinguishing them by favours and presents according to their several merits. From this picture of many loving wives in Mussulman Society, it must not be supposed I am speaking of women without attachment to their husbands; on the contrary, they are persons who are really susceptible of pure love, and the generosity of their conduct is one of the ways in which they prove themselves devoted to their husband's happiness. This, they say, was the lesson taught them by their amiable mother and this is the example they would set for the imitation of their daughters."—(*Observations*, Vol. i. p. 342.)

Giving all due credit to the patient, amiable temper of the women who thus meekly endure a rival, we take leave to observe that this very submissiveness stamps the value that the wife sets on her husband's affection. If she never felt herself more than a visitor in the outer courts of his heart, she may learn contentedly to resign her place, thankful to have occupied it so long, or, harder still, she may unmurmuring share her throne with a rival. But very different would be the feelings of a woman who gave her hand with the conviction that nothing but death was to dissolve the union: that she possessed her husband's inmost love and confidence, subject to no caprice, no rivalry; that these blessings could only be forfeited by misconduct of her own; and that they could not be withdrawn without a wrench as painful to her husband as to herself. Our notion of married life may sound very like a romance even in some christian ears; but hap-

pily many hearts will acknowledge it a living reality; and those who have found it so, whether men or women, will not easily imagine their domestic comfort enhanced by laws sanctioning either polygamy or divorce.

The fatal facility of divorce is a blight that mildews the morals of the poor more fatally than polygamy affects the rich. Mrs. Meer takes a rational view of this practice, showing one of those self-adjusting springs by which society is kept on its wheels:

"Should the first wife prove a termagant or unfaithful,—rare occurrences amongst the inmates of the harem,—the husband has the liberty of divorcing her, upon paying down her stipulated dowry. This dowry is an engagement made by the husband on the night of Baarraat (when the bridegroom is about to take his bride from her parents to his own home). On which occasion the maulvee asks the bridegroom to name the amount of his wife's dowry, in the event of separation; the young man is at liberty to name any sum he pleases. It would not prevent the marriage if the smallest amount were promised, but he is in the presence of his bride's family, and within her hearing also, though he has not yet seen her;—it is a critical moment for him thus surrounded. Besides, as he never intends to separate from the lady, in the strict letter of the law, he cannot refrain from gratifying those interested in the honour he is about to confer, by the value of the promised dowry, and, therefore, he names a very heavy sum, which perhaps his whole generation never could have collected in their joint lives. This sum would of itself be a barrier to divorce; but that is not the only object which influences the Mussulman generally to waive the divorce, it is because they would not publish their own disgrace by divorcing an unfaithful wife."—(*Observations*, vol. i. p. 344.)

At Cairo, where the question of dowry does not turn the scale in favour of constancy, we have a melancholy account of the licentiousness resulting from optional divorce:—

"The depraving effect of this facility of divorce upon both sexes, may be easily imagined. There are many men in this country who, in the course of ten years, have married as many as twenty, thirty, or more wives, and women not far advanced in age who have been wives to a dozen or more men successively. I have heard of men who have been in the habit of marrying a new wife almost every month. A person may do this, though possessed of very little property: he may choose, from among the females of the lower orders in the streets of Cairo, a handsome, young widow, or divorced woman, who

will consent to become his wife for a dowry of about ten shillings; and when he divorces her, he need not give her more than double that sum to maintain her during her ensuing ed'deh. It is but just, however, to add, that such conduct is generally regarded as very disgraceful; and that few parents, in the middle or higher classes, will give a daughter in marriage to a man who has divorced many wives. Polygamy, which is also attended with very injurious effects upon the morals of the husband and the wives, is more rare among the higher and middle classes than it is among the lower orders; and it is not very common among the latter. A poor man may indulge himself with two or more wives, each of whom may be able, by some art or occupation, nearly to provide her own subsistence; but most persons of the middle and higher orders are deterred from doing so by the consideration of the expense and discomfort which they would incur. A man having a wife, who has the misfortune to be barren, and being too much attached to her to divorce her, is sometimes induced to take a second wife, merely in the hope of obtaining offspring, and from the same motive he may take a third, and a fourth; but fickle passion is the most evident and common motive both to polygamy and repeated divorces. They are comparatively very few who gratify this passion by the former practice: I believe not more than one husband among twenty has two wives."—(*Lane*, vol. i. p. 229.) Unfortunately this account has much more the air of reality than Mr. Urquhart's speculations.

"As regards divorce, women have, by law, nearly equal facilities as their husbands, in relieving themselves from ties which they do not cherish; and, practically, as regards the Turks, I should say that women (when of rank and fortune equal to their husbands) do exercise that power more than the men, and hold it over their husbands as a check on polygamy. This faculty of divorce may appear to us prejudicial to morals; but I have no hesitation in saying, that if you withdraw from eastern society, as at present constituted, the faculty of divorce, morals and happiness would suffer in an incalculable degree."—(Page 424, vol. ii.)

Mr. Urquhart, in his admiration of eastern society, has overlooked the fact that an enemy could not have given a more conclusive proof of the grossness of Mussulman manners. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies. The following is in the same spirit of one-sided advocacy:—

"No woman will willingly share her conjugal rights with a partner; and while the law gives her husband the power of giving her one or more partners, it secures to her an independent fortune and position, and the facility of quitting him; which, combined with the opinions of society, and the ties and sympathies of kindred, place in the hands of the wife, when a woman of rank, the means of controlling her husband's acts, when her charms have ceased to possess over him the despotism which the fair of every region, and of every sect, seem to have alike the power and the will to exercise."—(*Spirit,* &c, vol. ii. p. 423.)

Nothing strikes us as so degrading to the female character, in the whole law and practice of Mahomedans, as the provision, that a woman who has been twice divorced by the same man, cannot return to him a third time till after she has become the wife of some one else. Of the results of this law Mr. Lane gives very revolting details, but we prefer filling up our space with more agreeable sketches. Besides, Mr. Urquhart asserts, and Mr. Lane admits, that the Egyptian Mussulmans are more dissolute than those of any other country.

If we could dig to a certain depth at any given spot of the globe, we should find the same temperature below the surface of the tropics and the poles; and thus, the further we can pierce the external shell of manners and climate, the stronger do we find the resemblance between *human beings*, irrespective of distinct races. We may therefore safely believe that happiness exists even in the zenana as well as in the drawing-room, remembering that written laws are but the skeleton of society, while the filling up, which constitutes beauty or deformity, varies with every nation, family, and individual.

Domestic affection, according to western ideas of that feeling, is seen, probably, in greater strength and frequency among the rural Affghans, than among any other Asiatics. In towns we are prepared to find less purity, and those Englishmen who have resided at Kabul agree in a most unfavourable opinion of public morals there. The Bhoorkha* worn by the women of that city seems pretty nearly the counterpart of the mantilla in old Spanish novels and dramas, a disguise facilitating every sort of intrigue. Under its screen a man may pass his own

* The Bhoorkha, according to our recollection, is a cloak covering the face, head and body, having eyelit holes filled up with net work. Mr. Lane, at page 51, vol. I. calls the garment a "boor'eko or face veil, which is a long strip of white muslin, concealing the whole of the face except the eyes, and reaching nearly to the feet." We have also seen a sheet with eyelit holes used as a bhoorkha.

wife in the street without recognising her; or, worse still, may both recognise her, and be tolerably sure that she is going on no good errand; but she passes on, secure under the sanctity of her veil, the conventional incognito of which even the husband dare not violate.

The nuptial ceremonies of the Affghan citizens, as detailed by Elphinstone, resemble in the main those of Luknow and Cairo, described by Mrs. Meer and Mr. Lane. As might be expected, forms are less attended to among country folks:—

"As there (in the country) the women go unveiled, and there is less restraint in the intercourse between the sexes, the match generally originates in the attachment of the parties, and all the previous negotiations are saved."—(*Kabul*, vol. i. p. 239.)

"Further, a man, after cutting off a lock of a girl's hair, may proclaim her his betrothed wife, though the deed places him at deadly feud with her family; or he may elope with her, and claim the hospitality of some friendly tribe.—(*Ibid.* p. 240.) Elphinstone gives us, moreover, proofs of mutual affection even more unequivocal than runaway matches:—

"Besides the numerous elopements, the dangers of which are encountered for love, it is common for a man to plight his faith to a particular girl, and then set off to a remote town, or even to India, to acquire the wealth that is necessary to obtain her from her friends. I saw a young man at Poona who was in this predicament. He had fallen in love with the daughter of a Mullik, who returned his attachment. The father consented to the marriage; but said his daughter's honour required that she should bring as large a fortune as the other women of her family. The two lovers were much afflicted, as the young man had nothing but some land and a few bullocks. At last he resolved to set off to India. His mistress gave him a needle, used for putting antimony on the eyelids, as a pledge of her affection, and he seemed to have no doubt that she would remain single till his return."—(*Kabul*, vol. i. p. 243.)

After all these proofs of greater trust and liberty enjoyed by the Affghan women, it is satisfactory to add, on the same testimony, "that the chastity of the countrywomen, and particularly of those of the shepherds, is a theme of praise to all people acquainted with their manners."—(*Ibid.* p. 243.)

Those readers who wish for the most minute details respecting eastern dress, furniture, food, ceremonies, and such like, will have their curiosity gratified in the pages of Mrs. Meer, and Mr. Lane; the particulars are curious, and not without interest, but some more sketchy extracts will be more generally amusing.

"The ladies' society is by no means insipid, or without interest; they are naturally gifted with good sense and politeness, fond of conversation, shrewd in their remarks, and their language is both correct and refined. This, at first, was an enigma to me, considering that their lives are spent in seclusion, that their education was not conducted on European principles; the mystery, however, has passed away upon an intimate acquaintance with the domestic habits of the people. The men with whom genteel women converse are generally well educated, and from the naturally inquisitive disposition of the females, not a word escapes the lips of father, husband, or brother, without an inquiry as to its meaning, which, having once ascertained, is never forgotten, because their attention is not diverted by a variety of pursuits or vain amusements."—(*Observations*, vol. i. p. 113.)

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Mrs. Meer is a more honest partisan than Mr. Urquhart.

"In my delineation of character, whether male or female, I must not be supposed to mean the whole mass of the Mussulman population. There are good and bad of every class or profession of people; it has been my good fortune to be an inmate with the pious of that faith, and from their practice I have been aided in acquiring a knowledge of what constitutes a true disciple of Mahumud."—(Vol. i. p. 177.)

Would that the following picture were as true as we doubt not Mrs. Meer believed it to be! The bird and the beast, born in captivity, doubtless feel the restraint less than those made prisoners after maturity. Very probably Oriental ladies feel the seclusion of the harem less irksome than our countrywomen would. But all this is a very negative plea:—

"At first I pitied the apparent monotony of their lives, but this feeling has worn away by intimacy with the people who are thus precluded from mixing generally with the world. They are happy in their confinement; and, never having felt the sweets of liberty, would not know how to use the boon if it were to be granted them. As the bird from the nest, immured in a cage, is both cheerful and contented, so are these females. They have not, it is true, many intellectual resources, but they have naturally good understandings, and having learned their duty, they strive to fulfil it. So far as I have had any opportunity of making personal observations on their general character, they appear to me obedient wives, dutiful

daughters, affectionate mothers, kind mistresses, sincere friends, and liberal benefactresses to the distressed poor. These are their moral qualifications, and in their religious duties, they are zealous in performing the several ordinances which they have been instructed by their parents or husbands to observe." —(Vol. ii. p. 313.)

Their goodness and kindness may assist them to bear the privations of their position, but they cannot make confinement, freedom, or pain, pleasure. The China woman, whose feet have been compressed into balls, cannot be said to like the torture, and to dislike the use of her limbs. Mrs. Meer tells us of a lady who—

"Fancied her happiness very much depended on seeing a river and a bridge. I undertook to gain permission from her husband and father, that the treat might be permitted; they, however, did not approve of the lady being gratified, and I was vexed to be obliged to convey the disappointment to my friend. She very mildly answered me, 'I was much to blame to request what I knew was improper for me to be indulged in; I hope my husband and family will not be displeased with me for my childish wish; pray make them understand how much I repent of my folly. I shall be ashamed to speak on the subject when we meet.'"—(Vol. i. p. 315.)

There is something touching in this sort of simplicity. Perhaps some ladies, who have seen rivers and bridges, will enter into the feeling next described:—

"To be alone is a trial to which they are seldom exposed, every lady having companions amongst her dependants, and according to her means the number in her establishment is regulated. Some ladies of rank have from two to ten companions, independent of slaves and domestics; and there are some of the royal family at Lucknow who entertain in their service two or three hundred female dependants, of all classes. A well-filled zeenahnah is a mark of gentility, and even the poorest lady in the country will retain a number of slaves and domestics, if she cannot afford companions; besides which, they are miserable without society, the habit of associating with numbers having grown up with infancy to maturity: 'to be alone' is considered, with women thus situated, a real calamity."—(Vol. i. p. 323.)

The following remarks apply, we suppose, only to ladies within the harems of a large city like Lucknow:

"I have been much amused with the curious inquiries of

a zeenahnah family, when the gardener's* dhaullee is introduced. They will often ask with wonder—"how do these things grow?"—"How do they look in the ground?"—and many such childlike remarks have I listened to with pity, whilst I have relieved my heart by explaining the operations of nature in the vegetable kingdom, a subject on which they are perfectly ignorant, and from the habits of seclusion in which they live can never properly be made to understand or enjoy."—(Vol. i. p. 332).

There is much good sense and discrimination in the following remark of Mr. Urquhart's:—

"What I have already said of their manners, will show that the domestic occupations of the women, independently of those avocations which women have in Europe, are numerous enough to occupy a great deal of their time, I mean even in the harems of the rich, for as to the mass of the population it is needless to say that there is pretty nearly here as much drudgery as in the rest of the world, and that time is wanting for that which is necessary, instead of its superabundance requiring the distraction of novels, or the "idle business" of fashionable existence. A Turkish lady in the midst of her suite, is such as Electra was in the midst of her hand-maidens. Almost everything that is requisite for the household is prepared at home, a great deal of embroidery is used in their dresses, or in the ornaments of their household, but it is not only the putting together of the most tasteful parts of their furniture or attire which demands their care; the various materials are themselves of home produce. The cotton that grows in their fields, the silk nurtured under their roof, is spun by their own hands: the dyes are prepared in the kitchen: the silk is plaited into braid and lace, the loom and the shuttle are driven by fair hands. Household is thus a domestic manufactory of all that is requisite. Even heavier labours fall to the lot of the female servants; grinding of corn with hand-mills, pounding of coffee, and the like. The habitual state and numbers of the retinue are thus combined with economy and that almost St. Simonian community of worldly goods which characterizes the general habits of the east as a natural consequence of their domestic manners; and while thus numerous and diversified occupations fill the time and occupy the thoughts of the apparently secluded inmates, they receive a species of worldly instruction, and a knowledge, diversified and practical,

* Tray or basket of fruits, flowers or vegetables.

which perhaps gives a real culture to the mind, as solid, and far more interesting than the common-place book learning of many of those who would set down the information of Turkish women as ignorance—their ignorance is that of our great-grandmothers."—(*Spirit*, &c. vol. ii. 394.)

"Accomplishments," as they are termed, have in our own generation sadly thrown into the shade that "substantial feminine industry" which was not despised by the Elizabeth Carters, who translated Epictetus and made their brothers' shirts. Varied, active occupation must prove an inestimable resource against ennui within a zenana, yet the happiness must be rather artificial that cannot stand alone: Mrs. Meer tells us that the ladies dread solitude as "a real evil" and Mr. Urquhart admits that the appearance of peace within the Harem is chiefly owing to "the constraining presence of a numerous retinue, which can never be excluded, which prevents the throbbing of the heart from glowing on the cheek, and the tempest of the breast from escaping by the tongue."—(*Spirit*, &c. vol. ii. p. 115.)

The writers under consideration afford many interesting details on Mahomedan education, and the result of boys passing their early years within the zenana. Urquhart, as usual, draws a contrast between eastern and western customs, vastly in favour of the former, but the passages are too long for insertion here; and many readers will perceive more cogency in the pithy remarks of old Bernier, who loses little by his quaint translator:

"He (Aurengzeb) well knows that one of the principal sources of the misery, of the misgovernment, of the unpeopling, and the decay of the empires of Asia, proceeds from thence, that the children of the kings thereof are brought up only by women and eunuchs." Young people so educated, he pronounces to be, "commonly high and proud and seemingly grave, but of that kind of pride and gravity, which is so flat and distasteful, and so unbecoming them that one may plainly see, 'tis nothing but brutality or barbarousness, and the effect of some ill-studied and ill-digested documents, or else they fall into some childish civilities, yet more unsavoury."—(*Bernier's History*, &c. vol. i. p. 33.)

Whatever be the faults of oriental training, however, it shows one eminently satisfactory feature in its high tone of filial affection. From the position the wife in a zenana occupies towards her husband, her strongest, warmest affections are naturally bestowed on her children, especially her sons, as from them she dreads no slight, no estrangement, at least during their childhood; and even her old age is usually cheered by affectionate

respect. Deference to both parents characterises the Asiatic; but the mother receives a double portion of her son's care and respect. "Solomon, in all his glory," failed not in due reverence to Bathsheba, although he denied her impolitic request:

"And the king rose up to meet her, and bowed himself unto her, and sat down on his throne, and caused a seat to be set for the king's mother; and she sat on his right hand. Then she said, I desire one small petition of thee, I pray thee, say me not nay. And the king said unto her, ask on, my mother; for I will not say thee nay,"—(1*st Kings*, ii. 19, 20.)

Solomon's conduct here resembles the general behaviour of Nadir Shah to his mother, albeit the Persian conqueror once closed the debate by rather an uncourteous retort:

"His mother, who was living in the year 1737 (at the request of some who were attached to the royal family), entreated Nadir Shah, some time after he had seized the king to restore him, not doubting but his majesty would make him sufficient amends, by creating him generalissimo for life. He asked her, whether she really thought so? She told him, she did; upon which he smiled and said, 'If I was an old woman, perhaps I might be inclined to think so too;' and desired her to give herself no trouble about state affairs."—(*Fraser's History of Nadir Shah*, p. 231.)

Herodotus records a very remarkable proof of reverence for mothers, in the fact that when the Persians besieged Babylon, so straitly as to threaten the inhabitants with famine, the garrison were driven to desperate measures to rid themselves of all superfluous mouths; in this extremity, they resolved that each man should select one woman to bake his bread, and that then they should strangle all the other females, except their mothers. (Herodotus, B. III. C. 150.) The number thus sacrificed may be estimated from the fact that fifty thousand women were afterwards selected from other provinces, to fill the gap left by this fearful massacre. (See "Keith on Prophecy" under the head "Babylon.") We are all living witnesses to the daily practice of filial duty in India, where our servants and soldiers rarely, if ever, fail to save the chief part of their pay for their families, especially for their mothers; and it is pleasant to trace the activity of this right spirit in other kingdoms:—

"However much the son is caressed and fondled, in general he feels and manifests a most praiseworthy respect for his parents." * * * * "The mothers generally enjoy, in a greater degree than the fathers, the affection of their children; but do not receive from them the same outward marks of respect. I have often known servants to hoard their wages for their

mothers, though seldom for their fathers."—(*Lane*, vol. i. p. 68-69.)

Nor is Lucknow behind Cairo in the same virtue. "The parents entertain for their sons the most tender regard; and the father makes him both his companion and his friend; yet the most familiar endearments do not lessen the feeling of reverence a good son entertains for his father."—(*Observations*, &c. vol. i. p. 334.)

Exactly tallying with the above evidence, is what follows:—

"In every eastern family, the great object of respect and devotion is the mother. The children, whatever their affection for their father, never admit of a comparison between the duty they owe to the two parents; witness the familiar expression, 'Pull my father's beard, but do not speak ill of my mother.' The mothers of the Sultans, and of the great men in Turkey, have exercised greater influence over its destinies than the Ninons de l'Enclos, the Maintenons or the Nell Gwynnes of Europe, and may that influence never be less."—(*Spirit of the East*, vol. ii. p. 265-266.)

"One touch of nature makes the world of kin!"

Our own poet Gray probably never heard the Turkish saying, yet he uses the same expression to convey the same feeling; in one of his letters (we quote from memory), he says, "the longer I live, the more I feel her loss; a *man can have but one mother*." Cowper's lines to his mother's picture will recur to every one; but not less touching are the words he addresses to Lady Hesketh, "I lost my mother when I was six years old; fifty years have since elapsed, and during that period there has not been a week—I might, perhaps, with equal truth say, *not a day*—in which I have not recalled her tender care of my infancy." For this quotation we trust to a memory, sometimes treacherous, but not likely to play us false on the present occasion. What a world of meaning lies in Wordsworth's brief lines, contrasting with a poet the mere utilitarian as,

"One who would peep and botanize upon his mother's grave."

But we must not be beguiled by these northern lights from our researches among eastern records.

Romance could not surpass in complicated interest and apparent improbability, the actual history of two eastern queens, the wives of Jehangir and Shah Jehan. The first is familiar to European ears as "The Light of the Harem," but Moore chose to paint such a portrait of the empress as would be sadly marred

if he had allowed his readers to dwell on her image, as the widow of Sher Afkan, the brave and faithful general, whose wrongs (as we read them in Dow's Ferishta) form a sad parallel to those of Uriah the Hittite.* But the poet has strangely passed over one most poetical anecdote recorded of Noormahl. The emperor, when he stamped his wife's name on the current coin of the realm, added these words: "By order of the Emperor Jehangir, gold acquired a hundred times its value, by the name of the Empress Noor Jehan." This might be only a rhetorical flourish, though a very pretty one, tempting us to versify it—

> "Gold, though it told an emperor's fame,
> Was only glittering earth;
> He stamped on it affection's name,
> And multiplied its worth."

But the Emperor's unstudied prose sounds very like the spontaneous voice of affection:—"Of my unreserved confidence this princess is in entire possession, and the whole fortune of my empire has been consigned to this highly endowed family; the father being the comptroller of my treasury; the son, my generalissimo, and the daughter the inseparable companion of all my cares."—(See Khafi Khan's History, quoted by Stewart; Jour. As. Soc. No. II. p. 327.)

The Empress's influence "did not" (in Elphinstone's words) survive her husband, but she met with singularly lenient forbearance from the new Emperor and his minister. Except a light and brief surveillance, until the succession was established, the widow was perfectly unmolested, and for the twenty remaining years of her life regularly received her princely pension of £250,000 a year. After her widowhood she fixed her residence at Lahore, wore no colour but white, and withdrew from all public amusements, finding some employment for her wealthy leisure in designing and building a magnificent tomb for herself, adjoining that wherein her husband was buried at Lahore.—(*Elphinstone's History of India*, vol. ii. p. 387.)

Who has not heard of Agra? Or who that has been there can forget the chief gem of its princely structures? We are not about to inflict on our readers any attempt at describing what has already been so well described by Heber—not to speak

* Elphinstone, in his History of India, seems reluctant to break the poet's spell; he never alludes to Mahl's acquiescence (to use the mildest terms) in her husband's murder, which Ferishta broadly asserts; and her disappointment when the Emperor's conscience withheld him from immediately wearing the jewel he had so unscrupulously won.

of less gifted and illustrious travellers; but out of the thousands who admire the Taj in description, and the hundreds who, on seeing it, are ready to exclaim, "Behold, the half was not told me!" a very small proportion have a distinct idea of the Empress for whom this gorgeous tomb was prepared, "Who was she?"

"Tombed in a palace? Was she chaste and fair?
* * * *
"What race of chiefs and heroes did she bear?
* * * *
"How lived? How loved? How died she?"

Many people take for granted that the Taj was built by "the magnificent son of Akbar," for his Noor Mahl, whose name is become a household word, even in the farthest West, while no one has yet arisen to sing of her niece, Montaza Zemanee, "The most exalted of her age;" "*She* had no poet, and she died." Yet was her career one of unsullied purity, and of more steady domestic happiness than can easily be matched in a palace, far less in a harem. When her poet does appear, she will be found worthy of a noble song; meantime we will render such homage as we can, by combining into somewhat of an intelligible narrative the scattered notices of this illustrious lady that we glean from history. Jehangir, when he married Noor Mahl, espoused her whole family, and never had cause to repent of his kindness to them. Shah Ghiaz, the father, was raised to the highest post in the state, under the title of Itimad-oo-dowlah, "The trusted of the state" and on his death, was succeeded by his son, Asaph Jah. For many years that empress and her brother acted in concert, until, from new connections, arose new interests in the royal family. Noor Mahl bore no children to the emperor, but she had one daughter, the offspring of her first marriage, who became the wife of Shahriar, the fourth son of Jehangir.* The mother's ambition naturally aimed at securing the succession to the throne of her daughter's husband, but to this scheme she found a powerful opponent in her brother, Asoph Jah, now prime minister, who likewise had a princely son-in-law, a candidate for the empire. In the year 1610 the emperor's eldest son and eventual successor, Shah Jehan,† espoused the daughter of Asoph Jah, and thus secured his interest not less by political and selfish motives than by the

* By a slave.

† His mother was a Hindoo daughter of the Rajah Oody Singh, the original name of Shah Jahan was Sultan Khuram. His father gave him the title of King of the World (Shah Jehan), A.D. 1616.

grateful affection a father must have felt to the man who made his daughter happy. "She was that extraordinary beauty of the east, whom he loved so passionately that it is said his conjugal fidelity was unimpeached while she lived; and when she died, he was on the point of death himself."—(Bernier's Travels, vol. ii. p. 207.) She bare her husband twelve children, eight of whom survived her; those who are curious in dates and names may find the whole genealogical table in the short history of the "Moghol Emperors" prefixed to Fraser's life of Nadir Shah; but these particulars, as not so generally interesting, we pass by to give the following extract: "On the eighteenth day of July, 1631, died in childbed, about two hours after the birth of a princess, the favourite Sultana, Arjemnud Banu, the daughter of Asaph Jah. She had been twenty years married to Shah Jehan, and bare him a child almost every year. Four sons and four daughters survived her. When her husband ascended the throne, he dignified her with the title of Mumtaza Zemani, or the most exalted of the age. Though she seldom interfered in public affairs, Shah Jehan owed the empire to her influence with her father, nor was he ungrateful: he loved her living, and lamented her when dead. Calm, engaging, and mild in her disposition, she engrossed his whole affection; and though he maintained a number of women for state, they were only the slaves of her pleasure. She was such an enthusiast in Deism, that she scarce could forbear persecuting the Portuguese for their supposed idolatry; and it was on what concerned that nation, she suffered her temper, which was naturally placid, to be ruffled. To express his respect for her memory, the emperor raised, at Agra, a tomb to her name, which cost in building the amazing sum of seven hundred and forty thousand pounds."—(*Dow's Ferishta*, vol. iii. p. 127.)

There is something in the foregoing sketch that reminds us of the character of Isabella of Castille, a queen who would not have been unworthy, when dead, of such a tomb as the Taj, who would have been worthy while living of such "honour, love, allegiance," as the emperor yielded to his wife, but of which Ferdinand was incapable. The two queens resembled each other not less in the general tenderness and purity of their minds, than in their inconsistent bigotry on religious questions. She who would "have persecuted the Portuguese for their supposed idolatry," would have thought she did God service in a crusade against the Jews. "Whom the gods love die young," was said of old; and when we read of the crimes and sorrows that darkened the last years of Shah Jehan's life, we cannot but

rejoice that his wife "was taken from the evil to come;" that she did not live to see her husband and children torn by unholy feuds, or united by yet more unhallowed bonds. Of these vile passions no trace pollutes the tomb of the empress, which stands in purity, lustre, and beauty, as unrivalled on earth as the moon in the high heavens. Mr. Elphinstone, it is true, speaks of Shah Jehan's conduct as "blameless" throughout his reign (History of India, vol. ii. p. 435), and it would be pleasant to believe that he had merited this praise; but very different evidence is given by Bernier and Ferishta, and we fear they, as more nearly cotemporary with the events they record, are more trustworthy witnesses on the subject. If Agra embodies in the Taj the most gorgeous romance of wedded love, it presents likewise some ugly remains of the reality of life in the harem. Within its fort (or rather palace) the zenana buildings are still in good preservation, exhibiting, like the rest of those marvellous edifices, the extraordinary magnificence of outline and minuteness of decoration that led Heber to say, "These Moslems designed like giants, and finished like jewellers." The following particulars are taken from an unpublished journal, now lying before us:—

"We set off for the fort at daylight, and were in time to see the sun rise across the river; we took our seat in the Jasman Boorj, a little projecting turret of marble lattice that overhangs the Jumna. Overhead, the sky was of that deep, cloudless blue, peculiar to the Indian cold season; but the rising sun lighted up a delicate, silvery, sparkling mist, that harmonized and beautified every object below. We looked down on a wilderness of domes and turrets, mosques, palaces, and tombs, with the Taj, like a presiding genius, rising above them all. In strange contrast to the airy proportions and polished structure of these buildings, were the great, heavy, lumbering boats, creeping down the stream, heaped up with bags of cotton; all clumsy and half-civilized, carrying the mind back centuries beyond the generation that could design and execute the buildings on the banks of the river. The zenana apartments in the fort are in good preservation; their white marble, lace-work screens, gardens of orange-trees and jasmine, fountains and inlaid pavements, all very much according to my preconceived notions of what a seraglio *ought* to be. Leaving this beautiful *cage*, we descended to a large open court, where a low flight of steps led up to the emperor's apartments; beneath the steps is a low, ominous-looking doorway, entering which, we were on the top of a dark, winding staircase, leading to the tai-khana, a set of caverns, or rather catacombs, that honeycomb the

ground beneath the palace. Those chambers opening on the river were airy and pleasant, of a comfortable warmth this cold morning, and of course proportionably cool in the hot weather; but the interior cells seemed a formidable complication of dark vaults, passages, and steps. We were lighted by a torch through some of these recesses, and to one of especial interest leading to the Phanseegah.* Turning to the right, a few yards of narrow winding passage, between dead walls, brought us to the end of a cul-de-sac, where the only opening was a hole, broken in the left-hand wall, just large enough to squeeze through. The light and noise accompanying our approach disturbed hosts of bats and birds, that flapped and wheeled about our heads. Our guide squeezed first through the breach, and stood waiving his torch over a deep chasm, like a huge, dry well, across which ran a strong beam of wood, dangling with ropes. There was a most offensive stench from the pit; I looked down, but there was not light enough to see the bottom, and I was glad to make my escape from the odours and vermin of the place. The tale I heard in explanation of this mysterious vault is, that for years the "passage leading to nothing" had been a puzzle to those who visited the tai-khannas. At last, some remarked that the wall to the left hand sounded hollow when struck, and this discovery was followed up by Sir Charles Metcalfe I think, who broke the hole already mentioned, and found the formidable pit I have described; to the beam that traverses it were hanging the remains of human skeletons, which the learned pronounced to be those of *females*. Putting all circumstances together, this pit was supposed to be the place where the obnoxious ladies of the harem were disposed of,—a "cleanlier riddance" of them, their wrongs and crimes, than the Turkish plan of sewing them in sacks, conveniently near as the Jumna flows to the palace of Agra."

In farther illustration of Mussalman domestic life, we may instance another relic now existing in the neighbourhood of Agra, and not testifying to very refined treatment of women there. Futtehpoor Sikre, and once the residence of Akber, is now a wilderness of buildings, so mutilated, yet still in places so unimpaired as to give a more melancholy sense of desolation than ruins that appear to have mouldered away under the natural touch of time. Within an open square enclosure, forming the centre of the imperial apartments, there is a raised platform, paved in squares of different colours after the fashion of a chess-

* Literally, place of hanging.

board. Here, as legends tell, was played a "royal game of goose," termed pucheesee,* the pieces in which were thirty-two ladies of zenana, sixteen on each side; the emperor sat as umpire; the nobles stood as spectators; two favoured lords who had been selected as combatants manœuvred their forces with all the skill and attention of chess-players, and the victor carried off the thirty-two damsels;—an amusement, Mr. Urquhart would probably say, more adopted to European coarseness than Asiatic chivalry. All Bernier's writings, especially his account of the royal progress from Delhi to Kashmir, abound in particulars illustrative of the real position of the ladies of the imperial zenana. What will patronesses of those masquerades of charity called "*fancy fairs*" in the civilised world say, when they learn that this invention of the nineteenth century with them was anticipated at Delhi at least two hundred years before they were born? Bernier describes "a kind of fair, held in the Mahal or imperial seraglio, in which the women of the omrahs and of the principal munseldars, particularly those most fascinating, undertake the office of merchants, and expose for sale certain descriptions of goods, when the king, *in propriâ personâ*, buys, as do all the begums or princesses, and other distinguished ladies of the seraglio."—(*Bernier's Travels*, &c. p. 183.)

Nor were the matrons of Delhi less keenly alive than are those of London to the advantages for "*forming an establishment*" to be found in such a market. "If any of these female merchants should happen to have a handsome daughter, she is also taken to the fair, where, should the king chance to see her, she is sure to be introduced to the begums." And, farther (we entreat our readers to consult the original, lest they suspect us of playing on their credulity), our traveller tells us that "a continual uproar is raised scarcely credible;" but "a price, when once agreed upon, is instantly paid down: but it not unfrequently happens that the king and the begums, instead of paying rupees or the real cost of the article, slip into the hand of the female vender or daughter some gold mohurs, as if done unintentionally. These females receive the same, pretending not to perceive the difference, and all this is transacted with mutual expressions of flattery, gallantry, and love."—(*Bernier's Travels*, &c. p. 184.)

While writing these remarks, we have met with a passage in "Hay's Western Barbary" so appropriate to the subject before us, that we cannot refrain from extracting it:—

* *Puchees* mean twenty-five. The game called Pucheesee is played with couries instead of dice, and (according to Shakespear's Dictionary) is so called from the highest throw being twenty-five. Our royal game seems to have been a variety of Puchecsee, but as played with thirty-two pieces should have been called Butecsee.

"In the district of Bemin Sooar, a mountainous country inhabited entirely by Berber tribes, there is one place where, during the fair, a barter of a very curious kind takes place. This fair is held only once a year, and is chiefly resorted to for the purpose of bachelors finding wives, married men adding to their matrimonial treasures, and maidens or widows getting husbands. In fact, the whole affair resolves itself into the women selling themselves; but to escape the ignominy of such a procedure, the traffic is carried on in the following manner:—Each lady desiring to enter into wedlock, dresses herself in her best and most becoming attire, and taking with her a piece of cloth of her own weaving, sits down unveiled in the market-place. The men, both young and old, who are candidates for matrimony, parade about the market, examining the texture of the cloth displayed by the ladies, and scrutinizing at the same time their looks and behaviour Should the customer be pleased with the maiden, he inquires about the cloth. She replies, by naming what she would expect as a dowry; and the amount of this she raises or depresses, according as the candidate for her heart may please her, resorting to the demand of an exorbitant sum should she be averse to the purchaser. During this barter, the enamoured swain is able, in some degree, to judge of her temper and character. If she come to an agreement, the parents of the girl are appealed to, and they have the right to assent or not, as they please. Should they assent, the parties adjourn to a public notary, the contract is made, and the purchased bride is carried off to her new home. In this traffic widows are at a low price in general, and divorced ladies sell their cloths very cheap. The wife thus purchased cannot be resold, however much the purchaser may repent of his bargain. She is his *lawful wedded wife*, and retains the purchase-money, which is her jointure or dowry. It is evident that this curious system of barter has been resorted to by these Mahomedan mountaineers, as a means of evading the law of the Prophet, which interdicts all courtship before marriage."

The following description of a royal march, gives an idea of something very noble: "In truth, nothing can be conceived more stately than the spectacle of Roshenara Begum marching first, mounted on a large Pegue elephant in Meghdambhar, all glittering with gold and azure, followed by five or six other elephants with meghdambhars, almost as splendid as her own, filled with the principal female officers of her household; some of the principal eunuchs richly attired, and seated to advantage at her side, each holding a cane in his hand; and a troop of Tartarian and Kashmerian maids of honour around her person, fantastically dressed, and mounted on fine nags; and lastly, several more eunuchs on horseback, accompanied by a host of pages on foot, carrying large sticks, who proceed far in advance on all sides to repel the crowd. After Roshenara Begum, were some of the chief ladies of the court, with equipage and attendants, proportionably superb; then a third, a fourth, and so on, to fifteen or sixteen, all in vehicles more or less magnificent, with attendants according to their rank, pay, and office."—(*Bernier's Travels*, p. 83.)

Elephants, however, are neither a safe nor a pleasant conveyance on any but a soft and level country. Bernier thus describes the passage of the Peer Punjab by Aurungzebe, in progress to Kashmeer: "Whilst the king was ascending, followed by a train of elephants, upon which were seated the females in meghdambhars and embarys, the foremost of these animals, taking fright at the sight of such a long and steep ascent, suddenly started, and fell back upon the next, causing it to fall on a third, so that fifteen in succession were at once precipitated down the precipice. This unfortunate catastrophe occasioned the death of three or four of the women; and more would have perished had the precipice been steeper:—the fifteen elephants were, however, left for dead upon the spot, for when once these huge and unwieldy animals fall under their weighty burthens, they never rise again."—(*Ibid.* p. 121-122.)

But, after all, how inadequate are the ideas we can form of a *people* from the most accurate description of a court! There were as many degrees between the splendours of Roshenara Begum's train, and the hardships felt by others in the same camp, as might be traced between Government House, Calcutta, and a barrack at Sukker.

For a thorough contrast between romance and reality, we might take the description of Lala Rookh's journey across the Punjab (we do not quote what is so universally read), and the miserable reality of a royal Zenana travelling the same road in our own day. Major George Broadfoot has done much to distinguish himself, and will be remembered till the siege of Jelalabad is forgotten; but were that officer called on to specify the most arduous of his services, he would probably name his march, in charge of Shah Zeman and his family, and Shah Soojah's wives, and other feminine appendages, from Loodianah to Kabul, in the year 1841. Imagine seven hundred women, young and old, in one camp; the clatter and bustle of their getting up before daylight, and bestowing themselves in their various litters and camel-panniers! Imagine the task of listening to complaints, entreaties, remonstrances, appeals vociferated by the invisible dwellers within the curtains, distracted between anxiety to gain a hearing, and the fear of exposing their "dedicated charms!" One, at least, of these poor women is said to have paid dearly for preserving her rigid etiquette; her camel fell, and she was entangled in its furniture; one or more of the English officers came to her assistance, but she joined the chorus of women who cried out to let her perish, rather than touch her, or lift her veil; and, if we

are rightly informed, perish she did, in her ineffectual struggles to escape from under the huge and terrified animal.

Before taking leave of the harem, and attempting some notice of Hindoo women, it may be amusing to take a glance at those households which combine the romance of eastern and western life. We speak not here of connections implying either immorality or disgrace, but of those like Meer Hassan Ali's, or the case of Major H. quoted in our second number from the "Adventurer in the Punjab." The grounds of objection to such alliances lie too deep to be touched on thus cursorily, and the arguments are perhaps too subtle to admit of much dogmatism. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with saying that all practical considerations lead us to think each race of man best mated from its own kind, though some of the greatest legislators and statesmen have upheld a different doctrine. Urquhart, from behind the masked battery of a long quotation from Napoleon, fires a formidable volley against the ancient Frank prejudices that exist in favour of a man having but one wife, and her being of his own colour.—"If ever we intend to give liberty to the black, and establish perfect equality in our colonies, we must authorize polygamy. Then will the different colours, forming a portion of the same family, be confounded in the opinion of each."—(*Spirit*, &c. vol. ii. p. 436.) This is the doctrine of the French Emperor, quoted approvingly by the English traveller, who adds "that in the East neither difference of colour nor of rank, class or station, creates difference of feeling, or aversion between man and man, in opposition to the universal experience of European nations who speak so much of our philanthropy and liberty."—*Ibid.*

Neither the premises nor inferences here given are borne out by facts. The Asiatic, however unfettered he may be by uncharitable prejudice or by illiberal laws, seldom avails himself of his prerogative to fill his harem from among the darker tribes of Africa. The fairest of his own race are those he selects for wives and concubines, while those of a darker skin are taken for menial offices. Here and there a royal voluptuary may seek the stimulating novelty of a bride "black but comely, like the tents of Kedar;" but it is easy to see, from the Song of Songs, how such alliance was esteemed, even in the time of Solomon. Mr. Urquhart, indeed, completely begs the question when he assumes that aversion must exist between man and man among tribes that object to matrimonial alliances between man and woman, or that the absence of his reluctance has even a tendency to "give liberty to the black," and produce the other

"desirable results" referred to. No European nation has shown such exemption from the prejudice in question as the Portuguese; Albuquerque encouraged alliances between his people and Asiatics, and the physical results of these connections is in our day apparent in the deteriorated, miserable descendants of the Portuguese, now living on the coasts of India.

Nor have the moral results of similar alliances been more satisfactory, if we may take the testimony of an intelligent though coxcombical observer—one who certainly was not biassed by any Christian or antiquated prejudices. Victor Jacquemont, describing St. Domingo and its inhabitants, says,—"The Portuguese, like the Spaniards, feel not the contempt, the physical repugnance towards negroes, which few English or French can resist . . . . but they are not the less violent and merciless masters." The same letter contains details quite sufficient to prove that the negroes have no cause to rejoice in Portuguese freedom from prejudice Illustration, however, is more to our present purpose than argument. Mrs. Meer Hassan is not the only English lady who has tried a zenana life at Lucknow: one, the widow of a king, there still, we believe, survives. Not many years ago, the Eurasian daughter of an English gentleman married a brother of the Nuwab of Furukabad, and it is said that the present heir-presumptive to the crown of Morocco is the son of an English mother. There appears no reason to doubt an anecdote current in Hindostan respecting Major Skinner, brother to old "Sikunder Sahib"—a name well known in both Mahratta and British "passages of arms," and familiar in our own day, for more peaceful pursuits in the improvement of his jaghir and farms in the Delhi territory. The brother of whom we speak served likewise in a Mahratta army, and lived after the fashion of the natives around him. He had an oriental wife, to whom he was greatly attached, and whom he entirely trusted. Aspersions were cast on this lady's fame; her husband called her before him, told her of the slander, professed his own confidence in her honour, but added that the very imputation was a disgrace not to be borne, and ended by sentencing her and some of her female attendants (two or three, as the story goes) to death. The wife meekly acquiesced, and only asked as a favour that she and her handmaidens might be permitted to bathe and purify themselves before meeting their fate. This was granted. The victims retired to perform their ablutions, and, having dressed and decorated themselves, appeared before their lord. He, too, was ready, his fire-arms loaded. He embraced his wife, and then deliberately shot, first her and then

her women; and when certain that his work of death was accomplished, he took up another pistol that was likewise prepared, and shot himself.

The late Colonel Gardiner and his son, now residing at Khasgunje, between Furukabad and Alighur, are further, though happier, examples of this sort of connexion.—Colonel Gardiner was an officer in His Majesty's service, which he resigned for more stirring employment under an Indian chief. Strange and perilous were many passages of his life, which from his own lips we have heard. He came over on the proclamation at the commencement of the first Mahratta war, and soon had an opportunity of evincing his skill and courage in behalf of his country. At the head of about two thousand Irregulars, he was one of the first to make an impression on the Goorkha power, by effecting a lodgement in Kali Kumaon. During the rest of the campaign, he gave valuable assistance to the British Commander in that quarter, Colonel Nicoll (the late Commander-in-chief). He was an excellent partisan officer; but it is to his and his son's tale of love we would here allude. We do not remember the exact circumstances of the accident by which he first caught sight of his Moslem bride, or how he managed to enter the zenana of the royal house of Delhi, and at length procure in marriage the hand of a daughter of the Great Mogul; we shall therefore leave it to romance-filled minds to conjecture the rise and progress of this very uncommon love affair between an English gentleman and a descendant of Timour. With truth, however, we believe, it may be said that the marriage was a happy one. The colonel's son and heir followed his father's example, married a scion of the same royal family; and we see it stated in a late Delhi paper that "Mr. Gardiner has arrived in the palace on a visit to his Majesty."

Summer, Sombre, Sumroo, as it is variously spelled and pronounced, is a name that has been before the world for eighty years, and is not less familiar in England than in Hindostan. The massacre of the English at Patna in the year 1763, has infamously immortalized it. The old Begum at Sirdanha, whom Jacquemont describes "with a face shrivelled up like a dried raisin"—the luckless heir to her wealth, who "would a wooing go," and has had bitter cause to lament the ambition that led him beyond his own kith and kin—all these now belong to the various departments of history. The contemporary annals respecting such a family, cannot be without interest, and deserve to be sketched in illustration of Indian life, before they fade away into vague tradition.

Begum Sumroo left the bulk of her property to her protegé (*not* her son), commonly called Dyce Sombre; but her wealth was sufficient likewise to moderately endow, if not enrich, his two sisters, who married European gentlemen, an Englishman and an Italian. Though professing Christianity, these ladies preserved a strictly Asiatic seclusion, at least while they remained in this country. Some one at Mussoorie asked the Italian gentleman, whether his lady, when she accompanied him home, would not adopt European habits and costume? "Ah! mais non—never, Sir—*Imagine he in stay!*" replied the well judging husband. European dress is even more disfiguring to a woman than to a man of oriental complexion; yet it is as much sought after by some of them, as Kashmir shawls are by the belles of Paris. "Her Majesty, the Queen of Oude," was inexpressibly delighted with silk stockings, prescribed by her English medical attendant as a remedy for cold feet: and we have been told by a lady who visited the Rajah of Juanpoor's family, that the ladies arrayed in jewels and silks, exhibited all these costly and beautiful articles with much less complacency than they manifested when pointing out their English *spotted cotton pocket-handkerchiefs*. It was a fancy of the late Maharajah, Sher Singh, that his favourite wife, a pretty girl of fifteen, should wear an European dress. A lady who visited the royal zenana at Lahore, described to us the ludicrous appearance of the Maharanee, attired in the very extreme of all that was incongruous and absurd in the French fashion of a few years before. The Queen desired to show her friendship by exchanging dresses with her visitor, but this favour the latter declined, on the plea that, as she was in deep mourning, her dress would be unlucky. The lady afterwards prepared some elegant specimens of English attire, as a present to the Queen, and had them actually packed up to send across the Sutlege, when news came that the poor Ranee had shared her husband's fate, in the massacre at Lahore, October 1843, of which some account was given in a former number of this Review.

In the same article we had occasion frequently to mention the name of General Court, a highly respectable French officer lately in the Punjabee service, and noticed his having been obliged to take refuge on the British side of the Sutlege, from the violence of his own Seikh troops, after the accession of Maharajah Sher Singh. The General twice formed such connexions as are under notice. He was for several months a refugee within the British territory, and repeatedly claimed his discharge. It was refused; so disdaining to decamp without leave, he returned to Lahore, but foreseeing the probability of some such bouleversement as after-

wards took place, the General wisely left his zenana in safe quarters at Loodianah, where the lady was well esteemed, and received much kind attention from the wives of the American missionaries settled at that station. Madame Court was willing to be instructed in the truths of Christianity, though she made no profession of belief in them, while in India; but the public papers have lately given us an account of her formal christening and remarriage according to Catholic ceremonies, by the Archbishop of Marseilles, in the presence of several French nobles and connexions of General Court. The lady was by a slight flourish, pronounced by the press to be "an Indian princess." She was probably something much better—a Kashmeree girl, purchased early and educated with a view to after marriage by her worthy husband.

We allude to this incident as a pleasant set-off against other cases of what we have ventured to term these unsuitable marriages. To return to the Begum Sumroo—gifted with extraordinary personal strength as well as beauty; courageous, vindictive, unscrupulous; described by some as a very Dalilah in simulating affection for her infatuated victim, while plotting his destruction; she combined all that was hateful in a woman, with many of the masculine qualities that form a good governor. This extraordinary woman affords another instance that good sense and determination in even a depraved ruler may, at least for the time, operate more favourably on the people than the most benevolent designs of short-sighted indecision. As one of the extraordinary characters of modern Indian History; as one whose long and chequered career contains materials for half a dozen romances of the "love and war" school, we will give her and her family another page of our review.

Begum Sumroo's first husband, or keeper (for it is not established whether in the first instance she was married), was a Frenchman, by name Walter Reinehard, a man of ability and enterprise, but entirely without principle. He assumed the name of Summer, which, owing to his dark complexion, his comrades changed to Sombre, which the Indians corrupted to Sumroo.

He was a deserter of a very unusual stamp. His first service was in Europe whence he absconded, and enlisted in the Anglo-Swiss company, in Calcutta, which, after an eighteen days' stay, he deserted, and joined the French at Chandernagore, and was promoted to the rank of sergeant. He then a second time abandoned his country's standard. He then joined Sufder Jung, of Oude, as a private horseman, deserted him and entered

the service of an Armenian renegade, called Gregory, or Goorgeen Khan, high in favour with Kassim Ally, at first the creature, and afterwards the victim of British Moorshedabad policy. In his new service, Sumroo acquired favour, and was soon raised to the command of one, and then of two battalions. While in such charge he was entrusted with the custody of the British prisoners, taken in the factory at Patna, and became the willing instrument of their cold-blooded massacre. Every individual but the surgeon (Fullerton) was destroyed. Shortly after this sanguinary transaction, and just before the decisive battle of Buxar, Sumroo joined Shujah-oo-Dowlah, the Nuwab Vizier of Oude, and remained with him till the peace with the English; when, a demand being made for his surrender, he was sent out of the way. The Nuwab declared that he could not *with honour* surrender the criminal, but to show his own good will to the English, *he was willing to cause his assassination*, and was prepared to prove his own sincerity before any two British officers, who might be deputed for the purpose.* A strange punctilio, but quite in keeping with many Indian notions, and not inconsistent with some barbarous relics among more civilized people.† Sumroo next joined the Jauts, then the Jeypoor Rajah, and eventually died in the service of Nujuff Khan, minister of Shah Aulum the second. The minister gave the adventurer the Purgunnah of Sirdhana, in the Meerut district, as a Jaghir for the support of two regiments. The command and Jaghir were, according to Jonathan Scott,‡ left to his son and a *favourite con-*

* We owe this anecdote to the excellent military history of India now appearing in a local journal, the *Calcutta Star*.

† As a specimen of what is thought by natives of India of surrendering criminals, we annex the following extract from Colonel Sutherland's little volume on our "Internal Relations." In 1806, the Wukeels of Holkar observed to Sir John Malcolm, "The Rajah of Jeypoor will no doubt continue to enjoy the friendship of the English, as he had disgraced himself to please that nation by giving up to their vengeance the unfortunate Vizeer-Ally, who had sought its protection." A year or two ago, when Maharajah Man Singh of Joudpoor was required to render up Appah Sahib, the Ex-Raja of Nagpoor, who had sought refuge in his territory, and was told that the Jeypoor Government had given up some of Appah Sahib's followers, apprehended in that territory, he observed, "Jeypoor has before disgraced itself in that way, but that is no reason that Joudpoor should do so likewise." The head of a common village on the Delhi frontier, on being required to render up a plunderer, said, "Do you think I am a Rajah of Jeypoor, that I should do this?' Within our own knowledge also, when Colonel Alves was attacked in the Jeypoor palace and Mr. Blake murdered in the city, a native chief, hundreds of miles from Rajpootanah, remarked to an European gentleman, "Jeypoor will now be doubtless added to the Company's territories, and the Jeypoor people will get their reward for their baseness in giving up Vizeer-Ally."

‡ History of Dekkan, vol. ii. page 254. Scott's words are, "His corps and maintenance of sixty-five thousand rupees per month."

cubine. Colonel Franklin, however, who associated personally with the Begum for some time at Sirdhana, chronicles her as the "daughter of a Mogul nobleman," and the wife of Sumroo. Franklin is not a judicious historian, and was probably influenced, as many have been, by hospitality and good cheer, for which the Begum to the last was celebrated. But whatever was her origin,—whether a slave girl, as many say, or a sprig of Mogul nobility, she had a bold and masculine spirit, and on several occasions headed her troops in the field. On one occasion (in 1787) she saved Shah Alum from the designs of Gholam Kader, who, observing her spirit, actually offered a coalition with her on equal terms; but she declined the proposal. Next year, the Begum repulsed Nujuf Kouly Khan, when the king's army, all except her own brigade, had fled. Having previously been honoured with the title of "Zeeb-al-Nissa, or ornament of the Sex," she was now called, his Majesty's "most beloved daughter." The same year (1788), had the pusillanimous monarch taken her advice, and partaken of her spirit, he would have been spared the spoliation of his harem, and the loss of his eyes, inflicted by the monster, Gholam Kader. Sumroo died in 1776, and for nearly twenty years the Begum remained single, more than holding her own amidst the convulsions of the times. In 1795 her territory of Sirdhana was worth ten lakhs of rupees a year; she had five battalions, forty guns of sorts, and two hundred Europeans and Eurasians in her service, and was courted by the rival Mogul and Mahrattah leaders of the day. She then became enamoured of Mr. Vaisseaux, a German artillery-man in her service, and, against the consent of her followers, married him. There are various versions of the catastrophe that ensued. Modern writers relate that, tired of the husband, or at the bidding of her people, she concerted with her troops that they should spread a false report of intended mutiny. The feigned alarm being given, she represented to her husband that their only safety lay in flight, and they accordingly left Sirdhana, in separate litters. As they were to pass through the supposed mutineers, the Begum and Vaisseaux agreed that, in case of one being assassinated, the other should commit suicide. All being arranged by the lady, her husband's litter was soon carried ahead of her own; a mock attack was made on her: he heard the discharge of muskets and the noise of a scuffle. In a few minutes, an attendant of the Begum ran after Vaisseaux, bearing a bloody garment, and saying that his mistress had been shot, and with her dying breath sent that token. The infatuated man believed the story, and thereupon shot

himself.* Such is the current version of this tragedy, but Franklin, whose evidence, as a contemporary, is more to be relied on as to facts, states that the troops and foreign chiefs, who wished to put up the son of the Sumroo (by a former wife) took advantage of the absence, on a tour, of the newly married pair, seized the town of Sirdhana, proclaimed the son as chief, and following the Begum and Vaisseaux seized and imprisoned both: that the latter in desperation destroyed himself, and that next year the Begum negotiated her own release. This, as the most charitable version of the story, we would wish to consider the authentic one. In 1803, the territory of Sirdhana came under British protection, and the Begum, in reward for her having early joined Lord Lake's army, was guaranteed in her possessions. Considering her as a native ruler, Begum Sumroo was an enlightened one. She improved her territory, and by a strong administration kept up a good police, allowing no one to oppress her subjects but herself. But, as a Christian, we fear that she and others of her sort have done more injury than good to the cause of Christ. Many are the dark tales told of her zenana; one, that has gone the round of the papers, never, to our knowledge, having been contradicted, must, we fear, be recorded as a fact, that she buried a slave girl alive, and placed her own charpae over the living grave. One such anecdote is sufficient. The Begum was popular with Europeans: who is not that gives parties and lavishly entertains? We write it with shame, that on one occasion we were among her guests on a Christmas day. In the morning, the Catholic service was performed in the church at Sirdhana; in the evening a dinner was prepared for all comers, during and after which nautch girls sang and danced for the amusement of the company—a heathenizing of our most sacred Christian festival that cannot be too much reprobated. But enough of the old Begum.

We had intended to enter somewhat at large into Hindoo domestic life, but have already exceeded our limits. Having in our last number, under the head of Kulin Brahminism, dwelt on some features of this subject, it is the less necessary now to do so. We shall, therefore, with a few words and as many examples, dismiss the subject.

Hindoo domestic manners are even more inaccessible than Mahomedan; the two systems having in Hindostan borrowed each other's most exclusive customs. The Mussulman here is absolutely a Hindoo in his notions of ceremonial defilement,

* This will remind many of our readers of a similarly atrocious stratagem attributed—falsely, we believe—to Theodore Hook.

and the wealthy Hindoo is nearly as tenacious as the Moslem about the privacy of his women. The system of veiling and locking up came in with the Mussulman conquerors as the only means of preserving the Hindoo women from insult, and then it became a mark of wealth and rank. But all over India, women of the lower (or rather of the *poorer*) classes, including Brahmins and Rajpoots, go about unveiled, and somehow or other, the uncovered face of a Hindoo girl, who comes to meet us, balancing a pyramid of water-pots on her head, has to our taste a far more modest and less suspicious aspect, than the shrouded form of a Mussulmanee, who, at our approach, stops and turns her back, while she giggles within her chudder.

The Jaut, Shikh, and Mahratta women, until very lately, had no idea of secluding themselves, and to this day the ceremony sits irksomely on them. We have seen ladies of rank on horseback, and in their halls of audience, with very slight coverings thrown over their heads. At one such interview, to which we had been particularly invited by a venerable matron of eighty years of age, who in her youth had ridden many a raid, and probably been up with the foremost, but apparently had become fastidious in her old age, our hostess caused a sheet to be extended perpendicularly between us as we talked. Younger and fairer damsels are less particular.

Scott Waring, in his history of the Mahrattas, mentions having seen the wife of Bajee Rao (the still living ex-Peshwa) "lunging her horse before a crowd of spectators,"* and we are acquainted with a princely house, professing great ceremonial strictness, whose Ranee, to this day, appears in public, carried by women in a sort of Nalkee (state palankeen) and nominally screened from public gaze merely by a gauze curtain, "which shows the form it seems to hide."

The Shasters only allow one wife, and we find nothing in them alluding to seclusion, though much enjoining subjection. A woman cannot eat in the presence of her husband; she may not speak of him by his name. Many such absurd and degrading ordinances are enjoined. There are eight descriptions of marriage, and, according to the Metakhra Shaster, a man having no children by his first wife may marry a second, third, and even a fourth time, but it must be with her consent and that of those already united to him. A Rajah may have seven, some say ten wives, if the first six or nine prove barren. In the olden times it was partially the custom to allow the right of choice to royal maidens. The enterprising traveller, Forster,

* History of the Mahrattas, page 213.

says, "Hindoo women of distinction, by ancient as well as existing usage, were not debarred the right. When a female of the royal race was marriageable, or supposed to possess a discriminating choice, she was conducted to an apartment where many youths of her own tribe were assembled, and being desired to select from them her future husband, she distinguished the object of her partiality by throwing over his neck a wreath of flowers. This custom, I am informed, has been observed within these late years at Tanjore."

The author of the "Adventurer in the Punjab" thus prettily versifies the practice:—

"My mother bids me seek a spouse,
To whom to give my maiden vows;
Rajahs and Thakoors, waiting near,
Abide my choice 'twixt hope and fear.

"Within my heart a gem lies hid,
For him 't will glow who lifts the lid;
Within my breast a fountain sleeps,
For him 't will gush who opes its deeps

"Within my soul I feel a power
To love through every changeful hour;
But none has waked that slumbering might,
Or kindled that still sleeping light.

"A vision visits oft my dreams,
A bright and manly form it seems;
But when the expectant crowd draw near,
Will such a form 'mid them appear?

"Then who shall wear the nuptial wreath,
If none can wake affection's breath?
No, rather let me still abide
A maiden by my mother's side."

With Hindoos, as among Mahommedans, there is no limitation to concubines and slave girls; Abul Fazel tells us that "Akbar's harem was of such immense extent as to contain a separate room for every one of the women, whose number exceeds five thousand." Five hundred was not an unusual number for a royal establishment at Delhi, in the Dekkan, or Juanpoor; but the viceroys of provinces often usurped what was considered the regal privilege of a "Parc aux cerfs." Ferishtah tells us that the Emperor Shere was enraged because "Paran Mull, the son of Sucdeo Parbia, having reduced some neighbouring districts, kept no less than *two thousand concubines and dancing girls in his harem.*"*

* * * * * *

* Gladwin's translation of Ayeen Akbery, p. 41, vol. i.

"The king resenting this encroachment upon the privileges of royalty, marched and invested him in the fort of Rasein;" offered the recusant terms, which were accepted, and "Paran accordingly marched out with four thousand Rajaputs, and, trusting to the faith which had been pledged, encamped at a small distance," when they were set upon by the faithless monarch and his myrmidons, but "the Rajaputs, placing death in one eye and revenge in the other, fought till every man of them was laid dead on the plain, and above double their number of the assassins."—(*Dow's Ferishta*, p. 115, vol. ii.)

Too many such massacres blot the pages of the eastern historian. Indeed licentiousness and murder, wholesale or in detail, were the chief, and often the only, amusements of the native rulers, whose example, the diseased imaginations of some of our countrymen would bid us follow.

The establishments of Hindoo chiefs sometimes include hundreds of slave girls, who are fixed to menial occupations during the day, but are allowed unlimited freedom at night—a liberty which of course leads to licentiousness; and instances are known of the master's sharing in the infamous profits earned by these wretched creatures.

We had purposed to sketch the career of a princess whose name often appears in our Indian gazettes as "Her Highness the Baizee Baee;" but our canvass is already crowded with too many figures. We therefore refer those who wish for particulars, to "Broughton's Letters from a Mahratta Camp" and Grant Duff's Mahratta History; and will only state, for the benefit of home readers, that this lady is the daughter of the notorious Sirjee Rao Ghatkea, and the widow of Doulut Rao Sindea. Her own career, with that of her father and husband, would furnish materials for half a dozen romances of the George Sand or Harrison Ainsworth school. Her highness is now a resident within our territories and a pensioner on our Government; but not very faithful to the salt she eats. The Baee has a brother who likewise swallows a pension, with as good a grace as the "Ancient Pistol" did Fluellen's leek. This worthy, named Hindoo Rao, resides at Delhi, in which neighbourhood he may be seen figuring in topboots and other affectations of English costume He formed one of the assemblage at Ferozepoor in 1838, when Lord Auckland and Runjeet Singh diplomatized at each other. Being a pushing fellow, he thrust himself into a foremost place at one of the interviews between the Governor General and the Maharajah; when a Seikh asked the Mahratta "Are you not a pensioner of the English?" "Yes," was the pithy reply, "and so will you be soon."

Another notorious Messalina of the Mahratta Court, was Toolsee Bhae, the mistress of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and his successor in the government of the Holkar territory. A bold, bad woman, she was feared and hated alike by Pathan and Mahratta. The chiefs of both parties conspired to murder her, and throw her body into the Sepree, the night before the battle of Mehidpoor, where the success of our troops terminated the independent career of the Holkar family. Perhaps, the saddest incident among the sad chronicles of Indian domestic life, is the murder of Kishen-kower, daughter of the Rana of Oodypoor, the noblest of the Rajpoot princes. The only family among them "who escaped the pollution of an alliance with the line of Timoor."*

The maiden was young and surpassingly beautiful. She was wooed by the rival chiefs of Jeypour and Joudpoor, both inferior to her father in dignity, but exceeding him in power. Each suitor urged his claim, and each threatened war in case of rejection. The miserable father might well exclaim like the Judge of Israel, "Alas, my daughter, thou hast brought me very low, for thou art one of those that trouble me!" His kingdom was already brought to the verge of ruin by the inroads of the Mahrattas and predatory Pathan bands; the rival suitors threatened its entire desolation; the least evil he saw before him was, to a Rajpoot, the disgraceful alternative of his daughter remaining unmarried. One fearful solution of the difficulty was urged upon the Rana by Ameer Khan and Ajeet Singh,† but from such a sacrifice even a Rajpoot father shrank. The maiden herself, however, like Jephthah's daughter, was a willing victim to her father's false sense of honour; she voluntarily accepted the poisoned chalice, and thrice drained its contents saying, as she took the last draught, "this was the marriage to which I was foredoomed." ‡

We cannot resist adding some "more last words," for which we expect the reader's thanks. They are taken from Capt. Abbott's poem of "the Thakoorine," and give utterance to the feelings of a Rajpootnie ere she drank

> "That cup which ne'er was named, but crept
> Gloom to the hearer's soul—that slept
> In deepest mystery, known to one,
> The house's Lord—and her whose doom,

* "The Thakoorine," a poem by Captain James Abbott.

† See the particulars of the conduct of Ameer Khan and his vile coadjutor, in Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. pages 341 and 342, where is also detailed the noble conduct of the Rajpoot chief Sugwan Singh—a beautiful contrast to the scoundrels above mentioned.

‡ At page 395 of our second number, we gave the assigned cause of the origin of such sacrifices among the Rajpoots.

From time to time, in Thakoor eyes
Required the gloomy sacrifice.

* * * *

Full well I know,
Father, how pure the virgin snow
Of Thakoor fame must be. Thou ne'er
For me dishonour's brunt shalt bear,
As the first Thakoorine whose breath
Faltered 'twixt infamy and death.
Father, my choice is made! Yet ere
I braid in Doorga's knot my hair,
Oh! let me once, once only, view
The glad, green earth, the heaven's pure blue;
Once more, from 'neath the old, loved tree,
Gaze o'er Nurbudda's waters free,
Envy each wave bright dancing past,
And look, and know that look my last;
Then one fond glance to heaven I'll fling,
To wood and wild my anthem sing,
Take the last draught, the oblation make,
Nor count it bitter, for thy sake!

(Page 61.)

* * * *

Wreathe, wreathe the bowl with flowers for me;
Let not my last, deep draught be sad;
The butterfly, the summer bee,
The woodland bird, is glad—is glad.
Like them, in smiles would I be clad
(Creatures of one, bright, sunny clime),
Till the cold wave my couch be made,
Cut off in virgin prime.

Wreathe, wreathe with smiles the bowl for me,
Bring clusters from each laughing flower;
Lord of the future, death shall be
My vassal, till the appointed hour:
Then, seek nor tomb nor cypress bower,
Emotion's wealth, a smile, my shrine;
But muse thou o'er some lone, frail flower,
Cut off in virgin prime.

(Page 70.)

We have called the maiden Kishen Kour, being the name by which she is best known to fame; but Colonel Sutherland more accurately designates her Keshna Koomara Baee. The Colonel, like all who mention her name, does so with enthusiasm, and tells us she consented to die "to save her native country from being overrun by the armies which would have advanced to the plains of Oudeepore, to contend in the usual vulgar fashion for that one thing, which neither force can gain, nor gold can buy—woman's love."

Turn we from so sad a tale of murdered innocence, and from the details of those whose lives induced Colonel Sutherland to

style them the strumpetocracy of India, the Tara Baes, the Chund Kowrs, the Baiza Baes. From them let us turn to one noble character, one that would have adorned any age, and any country.

We give a somewhat full detail of this noble lady, and her husband's family, as the rise of the latter is a fair sample of the class that includes the Hyder Allys, Sindeahs, Runjeet Sings, the Nizams of the Dekkan, Kings of Oude, Ameers of Sinde, and scores of inferior chiefs who have carved out principalities from the fragments of the Mogul empire; not one of them older than our own, and none having hereditary right, or stronger claim, than that of the English.

Mulhar Row Holkar, the founder of the Holkar family, was a native of the Dekkan of the shepherd tribe, and, for years in his youth, watched the flocks of his maternal uncle, who lived in Kandeish. He soon changed the crook for the sword, and became, almost immediately, by his personal bravery, skill, and activity, one of the most distinguished Mahratta leaders.

The first banner under which he served was that of Kuddum Bandee, a Mahratta chief of rank; but he soon changed it for the service of the first Peshwa Bajerow. He, however, assumed the colours of the Bandee chiefs, and, in after days, materially assisted the family of his former master.

In the year 1751, the vizier of the empire Sufder Jung, having called in the Mahrattas to protect Oude from the Rohillas, Holkar commanded the auxiliary force, and attacked the Rohilla camp by night with complete success, by causing lights to be placed in every bush and tree in one direction, several thousand head of cattle, with torches tied on their horns, to be driven from another, while he attacked from a third. Holkar was an illiterate adventurer, and had neither heard of Hannibal nor of Samson's stratagem; but military genius, though improveable, is innate.*

Mulhar Rao was one of the Mahratta chiefs at the disastrous battle of Panniput, and the only one who brought off his division with little loss. The Mahrattas were prudent soldiers, though, when occasion required, often sufficiently bold. It was, however, no point of honour with them to stand to be killed unnecessarily. There was much dissension in the Mahratta camp at Panniput. The commander, Sedasheo Bhow, the brother of the

* Within a few years of this exploit we find the uneducated and dissipated English adventurer George Thomas casting guns at Hansi, strengthening his flanks in action against large bodies of cavalry, with abbatis, and altogether demeaning himself as a soldier, in a manner that would have done credit to the school of Wellington or Napoleon.

Peshwa, was a vain and headstrong man; by his arrogance, he disgusted the Jauts of Bhurtpoor, who abandoned him; and when Holkar, on the morning of the battle, urged the advisability of a delay of two days, he replied, "Who wants the counsel of a goatherd?" Such taunt, probably, did not tend to excite Holkar's zeal, and possibly may have been the means of saving his life. He lost, however, no credit for his conduct on that fatal day, and he is to this day held up as a pattern soldier, and a just administrator. One secret of his popularity was his liberality. Malcolm tells us, that when pleased with a soldier's gallantry, he used to exclaim, "Fill his shield with rupees." Originally a shepherd, he died at the age of seventy-six, after having held extensive commands for forty years, and been for thirty of them one of the chief Mahratta commanders.

He never affected independence of the Peshwa; and though at one time his thoughts turned to a Hindoo Empire, at Delhi, it was but a passing freak of ambition. He lived and died, as far as the spirit of the times admitted, the faithful officer of the Peshwa, who, it will be remembered, was the mayor of the palace of the puppet Rajah of Sattara, who, again, was the nominal head of the Mahratta empire. At this time, the power of the emperor of Delhi was but a shadow, and in every quarter the governors had become more or less independent,—yet all sought for grants, sunnuds (deeds), and titles at his hand; and have even continued to seek the latter until within the last thirty years.

What a picture of distraction does not this very brief outline present. Mulhar Rao Holkar lived and died a sovereign prince; and yet he called himself the servant of a minister of a Rajah, who, again, pretended not to open independence of the pageant King of Delhi. Such was the description of governments with which the British power early came in contact, making it difficult for even an honest man, but slightly acquainted with oriental politics, to estimate the right from the wrong, the just cause from the unjust. We fear that expediency too often solved the question, and that the niceties of abstract hereditary right, and de facto possession, were often decided by the exigencies of the day—by the longest purse, or the most powerful army.

Mulhar Rao had only one son, Kundee Rao, who, some years before the battle of Panniput, had been killed at the siege of Kumblere, near Deig. Kundee Rao married Alia Bae, of the family of Sindeah, by whom he had one son and one daughter. The former, by name Mallee Rao, succeeded his grandfather in the Holkar acquisitions, but was insane, and died in nine months.

The atrocities he committed during the short period of his power were fearful. He particularly persecuted Brahmans. He slew an embroiderer, on a charge of dishonouring his zenana; the man was said to have been possessed of supernatural power, and his spirit to have entered Mallee Rao, who died raving mad. His mother, Alia Bae, sitting by his bed, tried to soothe his affliction, and to propitiate the evil spirit. The daughter of Alia Bae, having married into another family, had forfeited her claim to the succession: the ministers, therefore, with a view of keeping the power in their own hands during a long minority, proposed that some child connected with the Holkar family should be adopted. Alia Bae declared that the heirs of Mulhar Rao being extinct, hers was the exclusive right of selecting a successor, and that at all hazards she would uphold her claim. The Chiefs and soldiery supported her; but Ragobah* (the uncle of the Peshwa, and in command of his army) was bribed to oppose her. Hostilities were threatened. Alia Bae advised him against making war on a woman, a measure by which he might incur disgrace, but could gain no honour. While endeavouring to avert war, she did not neglect to prepare for the worst. Her troops were enthusiastic, and she showed her determination to lead them, "by directing four bows, with quivers full of arrows, to be fitted to the corners of the howdah, or seat, on her favourite elephant."† Sindea, the Nagpore, and other Chiefs, refused to support Ragobah "against the respectable widow of Kundee Rao, whose right to the management of affairs was indisputable;"† and the young Peshwa, Madhoo Rao, an amiable youth, peremptorily ordering his uncle to desist, all opposition ceased. Alia Bae then selected Tukajee Holkar, a Chief of the same tribe, but in no way related to Mulhar Rao, as Commander of her army; and so judicious was the choice that, during her reign of more than thirty years, there never occurred a serious difference between them. The Commander of the army administered the countries he occupied, and at one time he was twelve years absent in the Dekkan, a period more than sufficient to slacken the loyal zeal of most deputies. But this faithful officer never appears to have dreamed of raising the standard of revolt, as almost every Chief around him had done, when opportunity offered. His loyalty was rewarded; he lived honoured, and died regretted, and his family succeeded to the principality. Had

* Ragobah afterwards murdered Narrain Rao, the brother and successor of Madhoo Rao, and was supported by the British Government. A *very evil* chapter in Anglo-Indian history.

† Central India, vol. i. page 162.

one or other of his sons inherited the sterling qualities of their father, the Holkar territory might have been saved many years of anarchy, and India many a scene of blood and devastation. He called Alia Bae his mother, and she styled him "Tukajee, the son of Mulhar Rao Holkar." The Bhae personally administered the provinces of Malwa and Nemaur, while the armies of the state were chiefly in Hindostan, and in the Dekkan. She kept no troops with her, but trusted to the territorial militia, "aided by the equity of her administration, to preserve tranquillity." She sat daily in open Durbar. "*Her first principle of Government* appears to have been *moderate assessment*, and an almost sacred respect for the native rights of village-officers and proprietors of lands. *She heard every complaint in person.* * * * * *She was always accessible.*" She used to say, that she "deemed herself answerable to God for every exercise of power." Few will dispute the principle, but very few, even among Christians, act like Alia Bae, as if they so believed. During her reign of thirty years, "her territories were never invaded, except for a few weeks by Ulsee Rana of Odeypoor, who made an unsuccessful effort to aid some of his tribe, who had seized upon Rampoora. The undisturbed internal tranquillity of the country was even more remarkable than its exemption from foreign attack. This was equally produced by her manner of treating the peaceable, as well as the more turbulent and predatory classes; she was indulgent to the former, and although firm and severe, just and considerate towards the latter. We shall find no more correct standard by which to estimate a government in India, than the permanence or instability of its ministers, and the reputation of its provincial and other public officers. It is a criterion by which the natives always judge of their governors. Alia Bae had the same minister, a Brahmin of excellent character, throughout the whole period of her reign; and her managers were seldom, if ever, changed."—(*Malcolm's Central India*, p. 179, 180, vol. i.)

In the East the ruler is heir to his servants, and to all others not leaving children. The rule is frequently stretched, and the property of bankers and other rich subjects seized or divided at will. In proof of Alia Bae's superiority to such very common extortion, Malcolm gives an example, proving at once her own rectitude and the obedience she exacted and obtained from her military commander. "Tukajee Holkar, when encamped near it with the army, had desired (at the instigation of some interested persons) to share in the wealth of a rich banker, who died without children. The wife of the deceased hastened to

Mhysir, where she implored relief of Alia Bae. Her story was listened to; a dress, which confirmed her as sole mistress of the house and property of her husband, was bestowed upon her, and Tukajee instantly received an order to march a short distance from Indore, and not to molest her city with unjust exaction.* A ready obedience to the mandate made amends for the error of Tukajee."—(*Ibid.* p. 180.)

A royal caprice or a well timed jest might, in other courts, occasionally result in a just decision. Alia Bae's awards were given on fixed principles. A trader's widow, under circumstances resembling those in the above anecdote, obtained admittance to the footstool of one of the Great Moguls, who had ordered half her late husband's property to be appropriated to the royal use. She loudly declared that his Majesty was not of the trader caste, and could not therefore be a relation of or heir to her husband. The king laughed, and released the confiscated property. In such style was justice done at Delhi; and yet such men as Mr. Urquhart and his associates comparing his countrymen in India with Cortez, Pizarro, and their ruffians—aye, even with traders in human flesh, exclaiming,—"Witness the departed grandeur of Mexico—witness the perished virtues of the Incas—*witness the India of to-day as contrasted with the India of Ackbar*—witness the desolated and blood-stained regions of Algeria—witness, above all things, the unearthly traffic in human flesh."†

Let Mr. Urquhart read the Chronicles of Akbar, written by his own servant and admirer; or let him take all the memorials of that king's reign, and collect every authenticated good deed he performed; we will throw into the balance all that has been done by *all* other Delhi kings, and will array against them the administration of any one, even the most obnoxious, of governors-general, within the present century, undertaking to show that, during any such given period, more edicts were *promulgated and carried out* for the good of the people than in all their conjoint reigns. It is of little use to make out tables of rents and rules of beneficence unless the first are acted on, the second abided by.—To return to Alia Bae, a ruler of a different spirit, a beautiful example of justice and beneficence. The tributaries of the Holkar family were, during her administration, treated with attention and moderation. She rejoiced "when she saw bankers, merchants, farmers, and cultivators rise to affluence; and so far from deeming their increased wealth a ground of exaction, she considered it a legitimate claim to increased favour

* Malcolm narrates several such instances of justice on the part of Alia Bae.

† See Portfolio, No. 14, for September, 1844. The italics are ours.

and protection. With the Bheels and other robbers she first tried gentle measures of conciliation, but finding them ineffectual she had recourse to a more rigorous system. Several incorrigible offenders were taken and put to death. Such examples of her severe justice were rare; for though she knew well how to inspire dread, when it was necessary, in the minds of the most hardened robbers, conciliation and kindness were the means she preferred; and while she deterred them from the continuance of a life of plunder by the establishment of posts, she invited them to a better mode of life by the most considerate attention to their habits."—(*Malcolm*, vol. i. p. 184, 185.)

In short, Malcolm tells us, "She has become, by general suffrage, the model of good government in Malwa." This subject grows on us, and we must even extend our extracts. The following are the words of an intelligent Brahman to Sir John Malcolm: "Whether Alia Bae, by spending double the money on an army that she did in charity and good works, could have preserved her country for above thirty years in a state of profound peace, while she rendered her subjects happy and herself adored, no person (he added) doubts the sincerity of her piety; but if she had merely possessed worldly wisdom, she could have devised no means so admirably calculated to effect the object. I was (this person concluded) in one of the principal offices at Poona during the last years of her administration, and know well what feelings were excited by the mere mention of her name. Among the princes of her own nation, it would have been looked upon as sacrilege to have become her enemy, or, indeed, not to have defended her against any hostile attempt. She was considered by all in the same light. The Nizam of the Dekkan and Tippoo Sultan granted her the same respect as the Paishwah; and Mahomedans joined with Hindus in prayers for her long life and prosperity."—(Vol. i. p. 189, 190.)

Abulfazel wrote a book, blazoning the good deeds of the pattern Mogul king. But Akber, wise as he is called, did not silence the flatterer who, during his life time, wrote in this fashion: "Who is it that is able to measure the extent of his virtue? They are not only beyond expression, but even exceed conception."* But Alia Bae showed a wiser judgment and more correct taste. "A Brahmin wrote a book in her praise, which she heard read with patience; but, after observing she was a weak sinful woman, and not deserving such fine encomiums, she

* From "Bryan Byrne," one of Mrs. H. Tighe's (author of "Psyche") many beautiful poems, buried from view, by the heaps of sentimental rubbish that tell of murder and adultery.

directed it to be thrown into the Nerbudda, and took no further notice of the author."—(Vol. i. p. 193.)

The following is Malcolm's enthusiastic summary of this admirable woman's character :—

" The facts that have been stated of Alia Bae rest on grounds that admit of no scepticism. It is, however, an extraordinary picture : a female without vanity, a bigot without intolerance ; a mind imbued with the deepest superstition, yet receiving no impressions except what promoted the happiness of those under its influence ; a being exercising in the most active and able manner, despotic power, not merely with sincere humility, but under the severest moral restraint that a strict conscience could impose on human action ; and all this combined with the greatest indulgence for the weakness and faults of others."—(*Ibid.* p. 194.)

Such is the picture drawn of this remarkable woman's reign, by those who, having been her contemporaries, survived her long enough to have no selfish object to gain by holding up an example to which her successors presented but a gloomy contrast. Before parting with our favourite heroine, we will add a painfully interesting incident of her domestic life. We have said that she had but two children : the son, a savage lunatic, caused Alia Bae unmingled anguish ; but the daughter, named Mutcha Bae, was, in many respects, worthy of her mother. The girl, on being left a widow, declared her intention of performing Suttee. Her mother besought her to live ; pointed out her own solitary lot, and asked her daughter if she would leave her quite desolate. " She humbled herself to the dust before her, and entreated her, as she revered her God, not to leave her desolate and alone upon earth." Mutcha Bae, although affectionate, was calm and resolved. " You are old, mother (she said), and a few years will end your pious life. My only child and husband are gone, and when you follow, life, I feel, will be insupportable ; but the opportunity of terminating it with honour will then have passed." Alia Bae, when she found all dissuasion unavailing, determined to witness the last dreadful scene. She walked in the procession, and stood near the pile, where she was supported by two Brahmans, who held her arms. Although obviously suffering great agony of mind, she remained tolerably firm till the first blaze of the flame made her lose all self-command ; and while her shrieks increased the noise made by the exulting shouts of the immense multitude that stood around, she was seen to gnaw in anguish those hands she could not liberate from the persons by whom she was held. After some convulsive efforts, she so far recovered as to join in the ceremony of bathing in the Nerbudda, when the bodies were con-

sumed. She then retired to her palace, where, for three days, having taken hardly any sustenance, she remained so absorbed in grief that she never uttered a word. When recovered from this state, she seemed to find consolation in building a beautiful monument to the memory of those she lamented."—(Vol. i. pp. 190, 191.)

Our extracts have been long and many; but our subject will excuse them. A story somewhat like that of Alia Bae's daughter, was told us many years ago by Colonel Sleeman. We write from memory. While magistrate of one of the divisions of the Nerbudda territory, and before the absolute prohibition of such acts by the British Government, Colonel Sleeman was informed of the purposed Suttee of a woman of rank. He went to her, remonstrated and intreated, but without effect; at length he took measures to prevent the execution of the sacrifice. Against these arrangements the widow could not struggle. She acquiesced, saying, "Since you will not suffer me to burn, I must obey you, but you cannot force me to live in disgrace." She then removed to an islet in the Nerbudda—like Rizpah of old, "she took sackcloth and spread it for her upon the rock," and there she sat, refusing all nourishment, all consolation.

> "On the cold earth, proud sorrow's throne,
> In silent majesty of woe,
> She sat, and felt herself alone,
> Though loud the increasing tumults grow."

When Colonel Sleeman learned these facts, and saw that, although he could prevent this woman's incremation, he could not preserve her life, he compromised the matter, and agreed that she should burn, on condition that the people of the district would bind themselves never to have another Suttee; and thus was the odious practice abolished among them.*

No perversion of religion, no factitious standard of honour, can altogether mar the beauty of acts that spring from heroic, self-foregoing affection. The duel between Colonel Fawcett and Lieutenant Monro, which has recently excited such strong and painful attention, shows us another victim to an usage not less barbarous than Suttee. Nothing we ever heard urged against duelling, on religious and rational grounds, however unanswerable, excited in our minds such strong, involuntary loathing of the practice, as Mrs. Fawcett's simple narrative of the events of

* During the passage of this article through the press, Colonel Sleeman's two magnificent volumes of *Rambles and Recollections* have been laid before us. In these will the reader find, at some length, the interesting story which we have thus imperfectly introduced.

the night before her husband went out to meet his death. We quote two passages from that harrowing document, remarking that the following sentences are selected expressly to illustrate the lady's character, not with reference to her husband's conduct, which her statement so satisfactorily vindicates from the imputation of either violence or malice:—

"He did not hear from Lieutenant Cuddy till near midnight. When he received a note, a few lines of which I read over his shoulder; and when I saw that their purport was that Lieutenant Cuddy had failed in his endeavours to effect an arrangement, and that they were to go out, I fell back on my chair, nearly fainting, when my husband said in a displeased manner, 'Oh! this is just what I feared—that you would fail me when I most required your firmness and obedience.' He then went to order a carriage to come early the next morning, desiring me to get the servants to bed, but observed that it was already so late, it would be better for us both to sit up. He soon came back, and lay down on the sofa, whilst I sat by his side. Thus passed the remainder of that sad night. He occasionally dosed, but I saw he watched me strictly, and was uneasy if I attempted to quit him. However, I had no idea whatever of endeavouring to give information, for I well knew my husband's character; although he never had any concealments from me, and was kind, affectionate, and indulgent in the highest degree, yet he would never have forgotten the slightest interference on my part in a matter of honour and duty.

"Shortly after my husband had dressed and breakfasted, the carriage arrived (I think it was near five o'clock), and he sent me down to unfasten the hall-door, lest the ringing should rouse the servants, which I did. He then said, on taking leave of me, 'God bless you, my beloved Annie! you have shown yourself this night to be a true and devoted wife.'"

To such a woman, which would have been the easier task—thus to pass "the remainder of that sad night,"

"Strong for love's sake her grief to hide,"

or to lay herself beside her husband's corpse on the funeral pile?

Surely this cruel sacrifice of all the feelings that might have made home beautiful and happy, rouses our indignant sorrow as strongly as any self-immolation on record! As a miser would groan over his choicest diamond, consumed merely for a chemical experiment, so do we mourn over a love "more precious than rubies" thus flung into the furnace of public opinion.

Alas, that there should be any alloy to our delight in contemplating the abolition of Suttee, or our yearnings for the day when infanticide shall in like manner be uprooted! The obvious duty of a Christian government is to use all practicable means for the annihilation of these barbarous practices; but the romance of philanthopy looks only at daughters restored as from the grave to their parents—at mothers preserved to their already bereaved families; and viewing the matter thus, we are apt to transfer our

own feelings to the transaction. We think of Jairus when his daughter sat up, of Martha and Mary when Lazarus rose from the tomb. Reality has a very different aspect, and benevolence would be dismayed, could it correctly estimate the actual condition of those who have been saved, could it know to what a life they have been preserved, as well as from what a death they have been rescued. We may safely affirm that not one woman in ten now living, whom English influence has saved from death, as infants or widows, now thanks the hand that interposed; for, in the existing state of Hindoo feeling, what is the lot of those who survive to be considered by their families only as a burthen and disgrace? They are driven to the most slavish or the most infamous occupations, for a scanty or precarious subsistence. Do we state these sad realities as an argument against the utility of all benevolent efforts in behalf of Hindoo women? Nay, but that the Christian, by seeing the inadequacy of all that has yet been done, may be stirred to greater efforts. To arbitrarily forbid a certain evil practice, without taking measures for raising the moral tone, is as if a surgeon were to cut off a diseased limb, and leave the sufferer to perish from exhaustion or inflammation. On this subject, teeming with the bright flowers of possible good, and the blighted or pernicious fruits of insufficient or misdirected benevolence, we may be excused for quoting a few applicable sentences from Foster's Essay "*On the application of the epithet Romantic.*" We would gladly make a longer extract, but must rest content with a few truthful words on the eternal spring that can keep benevolent effort in activity, independently of the external stimulus of success and applause. "The estimate of the power of means, obtained by the appeal to experience, is indeed most humiliating: but what then? It is a humble thing to be a man. The feebleness of means is in fact, the feebleness of him that employs them; for the most inconsiderable means, when wielded by celestial powers can produce the most stupendous effects. Till, then, the time shall arrive for us to assume a nobler rank of existence we must be content to work on the present level of our nature and effect that little which we can effect, unless it be greater magnanimity and piety to resolve that because our powers are limited to do only little things, they shall therefore, as if in revenge for such an economy, do nothing. Our means will do something; that something is what they were meant to effect in our hands, and not that something else which we all wish they would effect, and a visionary man presumes they will."—(Page 235, 236.)

* * * * *

"But remember, that while the employment is yours, the

success is altogether his; and that your diligence, therefore, and not the effect which it produces, will be the test of your character."—(P. 237.)

These remarks may help every philanthropist to judge, in his own particular case, between what he merely wishes could be done, and what it is his immediate duty to do. The fittest means for extending to Hindostan the blessings that make it our own glory and happiness to be Britons, are not to be decided in a passing notice like this. But when the efforts made in behalf of the heathen are summed up, (and would to God they were a million times more strenuous than they are!) there is a melancholy contrast in the common apathy exhibited towards the moral and physical wants of those Europeans who serve with us in this climate. "This ought ye to have done, but not to leave the other undone."

There are minds to whom we shall ourselves appear as the very Quixotes of romance, when we gravely talk of positive enjoyment to be found in doing our duty, and of greatly enhanced pleasure springing from spontaneous (and, as they would say, superfluous) efforts for the good of others. But, to our thinking, the romance lies with the opposite party, with those who expect enjoyment to centre in or emanate from self. If happiness be the sun of life, benevolence is the atmosphere through which its rays are transmitted in multiplied lustre and beauty to the heart. This is *strictly* true, even of the present life, and how exclusively true it is of the life to come, we desire never to forget, though this be not the place for dwelling on such solemn appeals.

Sir John Malcolm saw and understood more of Asia and its nations than any one of the present day can hope to see or understand: from him, therefore, we gladly receive such opinions as the following:—"There is no person in a situation of any consequence who does not, both in the substance and manner of his conduct, do something every day in his conduct, do something every day in his life, which, as it operates upon the general interests of the empire through the feelings of the circle he controls or rules, has an unseen effect in strengthening or weakening the Government by which he is employed." This extract is from Sir John's admirable instructions to his assistants, a manual that should be in the hands of every Indian official, whether civil or military; it is to be found in the Appendix of the second volume of Malcolm's "Central India."

Having named Sir John Malcolm, we may not inaptly, before we bring this somewhat desultory article to a close, make some further allusion to his career, and that of one or two others, who, in a remarkable degree, combined in their own persons

the best ingredients of reality and romance. Malcolm, we have said, possessed probably larger and more diversified experience than any other British officer ever attained in the East. Wherever an arduous diplomatic duty was to be performed, thither was Malcolm summoned. Early in his career he led the Nizam's Contingent, during the final campaign against Tippoo Sultan, admirably performing that, perhaps, most difficult diplomatic operation of "screwing up to the sticking point" an unwilling ally. Within twenty years, he was twice sent on missions to Persia, employed in the Punjab, in the Delhi territory, in Mysore, and in Central India. He carried with him every where the freshness of feeling, the enthusiasm of character, that enabled him to enter heartily into the feelings and peculiarities of the many interesting races with which he was brought into contact. The sympathy that qualified him to enter into conversation as readily with the peasant as with the peer, with the rude Seikh soldier, Pindarrie, or Mahratta, as with the Nawabs and Rajahs of the land, proved to all that his was not mere lip-service, but that in his heart he aimed at their welfare.

Within ten years, Sir John made as many long dawk journeys, which to most men would have been so much lost time, but to him was far otherwise. He, we have been told, made a practice of keeping up conversation with his carriers, thus whiling away time, and picking up information that, perhaps, in no other way could have been procured. Palankeen bearers are all cultivators, and the wits of many are much sharpened by their double calling. These men, and common coolies, are among the most adventurous of Indians; they are daily employed, singly, as carriers of parcels from one end of the Bengal and Agra Presidencies to the other; and, at the rate of twenty miles a day, will fearlessly traverse the wildest parts of the country, hundreds of miles from their homes. Such men, consequently, have often much more to say that is worth hearing, than the sleek inhabitants of cities. All nations of India like being talked to by their superiors, black or white; and the rudest cultivator may often furnish valuable hints to the wisest magnate. Losing neither time nor opportunity, Malcolm would thus glean as he travelled, and during his short halts, he would continue his investigations, at hours that others would have given to the continuance of the sleep they had been perseveringly employed in during their journey. We have somewhere seen it recorded that Malcolm stated, he had acquired more insight into the duties of his position as a civil officer, during a week's visit to Calcutta, than during all his previous career. This was, doubtless, a figure of speech, but it shows how well prepared Malcolm came to ask questions;

how well he knew where to go for information; and how open he was to conviction—as well as how honestly he spent his time in qualifying himself for the public service. He reaped his reward.

Malcolm's friend and comrade, Munro, though of a more staid and deliberate temperament, was, in many respects, much the same man. Munro possessed the true poetry of heart, which, in poverty, clung to his parents, brothers, and sisters; making him deny himself almost the necessaries of life to assist them, who in his prosperity kept ever before his mind "the mill-stream" of his boyhood.

Without this romance of feeling and character, he would also have been without the courage and perseverance necessary to carry out his laborious revenue and police arrangements in the ceded Mysore states; nor would he have exposed himself, for years and years in camp, to the alternate trials of a burning sun and tropic rains. In such a climate, at the imminent hazard of his life, and with as little prospect of the promotion he afterwards obtained as any man who is now in charge of an Indian district, he toiled, alone and unheeded, with no applauding spectators who could chronicle or even appreciate his deeds. Miles apart from any European, he laboured with a singleness of heart that impelled him to do good for its own sake, and for the blessings it wrought out for a long-distracted country. His good works, too, returned to his own bosom.

Munro, Malcolm, and Todd, are excellent examples of our position, that it is the due admixture of romance and reality that best carries a man through life. Todd was originally employed in a work involving dry details; for he commenced his civil career as a surveyor of the old lines of canal in the Delhi territory. Doubtless, in that laborious and then thankless office, he was up-borne by the poetry of thought that could picture to his mind the renovation of the wastes of Hurriana, Kurnaul, and Saharunpore: by that best of all enthusiasm, which delights in substituting peace and plenty for plunder and poverty. He lived to hear of, if not to see, the opening of these canals by Colvin and Cautley, and the almost instantaneous change in the characters of the people benefited by their waters. In his noble record of the by-gone glories of Rajashthan, he has, with even more than Malcolm's fervour, entered into the spirit of the romances he detailed, and appreciated the noble and chivalrous traits of the Rajpoot character.

We set little store by the dry utilitarians who can see only the dark features of the chronicles they unravel; whose hearts kindle not at tales of gallantry and devotion, however clouded by

errors of faith; who have not a tear of sympathy for the brave man, dying in defence of his hearth, or the maiden, preferring death to dishonour; even though the scene of such heroism be in India; the actors in such tragedies heathens.

We have brought forward the names of these distinguished men, not to hold them up as "faultless monsters," nor to disguise real *human* worth in the masquerade of unattainable perfection. More encouraging is it to observe "men subject to like passions with ourselves," who have triumphed over evil within and around them. Nor can we forbear to proclaim the lesson impressed on our own minds, by the analysis of any character that has been eminently successful in this good cause, to wit, that imagination and enthusiasm are qualities indispensable to the attainment of the highest goodness and greatness of human character.

The subject which we have taken in hand grows beneath our pen.—Unless we have had the good fortune to enlist the reader's sympathy, these remarks will appear already prolix—mere "passages that lead to nothing;" while, to our own view, each fresh subject seems a rich vein of thought that we have barely opened, and indicated to those who have leisure and opportunity to dig for the golden ore. And as we grope along the labyrinths of oriental romance and reality, every turn shows us a wider prospect—a new path, that tempts us to explore it. And this, while limiting ourselves to interests exclusively human, leaving unnoticed the diversified aspects of physical nature, which claim our attention throughout Asia, and more especially within the British possessions. Some there are in this presidency who have only seen the luxuriant verdure, the rich but treacherous fertility of Bengal, and take this as a specimen of all India, smiling, but poisonous. Others, familiar only with the broad sands and unsightly ravines of our N. W. Provinces, are tempted to pronounce India "a barren and dry land, where no water is;" a fit bowling-green for giant Despair. The evils of both moisture and drought are lamentable realities, not to be remedied "by thinking upon frosty Caucasus," but India possesses, likewise, realities of the most romantic beauty and salubrity, hardly to be imagined by those who have not sought them out. We speak not merely of the recognised sanataria, Simla, Mussoorie, Darjeeling, and Cherra Poonjee, lovely and invaluable as they are, to the scorched or blue-moulded denizens of the plains of Agra and Bengal. Besides these familiar spots, there are nooks of quiet beauty, panoramas of unimaginable grandeur, within every bend of the mountain chain between the Sutlej and the Berhampooter. Many invalids, gentlemen as well as ladies,

go to the hills, there to pursue a system of late hours, convivial indulgence, insufficient exercise, and languid mental vacuity. They get through the time as best they may, and wonder that they feel so little benefit from change and relaxation. For such we would prescribe an exploring march, during which they would necessarily purchase, by fatigue and privation, the sleep and appetite of tired and hungry travellers. How delightful is such "unchartered freedom" to the soldier or civilian, worn out by details and responsibilities, that become irksome only when "the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak;" to the invalid, "who long hath fed on drugs;" to the mother, whose strength has been spent in watching her sickly child, till she was forced to deem "the grasshopper a burthen," and who now feels her own elasticity renewed with her nursling's returning strength. The cold weather spent in a march through the Dhoon, the hot winds in a hill-tent, thatched over, on the top of the Chor, or some other of our giant hills; the rains, in Kanawur beyond the influence of the monsoon,—this is the sort of programme we would draw up for the Indian invalid's year of sick certificate; and by all means let him take his wife and children with him.

Some twenty years ago, a lady attempted to explore Kanawur, and was killed by falling from one of the rude spar bridges. Her fate has, perhaps, deterred others from trying the same route, for we have only since heard of one, who accompanied her husband from Simla to the Chinese frontier. She encountered few greater difficulties on this trip than the ladies who remained at Simla underwent in their preparations for "tableaux vivants" and "bals masqués." Which amusement was better worth the trouble is, of course, a matter of opinion. Neither party would, perhaps, have changed places with the other.

To sum up the lesson we would fain impress on those who will listen;—we deem that no faculty of the soul has been given in vain; that duty consists not in the eradication, but in the direction of our feelings; that flowers may be culled even on the dusty highway of life; and above all, that enjoyment is more frequently *met with* in the straightforward track of obvious duty, than *discovered* by express search. More solemn appeals befit not with the motley mantle we have worn, yet do we venture to hope that the tendency of all that has been said is to prepare the mind for listening to the doctrines that appeal to unseen and eternal realities.

In the foregoing pages we have sought for illustration rather than definition or argument, and perhaps it would be the discreeter part to leave our readers to gather their own moral from

the tales we have told; yet, having heard the witnesses on either side, we are tempted to sum up the evidence and give our judgment thereon. We say, then, that the quality variously designated romance or enthusiasm, poetry or ideality, is not to be despised as the mere delusion of a heated brain, but is to be valued as an energy imparted to the human mind, to prompt and sustain its noblest efforts. We would urge, on the young especially, not that they should repress enthusiasm, but that they should cultivate and direct the feeling. Undisciplined romance deals in vague aspirations after something better and more beautiful than it has yet seen; but it is apt to turn in disgust from the thousand homely details and irksome efforts, essential to the accomplishment of anything really good, to content itself with dreams of glorious possibilities.

Reality, priding itself on a steady plodding after a moderate, tangible desideratum laughs at the aimless and unprofitable vision of romance, "but the hand cannot say to the eye, I have no need of thee." Where the two faculties are duly blended, Reality pursues a straight though rough path to a desirable and practicable result; while Romance beguiles the road by pointing out its beauties, by bestowing a deep and practical conviction that even in this dark and material existence, there may be found a joy with which a stranger intermeddleth not,—a light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

ART. III.—*Our Indian Empire, by Charles MacFarlane. Vol. II. London. Charles Knight*, 1844. (*Knight's Library for the Times.*)

THIS is one of the many important works, for which we are indebted to the benevolent energies of Mr. Charles Knight, who has done more than any man living to render trade the handmaiden of philanthropy, and to show that the printing and publishing of books does not necessarily imply an inability to write them. Mr. MacFarlane is the author of the chapters on "Civil and Military Transactions," contained in the Pictorial History of England, from which work the greater portion of the "Indian Empire," lately published in Knight's "Library for the Times" is reproduced in a separate and more portable form.

Mr. MacFarlane's work will find readers, among those who have turned away with alarm from the more formidable volumes of Mill and Thornton. How far it may, as a whole, be entitled to rank beside the histories of those gentlemen, we shall perhaps

take an opportunity hereafter of inquiring, when Professor Wilson has brought to a close his continuation of the work of the former writer. At present, it is our intention to do little more than notice that portion of Mr. MacFarlane's work, which embraces some account of Lord Wm. Bentinck's administration and a narrative of the great events which have, within our own times, agitated Central Asia. We regret much that these chapters are not entitled to the same degree of praise which we are able, in all sincerity, to bestow upon the earlier portion of the work.

Mr. Macfarlane has no great claim to the indulgent consideration of cotemporary writers. With singularly bad taste, he comments, in language of unbecoming contempt, upon the historical writings of men, whom the world has consented to honour; and though himself, as we shall presently have occasion to show, saturated and sodden with prejudice, has extraordinarily little forbearance towards the prejudices of others. Of Mill's History Mr. MacFarlane observes, "The history of British India abounds in error, prejudice, and unfairness, the unfairness being as often in omission as commission, or as often in what is suppressed as what is said. It is a book, too, written upon a dogmatical theory, and in a cold, sneering, scoto-metaphysical, find-fault spirit, altogether unsuited to the bold, glowing, and romantic subject." Of Mr. Macaulay, it is said, that "the books and papers which he consulted" when preparing his admirable Historical Essays, are "few and one-sided;"* and elsewhere the same writer is spoken of with very little respect. Mr. MacFarlane must not therefore be surprised if reviewers canvass with some degree of asperity his own claims to be considered exempt from the failings of prejudice and one-sidedness, with which he so liberally charges other writers of much higher repute.

The last volume of Mr. MacFarlane's "Indian Empire" contains some account of the administrations of Lord Wm. Bentinck, Lork Auckland, and Lord Ellenborough. The writer, on approaching these chapters of cotemporary history, claims to

* We have lately had occasion to consult a large number of books and papers—many of them contemporary publications—relating to the life and times of Warren Hastings; and the deeper our researches have led us, the more firmly have we been convinced of the accuracy and fairness of Mr. Macaulay. There is one paper which Mr. Macaulay has consulted, and which it would have been well if Mr. MacFarlane had also condescended to read, as it might have spared him a very gross blunder contained in the very note from which we have extracted his opinion of Mill and Macaulay. In what book or paper did he learn that "if Francis, Clavering, and Monson had wished to save the Rajah (Nuncomar) *they could have done so;* they were, as we have already said, *the majority in council?*" Why, if the Council had been unanimous, they would not have had the smallest power to remit the sentence of the Supreme Court.

himself some praise, for the delicacy he has exhibited and the forbearance which he has exercised—"The day is not yet come," he observes, "for writing anything like a history of the Affghan war. Passions and prejudices must cool, and time must be allowed for the gradual collection of authentic and dispassionate materials. We feel that we could not venture upon details without occasionally expressing very strong opinions. It is indecorous, it is savage to yell over a newly made grave. The promoters of and the chief actors in the Affghan war, paid for their follies with their lives, dying most of them with the troops they led to death; and their catastrophe is of so recent a date, that scarcely an allusion can be made to it without wringing the hearts of numerous surviving friends and relatives." This is a very excellent precept. How far Mr. MacFarlane has thought fit to carry it out in practice, we purpose presently to show.

Mr. MacFarlane's notice of Lord William Bentinck's administration has been evidently drawn from the statements contained in Mr. Thornton's History, which we recently noticed, and partakes, therefore, of the injustice and partiality of that work. In reference, however, to one transaction—and that the noblest of his lordship's government—the transcript has less of candour and generosity than the original. Mr. Thornton does allow a high order of merit to the act abolishing Suttee, and is content with expressing a doubt of the purity of the motive, though even this doubt has no other foundation than the prejudices of the writer. But Mr. MacFarlane will scarcely allow any merit whatever to Lord William in this act of mercy. Though he opens the subject with the observation that, "happily for his lordship, there were other nobler and more enduring changes effected under his administration," he is resolved that no fraction of the credit of these noble changes shall fall to the lot of the Governor-General; for he concludes his notice by remarking "that previous legislation had left Lord William Bentinck very little to do, and rendered the execution of that little a safe and easy task. It is absolute nonsense, and something worse, to overlook everything that was done by his predecessors, and to attribute to his lordship the sole merit of putting down the Suttees. We believe that, between the year 1826, or the time when Lord Amherst's regulations were passed, and the end of 1829, hardly any Suttees had been known to occur in Bengal."

The previous legislation to which Mr. MacFarlane alludes, is said to belong to the Government of Lord Amherst, and is thus described:—

"In 1826, during the administration of Lord Amherst, and nearly two years before Lord William Bentinck arrived at Calcutta, the evil practice was seriously circumscribed by legal enactments; the Government declared the burning of a widow without the body of the deceased husband to be illegal; and all persons, whether relations or others, aiding or abetting such an act, either before or after the death of the husband, were to be committed for trial at the circuit courts, to be made liable to the punishments inflicted for murder and homicide. Even before this time no woman was supposed to be burned without her own wish, duly certified to a magistrate. And now the burning of a widow was declared to be illegal under various circumstances. In fact, only those Suttees were to be considered lawful where the widow appeared in court, and solicited permission in person from the magistrate. At the same time, all the property, real and personal, in actual possession of the deceased husband and widow who perform Suttee (even though under the sanction of the proper authorities), was declared to be forfeited to Government. Moreover, it was declared that no person should be eligible to any office or employment whatsoever under Government, in whose family a Suttee should take place, from this time forward."

For the legal enactment here quoted we have searched in vain. During Lord Amherst's incumbency, no act was passed in which Suttees were so much as alluded to. The histories of Auber and Thornton are altogether silent on the subject; and we may be certain that if Thornton could have discovered, in the efforts of any previous administration to restrain the practice, anything which was calculated to diminish the lustre of Lord William Bentinck's merit, he would not have omitted to mention it.

The fact is, that no legal enactment was ever passed to restrain the practice of Suttee before that which Lord William Bentinck promulgated. Nor can we discover that any instructions were issued from the Government for the guidance of the magistrates after the year 1817; and in those issued between 1813 and 1817 we look in vain for the restrictions which Mr. MacFarlane has detailed in the extract given above. Government did not "declare the burning of a widow without the body of the deceased husband to be illegal;" it only gave effect to the precept of the pundits, that the widow of *a brahman* should not burn except with the body of her husband. Neither did it declare that all persons aiding and abetting such an act should be committed for trial at the Circuit Courts, and be made liable to the punishments inflicted for murder and homicide. The instructions only direct the police-officer to apprize the relations or others concerned that they would be dealt with as criminals, if they took steps to effect the Suttee in cases prohibited by Government; that, in this case, "they would involve themselves in a crime, and become subject to retribution and punishment." It is not true that only those Suttees were to be considered

lawful where the widow appeared in court, and solicited permission in person from the magistrate. On the contrary, it is expressly declared not to be the intention of Government to check or forbid any act authorized by the tenets of the religion of the inhabitants of their dominions, or even to require that *any express leave or permission be required previously to the performance of the act of Suttee.* The assertion that all the property in possession of the deceased husband and widow who performed Suttee, legally or illegally, was forfeited to Government, is pure fiction. No such order is to be found in the public records. The same may be said of the last clause of this imaginary enactment, that "it was declared that no person should be eligible to the service of Government in whose family a Suttee had taken place." These statements must be fatal to the character of this History of India. A writer who is so liberal in his censure of the proceedings of so many public men in India, and who appears to claim the honour of being considered an historical authority, uninfluenced by prejudice and party spirit, ought not to have manifested such indolence of research or such indifference to the truth. But what can be expected from a historian who affirms, at p. 356, that Bengal had an Executive Council like Madras and Bombay; and, a little after, that Mr. Macaulay received 10,000*l.* a year as the Legislative Member of Council, and 5,000*l.* as a Member of the Law Commission—that is, 15,000*l.* a year—and that he *must*, therefore, have received 75,000*l.*, "a large sum for doing nothing." With the most ordinary diligence, the writer might have ascertained that Mr. Macaulay was not more than three years and a half on the soil of India receiving Indian allowances, and that "the five years of easy and indolent codification" he talks of had no existence but in his own fertile imagination. He might have learned of any clerk at the India House that, during this period, Mr. Macaulay received only 10,000*l.* a year as Member of the Legislative Council of India.

But the assertion that it is "absolute nonsense and something worse to overlook everything that was done by Lord William Bentinck's predecessors, and to attribute to his lordship the sole merit of putting down Suttee," is perfectly gratuitous. The weak and ill-advised interference of previous administrations with this rite had in no respect lessened the amount of its victims. The number of sacrifices in 1818, five years after our interference, was more than double the number reported in 1815; and the Marquis of Hastings, on reviewing the Report of 1818, "was reluctantly led to express his apprehension that

the greater confidence with which the people perform the rite under the sanction of Government, as implied or avowed in the Circular Orders already in force, combined with the excitement of religious bigotry, by the continual agitation of the question, may have tended to augment rather than diminish the frequency of these sacrifices." And although the number of Suttees which were reported began to lessen as soon as it was known that the magnitude of the number had attracted the attention of Government; yet there is no ground for believing that up to the time of Lord William Bentinck's accession to office there had been the smallest diminution of them. The comments of the Sudder Nizamut on the Suttee reports of successive years show that the orders of Government had become altogether a dead letter; that the majority of immolations which were reported had taken place without the presence of any police officers, and that in many cases the restrictions imposed were openly and daringly violated. It was soon found that the only consequence of our interference had been to legalize the rite, and give it greater vigour, and thereby to render the entire abolition more arduous. We had done infinitely more harm than good by telling the natives that the British Government "allowed this practice in those cases in which it was countenanced by their religion, and only prevented it in others in which it was by the same authority prohibited." So far from deriving any assistance from the efforts which had been made under the previous administrations of Lord Minto and Lord Hastings, Lord William Bentinck found that the question had only been thereby rendered more complicated, and that the natives, far from being prepared for its entire abolition, had thus been furnished with stronger arguments against it; and it required all the moral courage of his mind to sustain him in the bold course he was about to pursue.

But there were other difficulties peculiar to the position of Lord William Bentinck. He could not forget that he had been ignominiously displaced from the government of Madras twenty years before, in consequence of a mutiny which was ascribed to an interference on the part of his administration with the religious prejudices of the natives. This might have been sufficient to deter a man of less resolution from attempting an actual interference with those prejudices, more especially when he reflected that his appointment to the Governor-Generalship was owing to the pressure of ministerial influence, and not to the free will and mere motion of the Directors. As far as we have been able to learn, he found no record of their sanction for peremptory prohibition of the rite by legislative enactment,

which could satisfy him that, if this interference was attended with any calamity, his conduct would be viewed with more consideration than he had received when at Madras. But he was prepared to encounter no small risk in the cause of humanity. Having set the abolition before him as an object of attainment, he endeavoured to collect the opinions both of official and non-official Europeans on the subject. He sounded the natives; and the result of his inquiries was such as to convince him that the abolition could not be effected without a serious and perhaps hazardous agitation of the public mind. Though it was warmly recommended by some of the influential members of Government, others, who were supposed to be well acquainted with the feelings of the natives—among these was Dr. H. H. Wilson—deprecated it in the strongest terms. Sir John Malcolm considered it likely to shake our empire to its foundation. The Hindoos were of course openly and violently opposed to the abolition of a rite which they represented as an integral part of their religion. Of the men of weight in the native community, who were supposed to guide public opinion, there was not one in ten who was not prepared to offer the most determined resistance to the measure. The few friends of humanity in the upper classes of native society, who were represented by their illustrious chief, Rammohun Roy, though anxious that the practice should cease, still appeared to shrink from an open and direct prohibition. That eminent man, who had courageously opposed the dearest prejudices of his fellow countrymen, had not the resolution to face the risk of such an act as the peremptory abolition of this rite. He told Lord William Bentinck, that "he apprehended that any public enactment would give rise to general apprehension; that the reasoning would be 'while the English were contending for power, they deemed it politic to allow universal toleration, and to respect our religion; but having obtained the supremacy their first act is a violation of their professions, and the next will probably be, like the Mahomedan conquerors, to force upon us their own religion.'" And when his lordship sent for him and said that he had made up his mind to lay the axe at the root of this practice, and to extinguish it at once by the severest penalties, Rammohun Roy entreated him, on the ground of political prudence, to limit the operation of the Act to Bengal, and not to extend it to the more martial population of the North-West Provinces.

It was in these circumstances of difficulty that the suppression of Suttees was consummated. It is true that the abolition was eventually found not to have affected the attachment or

fidelity of our native subjects, or to have endangered in any degree the stability of our footing in India. But there were few, if any, at the time in the country, who did not feel that a Governor-General of less firmness of character than Lord William Bentinck would have bequeathed this apparently dangerous measure to his successor. Even those who had been warmest in advocating the abolition, and had reasoned themselves into the persuasion that it would be safe, were staggered by the opposition it encountered in the native community, and watched with deep anxiety the progress of opposition among the Hindoos. It is to the unflinching resolution of Lord William Bentinck that we are indebted for this great act of humanity. It was owing to his high moral courage that we are now permitted to see the Ganges flow "unbloodied to the sea." On his memory, therefore, may the all-cloudless glory of the good deed rest.

But unjust as are these comments on the administration of Lord William Bentinck, Sir Alexander Burnes appears to be the favourite aversion of the author of "Our Indian Empire." If we are to believe Mr. MacFarlane, Burnes was the real author of the war in Affghanistan, and one of the chief causes of its calamitous termination. The historian neglects no opportunity of imputing to him some unworthy act or motive; or coupling his name with some offensive epithet.

Mr. MacFarlane, in his eagerness to fasten upon the errors and misfortunes of Sir Alexander Burnes, somewhat anticipates the course of history; and accordingly, in the chapter devoted to the administration of Lord William Bentinck, we find some severe, we may say cruel reflections, on the conduct of Burnes, in connection with the war in Affghanistan. The first notice we find of Mr. MacFarlane's favourite aversion, is contained in the following passage:—

"The Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck) had seen this very adventurous and self-confident young officer (Burnes) during his recent stay at Simlah; and this ill-omened meeting contributed not a little to those frightful catastrophes in Affghanistan with which the name of Burnes must be inseparably connected."—(Vol. ii. p. 340.)

There is a story told of Coleridge, to the effect that coming in, somewhat late, after a dinner to which he had been invited, but which, with characteristic absence of mind, he had forgotten until he had dined at home, he seated himself at table, and, without any exordium of a more common-place character, began a long harangue on the state of Europe—Spain, the Alhambra, &c. &c., beginning with—"As I was coming along the lane which leads to your house, I saw two soldiers sitting on a gate;

and my imagination naturally began to trace the scenes in which perchance they had been actors; the strife and peril of the campaign in the Peninsula," and so on; until he came to the feuds between the Spaniards and the Moors, and thence into a general history of Spain and the whole of Europe, which lasted some two hours. "How unfortunate," said a gentleman, as the party were going up stairs, "that Coleridge should have seen those two soldiers swinging upon the gate." "It would have been all the same," rejoined Hook, who was one of the party, "if he had seen a turnip lying on the road." How unfortunate, we may exclaim, that Burnes should have met the Governor-General at Simlah; but it may be questioned whether it would not have been all the same, if he had met the Bishop in Calcutta. Mr. MacFarlane's ingenuity would have found as good a peg for an attack on Burnes in the one event as in the other; and certainly both would have been equally conducive to the terrible catastrophes, ten years afterwards, in Affghanistan.

After a sneer at Burnes, who, it is alleged, saw and allowed that "the Affghans were fierce, treacherous, sanguinary, and passionately attached to their rude half-savage independence," but "thought that, to *an adroit, knowing, clever fellow like himself*, it would be as easy to manage those precious mountain-chiefs as to amuse and manage so many children," Mr. MacFarlane begins to discourse on the endless subject of the all-prevalent Russo-phobia. Here is another fine peg; let us see what the *historian* hangs upon it:—

"Burnes did not create this bugbear; it existed long before he left school, or put on the *toga virilis;* but he assuredly fed and crammed it, until it became bigger and more terrible than it had been before; and *hence, in good part, the tears of many hundreds of affectionate hearts, the destruction of many thousands of British and native troops, and the anguish of every Englishman capable of feeling the disgrace of his country's arms.* The idle fear of a Russian invasion of India had been ably and repeatedly exposed; and neither as a rapid talker, nor as a *half-informed self-sufficient writer*, had Burnes done or said anything to entitle his opinions to be considered as oracles by cool and well-informed men. This was felt and expressed by not a few in 1834, when that unfortunate officer was lionising in London; *not without betraying that conceit and suffisance which led mainly, though not entirely* (for others were far more culpable than he in the execution of our political and military measures), to the deplorable and humiliating reverses of 1841-42."—(Vol. ii. p. 341.)

On the subject of the Russo-phobia we have written so lately,* that we need not reiterate the opinions already expressed in this

* Calcutta Review—No. 3, Article "Sir W. H. MacNaghten."

Journal. That Burnes, in common with many very able and clear-sighted men, magnified the extent of the danger, we admit; and writers, wise after the event, may therefore sneer at a panic which has since been shown to have been causeless; but we see nothing to justify the savage pleasure which this writer, who takes credit to himself for his forbearance—for his anxiety not to "wring the hearts of surviving relatives and friends"—traces, with no less absurdity than malignity, the terrible Affghan calamities to the conceit and *suffisance* of Sir Alexander Burnes, and goes out of his way, making every where the most far-fetched deductions, to gibbet this one of the many actors in the great Central-Asian tragedy. With the honesty of Mrs. Candour, he admits that others were "far more culpable" than Burnes; and yet, in the face of this admission, he asserts that our humiliating reverses were mainly attributable to that officer's conceit. It is remarkable that these "far more culpable" officers are allowed to go scot-free, whilst the impartial historian allows scarcely a page of his narrative to be undefiled by a sentence of cruel injustice, of which Burnes is the victim.

In the very first page of the narrative of Lord Auckland's administration, we are informed that,—

> "His lordship appears to have immediately (on his arrival) admitted into his entire confidence Captain Alexander Burnes, and those other stirring officers of the Company, who were impatient for opportunities of distinguishing themselves as soldiers or diplomatists, or as both, and who (principally, we believe, through this anxiety) had been induced to believe that our Indian empire was threatened by Russian intrigues and Persian and Affghan armies."—(Vol. ii. p. 359.)

This was in 1835. The Russo-phobia had not then broken out; and if Lord Auckland and Burnes consulted together relative to the affairs of Central Asia, commerce was the subject, and not war. The insinuation that Burnes at this time was working out a scheme for his own aggrandisement, careless of the interests of his country—careless of justice—careless of truth, is as gratuitous as it is malignant. Neither Burnes nor Lord Auckland at that time ever dreamt of marching an army across the Indus. Their ambition was to render the Indus available for purposes of commerce, not to make it the base of military operations. It was not till 1838 that Burnes found himself, much to his own astonishment, converted into a political agent. "I came," he wrote, in a letter which we have already quoted, "to look after commerce, to superintend surveys, and examine passes of mountains—and likewise, certainly,

to see into affairs, to judge of what was to be done hereafter; but the hereafter has already arrived, and I have all but deserted my ledger for treaties and politics." At this time the Persians were before Herat, and a Russian envoy was at Cabul. These were facts; no mere visions of Burnes's heated imagination and sanguine temperament. But, with these facts staring him in the face, Burnes did not counsel the march of a British army across the Indus; he did not counsel the restitution of the Douranee empire to its original integrity; the elevation of Shah Soojah from the dust of Loodianah, and the sacrifice of the Barukzye princes. Mr. MacFarlane, who often refers, and wisely too, to Dr. Buist's very able and, in the main, accurate narrative of the recent transactions in Central Asia, must have seen some allusions to Burnes's "suppressed correspondence," though, as very few copies of the *brochure* were printed, he is not likely to have seen the correspondence itself. It is true that a very impudent attempt was made, by means of garbled extracts from Burnes's letters, to prove that he had recommended the restoration of the exiled Shah. But it is now a fact, sufficiently notorious to all who will take the trouble to ascertain the truth, that what was alleged to be a recommendation to support Shah Soojah, was nothing more than a little advice regarding the best means of supporting him, after Government had come to the determination of propping up the Suddozye cause. "All my implorations to Government," wrote Burnes, in November, 1839, after reading the Affghanistan Blue-book, "to act with promptitude and decision, had reference to doing something *when Dost Mahomed was king*, and all this they have made to appear in support of Shah Soojah being set up. But again, I did advocate the setting up of Shah Soojah, and lent all my aid, name, and knowledge to it. But when was this? When my advice had been rejected, and Government were fairly stranded. I first gave opinions, and then asked leave to withdraw; but Lord Auckland proved to me that it would be desertion at a critical moment, and I saw so myself, but I entered upon the support of his policy *not as what was best, but what was best under the circumstances which a series of blunders had produced*." Burnes, had he been authorized to do so, would have entered into a compact with Dost Mahomed, but he had no authority to offer the Dost anything; and whilst the British agent was in this helpless condition, the Russian appeared on the scene and offered the Ameer everything. The wonder is, not that Dost Mahomed finally closed with Vicovitch, but that he was so slow in making up his mind. But here Mr.

MacFarlane, who, though his "passions and prejudices" have "cooled" so thoroughly, appears not to be able very clearly to distinguish between a man's faults and his misfortunes, has found new cause for reprehension in the conduct of Burnes:—

"After passing the winter of 1837-38 in Cabul, Capt. Burnes in the spring prepared to depart. At this moment Dost Mahomed would very willingly have agreed to accept an English subsidy. But Burnes had no money to give him, and had been rather sharply censured for having offered any. Our Envoy left Cabul on the 26th of April, 1838, carrying with him abundant professions of personal friendship and regard from Dost Mahomed, who was at this time doubly disappointed and more than ever perplexed, as no money came to him from Russia, and as Kamran continued to be brilliantly successful at Herat. In *one case* the fault *might lie with Burnes*, who had not been authorized by his employers to make any offer of pecuniary aid; and in the case of Russia it is at least probable that Lieut. Vicovitch exceeded his instructions—but between them the conduct of these two agents was calculated to make the Affghans believe that the British were just as double dealing and insincere as they themselves."—(Page 365, 366.)

How the fault could have lain with Burnes, who was without authority to employ more than general expressions of friendship and good-will, it is difficult to perceive. If fault there were on our side, his employers are chargeable with it. He did all that he could do; and finding that this, in effect, amounted to nothing, he withdrew the mission. His position at Cabul was a most embarrassing one; but not through any fault of his own. When he re-crossed the Indus, Government had taken their course. Burnes was not one of the projectors of the expedition into Affghanistan. His sympathies were with Dost Mahomed. His opinions did not set in towards the restitution of the Douranee empire. A few years before, he had deliberately declared his opinion, that "all the institutions of the Affghans are favourable to a republic; and the supremacy of the Barukzye family is acceptable to the people, and I even think favourable to the prosperity of the country;" and added that "the dynasty of the Sudozyes had passed away, unless it be propped up by foreign aid; and it would be impossible to reclaim the lost provinces of the empire, without a continuation of the same assistance. It is more difficult to revive than to raise a dynasty, and in the common chain of events if the country is to be ruled by another kind, we must look for another family to establish its power in Cabul, and this in all probability will be the Barukzyes."* From these opinions Mr. MacFarlane asserts that Burnes, when he found it convenient to do so, departed in a not very creditable manner:—

* Burnes's Bokhara, Book II. chapter 6.

"After visiting Runjeet Singh in the most friendly manner, and feasting with the French and Italian officers at Peshawur and Lahore, Captain Burnes, in the month of July, repaired to Simla to meet the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, and to take a foremost part in a council of all our north-western frontier residents and diplomatists (!) whose previous differences of opinion as to the course to be pursued with regard to the Seikhs and Affghans had become notorious. At these conferences held in the cool and pleasant recesses of the Himalaya, it was fully determined in a fatal moment by the Governor-General, that as Dost Mahomed could not be trusted he ought to be dethroned; that the exiled king of Caubul, Shah Sujah, should be called from his easy retirement at Loodeanah, and be sent with an English army to recover a throne which he had repeatedly proved himself to be incapable of keeping. Captain Burnes's opinions seem to have varied according to times and circumstances, and the opinions of other men higher in office than himself."—(Page 366, 367.)

How Burnes's opinions did not change, but were changed for him by others, we have already shown. But something more may be said. In the above passage it is clearly stated that Burnes took an active part in those Simlah conferences at which it was determined to depose Dost Mahomed, to support Shah Soojah, and to march a British army into Affghanistan. Mr. MacFarlane states that Burnes repaired to Simlah in the month of July. In a note, a little further on, he quotes a passage from Burnes's *Cabool*, in which the writer says that he paid his respects to Lord Auckland on the 20th of July. The famous "tripartite treaty" was dated 26th of June—nearly a month before Burnes reached Simlah; so it is obvious that he must have taken a very foremost part in those conferences, "in the cool and pleasant recesses of the Himalaya," at which it was fully determined, in a fatal moment, to march into Affghanistan, for the re-establishment of the integrity of the Douranee empire. Such an *alibi* as this would have gladdened the heart of the elder Mr. Weller.

Mr. MacFarlane, however, is not likely to be much staggered by it; for he makes nothing of representing the same party to have been in two places at one time:—

"These opinions, which are dated in June, 1838, seem to differ in almost every particular from the opinions which this unfortunate man had offered to the Governor-General only a few months before. It is said that a sudden change had come over Lord Auckland's political vision; that his lordship, in 1837, thought that the Afghans might be left to themselves, and that Runjeet Singh was the party to be feared and to be attacked by the British, if any war was to be undertaken in India; and that his lordship's difference of opinion, in 1838, was induced not so much by the instructions he received from the Board of Control, as by sudden partialities and influences that were nearer to him. It is added that Lord Auckland hesitated and held back as the decisive moment approached, and that his secretaries and the war party were terrified lest the whisper of the possibility of pacific arrangements should reach his ear. Mr. Masson, whose authority is questioned, though it does not appear to us more questionable

than that of several other agents of government whose contradictory statements cannot be reconciled or made consistent, says that he had previously learned a strange account of the mode in which the amiable Lord Auckland had been driven into measures which his better judgment disapproved, and how he had been obliged to yield to the assaults of certain female aides-de-camp, and secretaries, and that, upon questioning Burnes on the part he had taken, particularly as regarded the expedition to Afghanistan, Burnes replied that it was arranged before he reached Simla, and that when he arrived there to meet his lordship, two of the secretaries came running to him, praying him to say nothing to unsettle his lordship, and telling him that they had taken all the trouble in the world to get him into the business, and that even now his lordship would be glad on any pretence to get out of it. But if this story told by Burnes be true, it does not tell much to the honour of that unfortunate man, as it was just before meeting Lord Auckland at Simla that he submitted the reasons we have quoted in the text for supporting Shah Sujah and embarking on the whirlpool of Afghan politics and war. Those opinions were written at Lahore, where Burnes had been in constant communication with Mr. MacNaghten, who had recently been in the secretariat at Calcutta, who had been removed from that post to be made political resident and manager on the Indus, and who was well known to Burnes and to every one else to be one of the warmest and most impatient of the war party. After submitting these said opinions at Lahore, Burnes could hardly have required any persuasion not to speak against the war to Lord Auckland at Simla. It appears, indeed from Burnes's own showing, that almost everything was settled at Lahore by him, MacNaghten, and others, between the 17th of June and the 15th or 16th of July—or several days before he reached Simla and met either the governor-general or his secretaries. He tells us that he joined the diplomatic party at Lahore on the 17th of June. He adds, "*A short month's stay* at Lahore served to accomplish the ends which government had then in view. The ulterior measures could only be matured at Simla, whither I proceeded by invitation to wait on Lord Auckland, to whom I paid my respects on the 20th of July."—*Cabool*, &c. Now it was during this short month—or on the 26th of June—that the treaty, providing for war on the largest scale, was ratified between the British government, Runjeet Singh, and the Shah Sujah."—(*Our Indian Empire*, vol. ii. p. 367.)

Mr. MacFarlane seems to be aware that the "tripartite treaty" was dated on the 26th of June; and that Burnes was, at that time, at Lahore. But that "almost everything was settled" by him, "MacNaghten and others" is especially true as regards "MacNaghten and others," but certainly not as regards Burnes, who had no more to do with the "tripartite treaty" than Mr. MacFarlane himself. But the author of our "Indian Empire" deposits Burnes at Simlah or at Lahore, assigns to him duties which were never entrusted to him, and gives to the "unfortunate man's" own words a construction which they were never intended to bear*—just as Mr. MacFarlane's ingenuity seems to think fit. It would be amusing, if it were not somewhat sickening, to observe the greater confidence which the historian

* Burnes in the passage quoted in the text, says, "*A short month's stay at Lahore* served to accomplish the ends, &c." The short month's stay alluded to was not Burnes's stay, but the stay of the mission under MacNaghten.

places in the veracity of Mr. Masson than in that of Sir Alexander Burnes. He relates what Masson said that Burnes asserted to him; and adds, "if this story told by Burnes be true, it does not tell much to the honour of that unfortunate man." Now, most people would, under the circumstances of the case, have written—"If the story told by Masson be true"—for the truth of Masson's story, not told till after Burnes's death, has, in the first instance, to be established. But, supposing that Masson spoke the truth and that Burnes also spoke the truth, the unprejudiced reader will find it difficult to follow the arguments by which Mr. MacFarlane seeks to establish the justice of his assertion that the story told "does not tell much to the honour of Burnes."—The argument is that Burnes having shown himself to be one of the war party,* ought *not to have required any persuasion* not to speak against the war. But even as the story is told by Mr. Masson, it does not appear that Burnes did require any persuasion, but that as soon as he reached Simlah, certain parties whose anxieties got the better of them implored him not to do anything of the kind. It would be hard to find in this anything discreditable to Burnes, who, as the story runs, was nothing more than the recipient of the importunity of others. According to Mr. MacFarlane's ideas, if he desires to tax a man with a proneness to any crime, he has only to beseech him not to commit it. The truth, however, is that the entire story is utterly false; that nothing of the kind happened at Simlah or anywhere else; that the anecdote is a pure fabrication from first to last; and that Mr. MacFarlane's excessive eagerness to find something discreditable to Sir Alexander Burnes has caused him to give credence to an absurd fiction, and to deduce from it inferences, which ingenious malice alone could draw from such preposterous data.

Mr. MacFarlane never loses an opportunity of maligning Burnes. Some of his efforts in this direction are truly ludicrous. Speaking of the foolish ceremony at Cabul, on the installation of the Douranee Knights, or whatever else they may be more properly called, he says, "If this idea did not originate with poor Burnes, he certainly was a principal actor in the ridiculous scene of the investiture." So were fifty others, not singled out for special notice. In other words, Mr. Macfarlane might have written, "If Burnes did not originate the Douranee order, he certainly was made a member of it!"

A few more specimens will suffice—some will excite mirth;

* Which as we have already shown he did not, any further than by recommending the best course to be adopted, after the war had been determined on.

some perhaps a different feeling. Introducing some quotations from Lieutenant Eyre's book, for no other reason than that they contain some not very laudatory allusions to Burnes, the historian says, "speaking charitably of his errors, and making no allusion to a very current report of *gross and provoking* misconduct, &c."

This is indeed a specimen of the true art of damning with a dark hint—

> "Skilled by a touch to deepen scandal's tints
> With all the kind mendacity of hints,"

Mr. MacFarlane leaves the imagination of the reader to supply the rest.

Again:—

"At the same time several of the chiefs, and not a few of the people, who were attached to Dost Mahomed, could not forget that Burnes had been *hospitably entertained by the Dost, whom he afterwards helped to pack off* as a state prisoner for Hindostan. Had it only been for the varying parts which he had played at Caubul—now the friend and panegyrist of the Dost, and now *the supporter of Shah Sujah*—Burnes ought never to have been left in that city or in any part of Affghanistan. As matters went, he was always the most conspicuous and forward of all our functionaries; nearly every thing was done through him; and while Sir W. MacNaghten, the envoy, resided in the cantonment, he, the envoy's assistant, resided in the city, and was constantly reminding the people, by his presence, *of his past history*."—(Page 390, note.)

We have already sufficiently shown that Burnes was not a "supporter of Shah Soojah," any further than that when Lord Auckland had determined to uphold him, he made the best of a bad business; and, when requested to do so, lent his local knowledge to the furtherance of the unjust designs of the Simlah cabinet. "I was afraid," he said, "of being thought a deserter in the day of trial." The assertion that everything at Cabul was done through Burnes, is of a piece with the general character of Mr. MacFarlane's information. Burnes complained bitterly that he was "in the most nondescript of situations." In fact, he could do little, but—remonstrate to no purpose.

Again:—

"We had, however, had quite enough of Affghan connexions and interferences; there was no longer a man that could be deluded by a vision like that of Burnes."—(Page 935.)

And again:—

"Burnes's other dream about the navigation of the Indus and the opening of a new highway to our commerce may have had some effect, although the river, strictly speaking, is not navigable for ships or boats of any tonnage; and if it were navigable, is not worth navigating for any purpose either of war or trade."—(Page 397).

The Indus not worth navigating for any purposes of war or trade!

We think that these passages are sufficiently strong indications of the animus of a writer who claims credit for his delicacy and forbearance, and regard for the feelings of others, and observes—with what degree of sincerity has become apparent—that the time has not yet come for writing a history of the war, for that "the promoters and the chief actors in the Affghan war paid for their follies with their lives," "and this catastrophe is of so recent a date that scarcely an allusion can be made to it without wringing the hearts of numerous relatives and friends." We wonder what, when the time *has* come, Mr. MacFarlane will have to say of Sir Alexander Burnes. We wonder, too, of what stuff Mr. MacFarlane thinks hearts are made, if he has not been taking most effectual steps to wring those of Burnes's relatives and friends.

That Burnes was neither a perfect man, nor a perfect politician, we readily admit. We write not from personal knowledge, for we never chanced to see him, but judge of his character from his public acts and the concurrent testimony of men who were, for many years, intimately acquainted with him. Enterprising and imaginative, with considerable sagacity and no common courage, he was wanting in many of those qualities which are necessary to the formation of the character of a statesman. He was honest and sincere in his convictions; but they were, for the most part, the convictions of the moment, and the impulsiveness of his nature exposed him to the charge of a time-serving pliancy, which rendered him, it is said, but too skilful

> —— to fawn and seek for power
> By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour—

ever ready to adopt the opinions which the progress of events showed to be most seasonable and most convenient. It has even been alleged—and Mr. MacFarlane will think himself most unfortunate in not having been able to avail himself of such an accusation—that he carried two sets of papers, from one or the other of which he was prepared to prove the justice and expediency of one course of policy, or of a directly opposite one—a lesson which he might have learned from the genuine book of Affghan diplomacy. But the truth is, that Burnes deceived no one so thoroughly as himself. He was led away by transient impressions, and was too prone to give these fleeting phantoms of the mind the stamp of permanency, and gravely to record, as an established fact or a fixed principle, what was

in reality nothing more than a momentary vision or a passing thought. A transient gleam of sunshine was often recorded as serene and genial weather, or a passing summer-cloud as a season of storm and trouble. Thus it was that he exposed himself to the charge of inconsistency and insincerity. He gave to fleeting impressions all the importance and seeming permanency of settled convictions, and thus led men to believe that he was everything and anything, as his interest might require him to be. He was sometimes sanguine, sometimes desponding, and was too prone to imbue surrounding objects with the colours of his own varying mind. Thus, at one time he could discern, with intuitive sagacity, the hidden dangers attending our position in Affghanistan, and illustrate his views with an impressive earnestness which caused him to be regarded by his official superior as a wildly speculative alarmist. At another time, when destruction was impending over his head —when the weapon was sharpened to destroy him—he saw nothing but security, and turned away, with incredulity, from the warnings of those who would have saved him. This was a grievous fault in a political officer, and grievously he answered it. But it is no more than justice to add, somewhat in extenuation, that there was much in the very situation in which Burnes was placed to induce such a state of mind. He was, from the first, in a false position. We believe that, if a fairer scope for the display of his abilities had been allowed him, he would have cut a better figure as a statesman. He was uneasy and unsettled. He had little or no power. He had no supreme and independent control of affairs, nor had he even, like other political assistants, any detached employment of a subordinate character, but was an anomalous appendage to the British mission, looking out for the chance of succession to its head. The course of policy which the Government thought it best to follow had not from the first met his approval; but when he found that it had been determined upon, he thought it right, and, in our opinion, with a proper sense of his duty as a servant of the state, to render, when called upon, such assistance in the furtherance of their views as he was competent to afford. Accordingly, he accompanied the mission, as he himself expressed it, in "the most nondescript of situations," reconciled only to the disappointment which he had incurred by the consideration that he would not appear so prominently as the deposer of Dost Mahomed;* and the belief that in a very short time would

* Mr. MacFarlane more than once steps aside to impute perfidy to Burnes, in having so greatly injured the Ameer, who had hospitably entertained him and to whom he had expressed friendship. Burnes wrote with reference to the acceptance

devolve upon him the supreme management of affairs. In this anomalous situation, we believe that he did his best. Certainly, little encouragement was given to him to do better. That he was not wanting in sagacity and foresight; nor incompetent to take comprehensive views of the political condition of the country, his deliberately recorded opinions, as contained in letters written in 1841, to the Envoy and Minister, furnish indisputable proof. These letters are not only sound throughout, but, in many parts, prophetic; and we have little doubt that, had it pleased God to spare him and our national honour, he would have approved himself, when emancipated from the thraldom under which he had chafed so long, and removed beyond the influences which had so injuriously affected his character, an able, energetic, and upright diplomatist. But a few weeks after he had written, in his eager and impulsive style, to his friends at Bombay, "Supreme at last—You have of course heard that McNaghten is Governor of Bombay: I fear, however, from what he tells me that I shall be confirmed as Resident not as Envoy, which is a bore; but as long as I have power and drive the coach I do not much care. I hope I have prepared myself for the change by hard study and a knowledge of the country"—he fell a mangled corpse beneath the hand of the assassin; the first sacrifice offered up in expiation of the national offences to which he had been so unwilling an accessory.

Mr. MacFarlane denounces Mill's "dry" history as unfair and one-sided. We may give a few instances of Mr. MacFarlane's fairness and many-sidedness. Speaking of the intention entertained by Government at the close of 1841 to withdraw all the troops from Affghanistan Mr. MacFarlane says,

"It is now no secret that an order to this effect was issued by Lord Auckland, who had been dragged into the war by the vanity and presumption of other men; and who was now listening to the counsels of desponding and timid men."

In the next page we are told, that

"At first Lord Ellenborough adopted the notion of his predecessors, and it *is said* that positive orders were more than once *drawn up* for withdrawing our troops, and commencing a treaty with men whom no treaty could bind."—(Page 388.)

Now the same book from which Mr. MacFarlane learned that Lord Auckland had issued an order for the withdrawal of the troops from Affghanistan must have taught him with an equal degree of certainty that similar instructions were not only drawn up, but despatched by Lord Ellenborough; and, over and over

of the appointment offered to him "What more could I say, when he (Lord Auckland) tells me I am a man he cannot spare..... Besides, I am not sorry to see Dost Mahomed exalted by another hand than mine."

again repeated. If Mr. MacFarlane ever perused the Affghanistan Blue Books, he must be perfectly well aware of this. If he has not perused them, he has no sort of right to inflict upon the public a history of the Indian Administrations of Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough.

"But," continues Mr. MacFarlane, "the clear head and high heart of the Duke of Wellington revolted at this line of policy, and the English people* and, assuredly, the majority of the cabinet felt with the Duke. The indignation of the country would have broken up the new ministry, if Lord Ellenborough had followed the plan which he *had been induced to entertain momentarily and reluctantly by the advice of others, whose seat of sensibility is mostly in the purse.*" We need not pause to notice the stupid sarcasm contained in the few last words of these extracts. The "purse," which Mr. MacFarlane sneers at, is the amelioration of the condition of a hundred millions of British subjects. But what are we to say of the qualifications of the *historian* who deliberately asserts that Lord Ellenborough was induced by others to adopt "momentarily and reluctantly" the withdrawal policy. Lord Ellenborough arrived in India on the 28th of February, 1842. On the 15th of March, whilst yet in Calcutta, was written that masterly letter to the Commander-in-chief, which sets forth in such forcible language the advantages of a forward movement—a letter which bears the name of the Members of Council, and which those members, we know, considered a positive order for the advance of the troops. The Council did not persuade Lord Ellenborough to adopt a retrograde course; but when that line of policy was determined on by his lordship, they were ignorant that such a step had been taken. The first letters of permission to Generals Pollock and Nott to advance, under certain conditions, were dated on the 4th of July.† During the greater part of this interval, the Governor-General was absent from Calcutta acting independently of his Council; and keeping its members in profound ignorance of what he was doing. Of this notorious fact Mr. MacFarlane appears to have no knowledge, for he adds, "In a happy moment *his lordship in Council* pronounced the word *forward*." Lord Ellenborough quitted his Council on the 6th of April, and did not return to it till six

* *Sic in orig.*—Mr. MacFarlane probably meant to say, not that the Duke of Wellington revolted at the English people, but that the English people revolted at the policy of Lord Ellenborough.

† Mr. MacFarlane, who contradicts himself so often, that he will not quarrel with us for contradicting him, says a little further on, "As late as the 4th of July, Lord Ellenborough seemed to despond about the advance on Cabool." It was a considerably long *moment* between the 28th of February and the 4th of July.

months after the whole body of our troops had been withdrawn to this side of the Sutlej. Not only were the Council in no way parties to the order, but Lord Ellenborough stated in one of his letters, permitting the forward movement, that the Council knew nothing about the change in his lordship's plans.

Mr. MacFarlane quotes a passage from a recent article in the *Westminster Review*, and adds—

"The writer of this able article, who appears to have had good sources of information, states, that previously to the arrival of Wellington's word of command, there was one high-minded and thoroughly informed adviser of the Governor-General that urged energetic measures by every argument in his power, offering at the same time to provide both stores and carriages, and suggesting other arrangements, which would have ensured success. We have good reason for believing that this high-minded and accomplished individual was Mr. Robertson, formerly Governor of Agra."—(Page 388, note.)

This is true—such letters were written by Mr. Robertson and received by Lord Ellenborough, immediately on his arrival, and Mr. MacFarlane might have added that his lordship never forgave the writer. Mr. Robertson was one of several "high minded and accomplished individuals" against whom Lord Ellenborough conceived, from the first, an invincible prejudice, and forgetful of the courtesies due from one gentleman to another, took a pleasure in insulting. That, situated as he was within reach of all the resources of the North-west, with considerable local experience, and no slight knowledge of military diplomacy, Mr. Robertson could have afforded, as he desired to afford, most material assistance in such a conjuncture, is as true as that he felt deeply the painful position in which he was placed by the determination of the Governor-General not to avail himself of the aid which the Lieut.-Governor of the N. W. Provinces was so competent to afford. Bound hand and foot, Mr. Robertson was compelled to look idly on, though he would willingly have given half the remaining years of his life for permission to act, at a time when a little energy might have done so much to repair old disasters and to avert new ones.

Again, Mr. MacFarlane, with reference to Lord Auckland, observes—

"Although far from being satisfied either with the policy or conduct of the war in Affghanistan, Sir Robert Peel did not immediately recall the Governor-General, who had been nominated by his predecessors. It was, however, impossible that Lord Auckland should long retain his place."

Clearly so, for Lord Auckland had tendered his resignation long before the Tory Government felt disposed to relieve him. Lord Auckland was not *recalled* at all. He had served the usual time, and had requested to be *relieved*. The Tory Go-

vernment solicited him to continue longer in office; and he did continue in office until his successor arrived. And these are the circumstances with reference to which the historian sets down that Sir Robert Peel "did not immediately *recall* the Governor-General;" but "it was impossible that he should long retain his place!"

Mr. MacFarlane, however, seems extremely tender of Lord Ellenborough's reputation; when he says anything likely to be injurious to it, the words appear to slip out by accident. He says incidentally that the "long delay" at Jellalabad was "partly owing to the indecision of Government;" and then a few pages further on we are told—

"How, after his *spirited and judicious conduct of this war*, and its brilliant termination, Lord Ellenborough should have been so soon induced to enter upon another war with a people equally or more barbarous than the Affghans, and, though nearer neighbours, much less formidable, is a question *not to be discussed* until his lordship be heard in his own defence, and until many documents be laid before the public. And even then the discussion will more properly belong to political pamphlets and reviews than to an historical sketch like the present. Neither the war in Affghanistan nor that in Scinde will be a proper subject for history, until one generation at least shall have passed away."—(Page 397.)

Whether the indecision which turned General Pollock's force for many months into an "army of impotence," was spirited and judicious, we leave to such ingenious writers as Mr. MacFarlane to determine*—but considering that two volumes of Scinde correspondence bringing the record of events down to the annexation of the province to the British dominions, had been laid before the world a year before Mr. MacFarlane's book was published, and that these blue-books contain a most elaborate defence of his lordship's measures, the historian has certainly exhibited an immense amount of delicacy and forbearance. It is to be regretted, however, that having such a keen sense of the unfairness and one-sidedness of other writers, he should not have extended his forbearance to the measures of other historical personages.

Following up the passage above quoted with a little bit of vindication, Mr. MacFarlane observes,—

"The Ameers of Sinde had behaved in a treacherous manner, while our troops were engaged and suffering their unspeakable disasters in Affghanis-

* Mr. MacFarlane quotes, apparently with approbation, General Nott's letter to the Adjutant-General, in reply to certain inquiries put to him relative to excesses alleged to have been committed by his force during the march to Cabool; and italicises the words charging the Government with having fallen into a state of panic. The imputation, if applicable to one Government, was applicable to the other. Mr. MacFarlane does not mention that the intemperate language used by General Nott, as well as the publication of the letter, was very properly animadverted upon by the Court of Directors. Such a letter ought neither to have been written nor published.

tan; and it might be deemed proper to end their insolence, chastise their treachery, and make them feel and remember that the power of England had only slumbered for a while, and that its wrath was not to be braved by any power in the East."—(Page 397.)

As we do not observe that Mr. MacFarlane himself has very positively contradicted this in another part of his history, though he has much softened it down, we must be permitted to assert that, when our armies were involved in difficulties in Affghanistan, and it was of the first importance to transport troops, treasure, and ammunition through Scinde, the Ameers might have crushed us—but did not. Had they really been disposed to injure us, there would have been no advance upon Caubul—but Mr. MacFarlane thinks that the navigation of the Indus was of no sort of use for purposes of war.

Mr. MacFarlane tells us that he has endeavoured to conduct his narrative throughout "in a spirit of fairness and impartiality." As he says so, we are bound to believe him; but we greatly regret that his endeavours have not been more successful.

Of Mr. MacFarlane's accuracy as an historian we may give a few specimens:—

"The chief's (Dost Mahomed's) last battle—(the battle of Purwandurrah) in which *some of our sepoy regiments* had behaved like downright cowards."—(Vol. ii. p. 379, note.)

It is sufficiently notorious that only *one* corps misbehaved—the *Second Light Cavalry*, which has been struck out of the Army List.

"Three lakhs of rupees, or about 30,000*l.* a year (a sum not far short of half of his annual revenues as ruler of Caubul) were allotted to him."—(P. 379.)

Dost Mahomed's stipend amounted to *two*, not *three* lakhs of rupees.

"At the same time (about the end of September) intelligence was received that Dost Mahomed's ablest and fiercest son, Akhbar Khan, was collecting troops and raising the standard of his father in various parts of the country."—(P. 381.)

No such intelligence as this was ever received. Eyre says that news had arrived to the effect that Mahomed Akhbar, "had arrived at Bameean from Kooloom for the *supposed purpose* of carrying on intrigues against the government." He adds, "it seems in the highest degree probable that this movement on the part of the Eastern Ghilzees was the result of his influence over them." Mr. MacFarlane has converted the conjecture into a fact.

"On the 14th of December was commenced the most disastrous and appalling retreat that has ever been recorded in authentic history."—(Page 384.)

The disastrous retreat commenced not on the 14th of December, but on the 6th of January. Mr. MacFarlane has confused the junction of the two divisions of the force with the commencement of the retreat.

"It was agreed to leave behind all our guns except six; to give up all our treasure, and to give up married men with their wives and families as hostages," &c. &c.—(Page 384.)

No such terms were *agreed* to—but such terms were proposed by the chiefs.—Mr. MacFarlane has evidently read Eyre's Journal; but he has read it with extreme carelessness. Eyre says "the chiefs were informed that it was contrary to the usages of war to give up ladies as hostages, and that the General *could not consent to an arrangement* which would brand him with perpetual disgrace in his own country."

"Accordingly the bills were given, and English ladies were delivered over as hostages—if *not at this moment, a little later*."—Page 384.

This is a strange style of history—but even the *if* does not save the historian. The ladies were never given over as hostages—but were consigned to the protection of Akhbar Khan, "to preserve them from future hardships and dangers." Their lives were saved by the arrangement.

"The total number of all (the prisoners) that were released and recovered by Nott's and Pollock's brilliant advance to Caubul, and by Sale's forward movement from that place was only 122."—(Page 394.)

When we mention that Nott's force alone rescued 327 prisoners (sepoys of the 27th N. I.) the accuracy of Mr. MacFarlane's calculations may be estimated at its proper value.

Mr. MacFarlane entertains strong doubts of the fidelity of Shah Soojah, and quotes the expressed misgivings of Lord Ellenborough. We confess that we ourselves were, for some time, of this opinion; but we have recently seen just cause to moderate our suspicions. Mr. MacFarlane himself relates that, at a time when the energies of the British force seemed well nigh paralysed on the first out-break of the insurrection, Shah Soojah sent out one of his sons to attack the insurgents. This may be set down as an historical fact, which admits of no questioning. The rest does not stand on an equally sound basis of evidence; but the Shah is at least deserving of the benefit of the doubt, by which every man is entitled to be considered innocent until he has been proved to be guilty. The Shah wrote more than one explanatory account of his conduct. The documents are in existence; and though they prove nothing, they furnish state-

ments, which, though not conclusive, are assuredly not incredible. He alleged that he had repeatedly warned the authorities of the coming storm; that on the breaking out of the rebellion, he had been exhorted to place himself at its head, but that though the refusal was perilous, he had resolutely refused; that he had, from the first, recommended Sir W. H. Macnaghten to abandon the cantonments and to concentrate the troops in the Balla Hissar, where, according to the Shah, they might have held out for two years; that he had subsequently warned the Envoy not to place any reliance in the pledges of the Barukzye chiefs; he alleged that, previous to the death of Sir W. H. Macnaghten, the insurgents had sent a deputation to him with the Koran and their seal, urging him to separate himself from the Feringhees, and that they would swear allegiance to him, but that he resolutely declared that he would never separate his interests from those of his friends; but that after the departure of the British, he had spent some lakhs of rupees among the people, and temporised with the enemy, for the purpose of protecting himself and of securing Jellalabad; that his chief purpose was to gain time so as to enable us to mature our designs; and that as for himself, he was willing when he saw his friends once more on the ascendant, to set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. In the letter, containing these and many other assertions, addressed to the Governor-General, he tendered some sound advice relative to the best means of dealing with the Afredis—"sad dogs" as he called them—recommending us to take hostages from them and to buy a passage through the Khybur. In another letter, the Shah declared that the conspirators had from the first given out that he was on their side, thinking that the declaration would strengthen their cause; and that when the Shah-zadah was sent forth to attack them, they gave out that he had come to join the insurgent party. He complained, and not without reason, that the Envoy had consented to give up his kingdom to Akhbar Khan, and to reduce him at once to his old rank of a pensioner; said that he had often warned Macnaghten of the danger that was impending, and repeated that he had spent all his money to help the British, and was now prepared to throw aside sublunary affairs, and to proceed on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Prophet. In this letter the Shah declared, that he had written more than once before the outbreak to the Governor-General, requesting him to depute some competent officer to examine into the state of the country; and regretted that no notice had been taken of his applications. In all this there was probably much exaggeration and some more positive untruth; but, though the Shah could not but be aware that

the presence of the British endangered his throne; that he was never safe so long as his enemies had the power of using his connexion with the Kaffirs as a means—and a powerful one—of strengthening their cause by an appeal, in the name of the Prophet, to all true Mahomedans to array themselves against the infidel; of raising a war cry, which has never pealed forth unheeded among those wild followers of a blood-stained creed; though there was much in the existing arrangement which must have been extremely distasteful to him; and so far there was assuredly a sufficiency of motive to render the alleged attempt to rid himself of a distressing incubus nothing incredible, or improbable, the existence of the motive is no evidence of the commission of the act which might have emanated from it; and there is not sufficient evidence of another kind to warrant us in condemning the Shah. History must do justice alike to friend and enemy—to Mahomedan and to Christian—to Affghan and to Englishman; and as the evidence against the Shah is not such evidence as we would condemn a British statesman upon, we must not upon such evidence condemn an Affghan monarch.

We had marked for comment a few more passages in Mr. MacFarlane's book; but we have already devoted to it more space than we originally designed. We repeat that these last chapters are incomparably the worst in the history of "Our Indian Empire"—so much so, indeed, as to lead to the supposition that they are either the work of another hand, or executed under very different circumstances from those which surrounded the author when he penned the earlier chapters of his history. Those chapters are not faultless, but when we meet Mr. MacFarlane again to discuss the merits of his entire work, he will find us as willing to indicate and commend what is good, as we are prepared, in the execution of our duty, to expose and to censure what is bad. It would have given us pleasure even in this notice to have pointed out Mr. MacFarlane's merits, but in the chapters under review, we have been able to find nothing on which we could bestow a sentence of honest commendation.

ART. IV.—*A Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India on the North West, including Sinde, Affghanistan, Beloochistan, the Punjab, and the Neighbouring States. By Edward Thornton, Esq. London: Wm. H. Allen, and Co.* 1844.

THE "Wanderer" Waterton, was stigmatized by the *Quarterly Review* as a Major Longbow, or a Baron Munchausen, because he recounted the particulars of a morning ride it was his pleasure to take, "al fresco," on the back of an alligator. He was frequently ridiculed as a weak humourist, because he spent nearly as much time and energy in cultivating the friendship and promoting the happiness of birds and beasts, as our Nimrods expend on the work of their destruction. His writings now begin to be appreciated, as the overflowings of a benevolent heart, the faithful record of actual observation, and the harvest of minute, persevering research. No wonder then that he was in bad odour among fireside speculators, whose theories he demolished by living evidences, drawn from nature's book; and little marvel that, in return, he should deal unceremoniously with those ornithologists who in his own quaint words, spent their time more "in books than in bogs."

Mill, the historian of India, found in the *Edinburgh Review* an advocate for the strange doctrine, that a man who had never visited bogs was the best qualified to chronicle the deeds of their inhabitants: that one who had never visited India was best fitted to write its history, as being exempt from the prejudices and partialities contracted during personal contact with the men and manners he was to describe. To us this theory does not even appear at first sight to be plausible; and the more we test its practical working, the less are we inclined to adopt it.

The argument would be considered strange, were we to urge that a judge, especially an Indian judge, who never saw his witnesses, but who had to decide on often slovenly written depositions, taken by ignorant and even corrupt lawyers, would give a sounder judgment, than he who, with full knowledge of the characters of the witnesses, had examined and cross-questioned them. Such argument would not be admitted for a moment. And who, compiling from manuscripts of his own generation, can, without some sort of personal acquaintance, test the relative value of his materials? At first sight, it may appear easier to write cotemporary history than that of by-gone days, but in reality the former is much the more difficult task. Wilkes, Orme, Forbes, Little, and our several early annalists are now better materials for history than they were at the periods when they were written. Their works have since been tested; they have

been criticised by friend and foe; they have stood a comparison with contemporary annals, and may, therefore, with slight reservations, be used by writers generally acquainted with the subjects on which they respectively treat. But it is far different with cotemporary writers. Their colleagues and others, on the spot, may pretty fairly judge their respective calibres; but it is out of the question that a London writer, with no personal experience of India, can do so. He must often be led to take haphazard assertion for fact, and bold mendacity for accurate information. An author in London has advantages for treating on Indian questions, though they are hardly of the nature suggested by Mill. In the metropolis, books and manuscripts are readily available, as is every degree of literary talent. In India the ability of a Mill is rarely to be found; and among our small community, many of those best qualified to write have occupations which leave little leisure for literary pursuits. India is a wide field, and it does not follow that a resident in the East should *necessarily* be biassed one way or another. While, on the other hand, down to the days of Niebhur, and Arnold, Roman history was written by strongly prejudiced foreigners; and to this moment, numerous as have been the histories of Greece compiled in England, we cannot point to one that is impartial. Mill has, in his own case, clearly disproved his own argument. He laboured under all the disadvantages arising from personal ignorance of scenery, men, and manners. His book is therefore often dull, rarely picturesque, and it is without the counter-balancing advantages of impartiality. Had not Mill brought great learning, acuteness, and (as far as his prejudices permitted), a right spirit to bear on his work, it would long since have been thrown aside as lumber. Excellent as are many portions of his history, not one person in a dozen who quotes and praises Mill, reads him. If the ablest, he is decidedly the least impartial of Indian historians. Had he been a persecuted victim of Clive, Warren Hastings, or Wellesley, he could not have more virulently reported the misdeeds, and more invidiously slurred over the merits, of those great men.

If the historian gains little by writing fourteen thousand miles from the land whose story he would tell us, still less does the geographer and statist benefit by absence from the scene of his labours. Waterton remarked of Professor Rennie, "that his deficiency in bog education is to be lamented; for such an education would have been a great help to him in his ornithological writings." We would apply the same principle to writers who lay down the law on topography and statistics, a task of which we hold local and personal observation to be an indispensable pre-requisite. Not that the man who writes a gazetteer is

expected to have seen every place he registers, but that, till he has become personally familiar with some specimens of the countries he is to describe, he is unfit to appreciate the value of the evidence before him, whether oral or written; is unable to place objects in their due perspective—to altogether reject certain evidence, seize the points on which writers are strong, and judge of those on which they are weak. Mr. Thornton, lacking this discriminative power over his materials, presents us with a panorama of the countries adjacent to India, like the pictures on a Chinese screen, where Emperors and butterflies, tea-pots and temples, stand forth in equal size and importance.

Let us not be mistaken. We allow that the marches of Alexander, those of the Ten Thousand, and similar facts in ancient history and geography, may be, and have been, admirably investigated by learned modern writers in their closets; but then, as before remarked, the credit of the respective witnesses in such questions had already been tested. The graphic pictures of the soldier-statesman, Xenophon, have handed his name down to posterity,* with all the authority of an able and honest witness; but in his own day he received little of the credit and honour that have been paid to his memory. There were jealousies then, as now; and as the Londoners whom Wellington saved from the French yoke, pelted him, so did the very soldiers preserved by Xenophon more than once attempt that hero's life. Few men are judged rightly or even honestly by their own generation. We now better know how to appreciate the fathers of history than their compatriots did—what value to set on the romances of Herodotus and Plutarch,—how far to take them as fact, how far as mere indications of feeling. We can steer our course with confidence by the chart of the accurate Arrian; we know it is requisite to distrust Diodorus. But did their contemporaries thus rightly judge them?

We thus grant that the learned may, with scale and compass, by comparison of book with book, with learned leisure and critical discrimination, do much; but it surely will not be denied

* An Edinburgh Reviewer in an otherwise excellent article on history says, he suspects Xenophon "had rather a weak head;" but, the almost beardless boy volunteer, whom veteran captains elected by acclamation to lead his betrayed countrymen through hostile nations, and who, midst Greek dissension and Persian perfidy, succeeded in his wonderful retreat of two thousand miles, could hardly be accounted "weak-headed." Had such a man arisen at Cabul, had our troops there elected a subaltern to lead them out to battle, or to concentrate in the Bala Hissar, their choice would hardly have fallen on a weak-headed man. It is in emergencies that real greatness of intellect finds its proper place. The strong-hearted and clear-headed will seldom be neglected in the hour of need. Their very discipline was one cause of the ruin of the Cabul force; and had not the spirit of subordination prevailed over every other feeling, there cannot be a doubt that a Xenophon would have been elected, and that the force would have been saved.

that the same men going over the ground, if they could carry their libraries with them, would more satisfactorily, and more surely, decide disputed questions. If so, how much more may it be said of a geographical writer compiling from materials, few of which are of ten years' date? Had Mr. Thornton simply travelled the round from Ferozepoor to Sukkur, Kandahar, and Cabul, and returned by the Khybur and Lahore; or had he even enjoyed the opportunity of talking with those who had done so, he would have seen, or heard, that Arthur Conolly was a more accurate observer than Alexander Burnes; he would have discovered that Hough is excellent authority on dry details, matters of fact, numbers, distances, dates, anything, in short, that a plain, honest, and industrious man could observe and jot down, or could, by dint of dunning, obtain from others. But that, though, on his assertion, the number of camels that died during the Affghan campaigns, the distance marched, or the height of the thermometer on any day, may safely be chronicled, he is not a safe guide as to the deductions to be drawn from those facts. He would have found that Major Hough had no "coup d'œil;" that he could not take in the features of a country: and that, in short, he is as weak an authority on questions of military science as could be offered; yet on these questions he is quoted regarding the Huft Kotul, Kussoor, Ali-musjid and other places, in preference to many able military writers, whose opinions on those very points might have been consulted. Major Hough is a very learned lawyer, and possesses so many valuable qualifications that he can afford to relinquish praise that few can claim. We might thus go through Mr. Thornton's authorities, dead and living. Even the older writers, we do not consider to have been always judiciously used. The Emperor Baber, for instance, is thus vaguely quoted at page 2, vol. i. on the question of the size of the Ab-Istada Lake; Baber calls "it a wonderfully large sheet of water." Five other authorities are then given as to the size and depth of this lake, viz. Kennedy, Masson, Outram, Elphinstone, and the writer of an E. I. C. manuscript, whose name is not mentioned, but on whose statement the lake is called "a little above forty miles in circumference," when the water was lowest, "length eighteen miles, breadth at right angles to this direction, eight miles; circumference forty-four." The above expressions are very ambiguous, and, after giving six authorities, all more or less differing, the compiler should have stated what he considered the average length and breadth that conduced to the circumference of forty-four miles. A page is expended on this lake. We quote a portion as a fair specimen of how

much space is unprofitably occupied with contradictory statements.

"Kennedy says—We marched fully fifteen miles in length in sight of it, and never saw across it. It looked like an island sea, and one felt surprised not to see the white sails of commerce or pleasure on its waters." Masson also describes it as stretching as far as the eye can reach. Outram estimates its diameter to be about twelve miles. Baber calls it a wonderfully large sheet of water. Elphinstone, on the contrary, states that in dry weather it is only three or four miles in diameter, and about twice as much after flood. The dimensions given by the author of the estimate of its circumstance first quoted are—length, in the direction north-east and south-west, eighteen miles; breadth at right angles to this direction, eight miles; circumference, forty-four. The water is salt, and the banks are deeply incrusted with that production."

Mr. Thornton's chief authorities are Abbott, Atkinson, Bernier, Boileau, Broome, James and Alexander Burnes, Carless, Conolly, Eyre, Havelock, Hough, Hugel, Jameson, Kennedy, Lord, Leech, Masson, MacGregor, Mackeson, Moorcroft, Outram, Postans, James and Henry Prinsep, Rennell, Royle, Vigne, Wade, Westmacott, Wilson and Wood: most of them excellent evidences on particular points, and some of them trustworthy on many subjects.

Mr. Thornton, however, very seldom succeeds in extracting from his authorities the information they are, respectively, best able to give; and they are as often quoted on points foreign from their pursuits and knowledge as on those where they are strong. In many instances, also, there is such a mingling of clashing evidences without any clue to guide the reader's judgment as to which is most to be relied on, that we are often puzzled by every endeavour to enlighten us. Having expended thirteen pages in the first volume on a list of authorities, it was surely a work of supererogation, not only to fill the margin with names and numbers, but to repeat four, five, and six opinions on a single point, and that often one quite immaterial. In all this there is a parade of erudition which may catch the eye, but does not help the understanding. We shall here offer a few words on the merits of some of the authorities quoted.

Abbott, when he descends to mundane matters, is clear and graphic; a poet, a draughtsman, and an honest man, he has fine abilities, but he is weakest where he thinks himself strongest. He must be personally known to be appreciated. Atkinson, a worse rhymer, but a better painter, is good authority as to scenery and picturesque details—indeed for most that he describes, save as to his good King Soojah, whom he praises as unduly as others abuse. Atkinson's pictures speak, and when we see his Beloochees crouch behind their rocks, we feel inclined to crouch too, and fancy we hear the Juzael ball whistle past

our ear. Bernier, the picturesque, the true, who only wrote too little, and who, unlike his countrymen generally, told of others more than of himself; his volumes, as far as they go, are as trustworthy as they are interesting. Boileau is a clever, enterprising officer, his book is valuable, but he had not sufficient time to digest his materials. Broome comes under the same category; had his journey extended to years, instead of weeks, he would have furnished a most valuable work on the sources of the Punjab rivers and the countries they permeate. The brothers Burnes are sufficiently well known to fame; James has perhaps been too little quoted, as Alexander has been too much; able, enterprising, and enthusiastic, the latter jumped too rapidly at conclusions, looked too little beneath the surface. He passed too quickly through the countries he tells of to have reported them accurately, even had he possessed the turn of mind for such details; but where he remained longest, and his opportunities were best, his details are not materially improved. He is a good delineator, of superficial manners, of striking points of character, but had no eye for scenery, nor was he a careful comparer of authorities. He was altogether too precipitate to have been accurate. Eyre may be always relied on wherever he claims our belief, and his opinions are generally entitled to respect. He is a first-rate military writer, as is Havelock—clear, cautious, and accurate as to facts, with a soldier's eye and a soldier's heart, he is always a trustworthy witness, unless when his military ardour leads him beyond that best policy—political morality. Yet Mr. Thornton has been misled, probably by his local and personal ignorance, into comparative depreciation of authorities like these, while he unduly relies on other writers possessing no such claims to our confidence. One name especially revolts us, when mentioned with any inherent right to that credence which he has forfeited by self-evident malignity and untruth.

In previous numbers we have pointed out many of Masson's errors; Mr. Thornton shows some very glaring ones, but still calls him "the accurate,"—perhaps the writer's pen slipped, and he meant "the inaccurate." Mr. T. refers to Masson more frequently than to any other writer. After several readings and many close comparisons of his travels, we are led to the conclusion that Masson is entirely untrustworthy; he sinks the truth, he distorts facts, he exaggerates, he theorizes ignorantly, and he boldly asserts as fact what he knew nothing about. We therefore hold his volumes to be useful only where their contents are confirmed by the writings of more respectable men. In the course of this article we shall have occasion to adduce many reasons for this strong opinion, besides what have already

appeared in our previous numbers. Mackeson, Outram, Postans are all sound authorities; they all know much more than they have published on the countries under notice, and yet little use has been made of what they have offered to the public.

The names of James and Henry Prinsep are too well known in India to need applause at our hands; yet when he has Prinsep's tables of coins to refer to, Mr. Thornton searches for the value of a gold mohur in the vocabulary prefixed to Lady Sale's Journal, and of course obtains an erroneous statement. Jameson and Royle are good authorities as far as they *saw*, and even on occasions where they theorize. Of Vigne and Moorcroft we have given our opinion in past numbers. Had the former published his works in India and taken advice of old Indians, they would have been much more valuable; and we regret that as an honest adventurous traveller, we should so often have to differ from him. The labours of Moorcroft have lost half their value from the state in which his documents were left, making it difficult for even his able editor, Horace Wilson, to separate the crude materials from his digested facts.

We fear that Moorcroft, Burnes, Vigne, and other travellers in the countries under notice, took only brief notes on the spot, trusting to memory to fill up their sketches. There is often internal evidence of such being the case, and unless Masson purposely misleads, with a view of puzzling his trackers, and concealing his whereabouts at particular periods, his whole travels would appear to have been written at Bombay, or in London. Scarcely a date is given. Blanks of months and years are unaccounted for, and tales of romance are interlarded with his statistical details, often bearing the strongest stamp of Munchausenism. The legend of Anarkalli, the favourite of a Mogul emperor, who, for being observed to smile on a royal favourite, was built up alive in a brick cell, and a splendid mausoleum afterwards erected over him, and called after his name, seems to us one of those romances, such as any traveller may obtain by the score, if he only sufficiently encourages his Cicerone. We at least, when visiting Anarkalli, then the residence of General Ventura, heard no legend, though we talked freely to our guide. Another of these romances relates to a horse-whipping said to have been inflicted on Dhyan Singh, who was not the man to have survived an unavenged insult, still less one who would not only have suffered the offender to live, but have afterwards helped him to the throne. When this horse-whipping is said to have taken place, Dhyan Singh was the all-powerful Vizier, the second man in the state; Sher Singh was nobody. Three deaths and Dhyan Singh's support made him a sovereign.

Such tales might be pardoned, were mere everyday occurrences and personal experiences more faithfully narrated. The following seems to us a case of gross exaggeration, if not of entire untruth. Mr. Masson* on his march from Lahore to Moultan falls in with "Thakur Singh, a young Seikh Sirdar, a handsome intelligent youth, apparently sixteen or seventeen years of age," son of Sirdar Sham Singh, one of the oldest and most respectable Seikh chiefs. Thakur Singh, who is said to be very amiable, took a great fancy to Mr. Masson, and offered him service at "one thousand rupees per month," which the Traveller refused. The young chief daily in Durbar "placed me on the same seat with himself and uncle;" he "travelled in great state, attended by a band of musicians, about a hundred and fifty horsemen, a small field piece, and six camels carrying swivels." Mr. Masson, being unwell, was "accommodated in the state carriage, drawn by two fine horses." The young chief had been deputed by Runjeet Singh "to arrange differences which had arisen between the Subahdar Sohand Mull and the Khan of Bahawulpoor." Year or month of this journey is not given, but "years had elapsed, when at Peshawur, in 1838, I had again the pleasure to see him." The first meeting may have been any time between the year 1826 and 1838, soon after which last date we fell in with the youth. He was still scarcely more than a lad, and far from being "a handsome intelligent youth," was an extremely ill-favoured and stupid one. He had not only, then, no carriage at hand, but the very ricketty buggy which he drove he could not pay for; and, far from having a thousand rupees per month to give to a wandering European, he had not wherewithal to pay for the brandy in which he freely indulged. He was, in short, one of the—if not *the*—most dissolute and blackguard Seikh chiefs we ever fell in with. His father is a respectable man, and threatened to disinherit him for his evil courses. They were not men, or rather boys, like Thaker Singh, whom Runjeet Singh employed as determiners of knotty points; besides, the lad *could not* have been deputed to settle a question between Bahawulpore and Moultan, the first state being under British protection. We therefore look upon the whole story as a romance, originating perhaps in some very slight fact. We may here give some reasons for believing that Masson could have been but slightly acquainted with the languages of the countries through which he travelled. His orthography is evidently that of a person who could not read in the original the words that he writes in English. For instance,

* Chapter 20, passim. *Masson*, vol. i.

the great Sawun Mull is called in several places "Sohand Mull:" the word Masjid, a mosque, is invariably spelled "Musjit." At page 159 of the Khelat volume, he tells us that the adverb *shetabi* means precipitate, though a very slight knowledge of Persian would have told him the word is shitab-kar or shitab-baz. In the same page "Ekrar" is given for "Ikrar." At page 28, he tells us that "reza namah" is a "letter of approbation;" the true word being "razi-nama," and the correct translation "a deed of satisfaction;" at page 249 of the same volume, we have "Khata jam bashi, or be at ease," the "khâta" of which, instead of "khatir," could only have been given by a tyro in Persian literature, however the slightly aspirated *a* in "jama" might have been overlooked. He tells us that although Runjeet Singh in his relations with the Mussmâns to the west, assumes a high tone, at home he simply styles himself "Sirkar." Any man who understands the meaning of the word *Sirkar*, will know that the Maharajah could not have well designated himself by a higher title than "the Government." From Masson's volumes we might select abundance of such specimens, were they worth transferring to our pages. But to return to better men.—

MacGregor and Wood are two of Mr. Thornton's most trustworthy authorities, but they, again, are too little used. The opportunities enjoyed by the former for collecting information regarding the province of Jellalabad were unequalled, and Wood seems to have had more of the requisites that form an intelligent traveller than any other describer of these countries. Leech is a man of ability, and has done good service to the state. Lord, too, was an able, industrious, and honest man. Such is our rough estimate of the principal authorities from whose published papers Mr. Thornton compiles. He has not favoured us with the names of the authors of the East India House documents to which he had liberal access. We cannot, therefore, judge of their respective accuracy; but his volumes would have had increased value had he enabled us to do so.

There are three material objections to the manner in which Mr. Thornton's work is compiled, all tending to the same result —that of expanding into two volumes the information which might, with advantage to the pockets and comfort of travellers, have been easily compressed into one. First, it contains the names of hundreds of villages, some of which are given in the map, some not, but all of which might, advantageously, have been omitted in the letter-press. The work, it must be remembered, is not an itinerary required for daily reference, but a gazetteer of countries, interesting certainly, from their position, to many, but in the bye-roads of which not one man in a hundred,

who purchases the volumes, will be likely to travel. Now, what can be less interesting to the public than strings of names of insignificant villages whose very sites (especially when on the banks of rivers) are liable to change from year to year, so that the correct latitude and longitude of to-day may, a twelvemonth hence, be miles in error? How much better and cheaper would it have been to mark such places in the map, but to confine the remarks in the Gazetteer to places of importance?

Our second objection is to having eighty-five closely printed pages given up to itineraries in Sinde and Affghanistan; repeating, in many cases, information given in the body of the work. The Affghanistan routes might at least have been omitted as useless to people in general, however valuable to public officers. We have then twenty-two pages of index to a work alphabetically arranged; an affectation of preciseness surely supererogatory. Not one of these three objections is to be alleged against Hamilton's Hindostan, which gives full and detailed accounts of capital cities and other places of interest—alluding but briefly to towns, and altogether omitting villages. We know no such valuable book of reference to persons employed in India as Hamilton's Hindostan, and recommend it as a model to gazetteer writers generally.

Every student of history and geography, and indeed of any subject demanding accurate data, must have often been puzzled to ascertain what, at first sight, appeared very simple points. Often and often have we consulted and compared dozens of authors whose works ought to have contained the information we sought for, and yet in all we have found our one solitary desideratum wholly omitted, slurred over, or put in such a way that after hours of labour we were no wiser than when we started. There are some more honest authors who tell us candidly when they are puzzled, and among these is Mr. Thornton; but his loss is his reader's great misfortune, for in such cases he gives us the assumptions of two, three, or more travellers, instead of the intelligible statement of any one good author. The reader has, in short, to go round and about the course twice or thrice, and then fails to reach the goal. We shall have occasion to offer several specimens of this provoking fault. Mr. Thornton has altogether trusted too indiscriminately. He rarely tests his authorities, or rejects those that afford internal proofs of inaccuracy. He has not separated what men saw, from what they heard; but often gives as prominent a place to the legends and conjectures of travellers, as the matured fruits of their researches. In his over-anxiety to be accurate, Mr. Thornton often loads the text with contradictions. But an even

worse mistake not unfrequently occurs, when, from not correctly apprehending the sense of the writers he quotes, they are made to say what they did not assert. Gerrard, for instance, is quoted for the fact that there are suspension bridges over the Sutlej in the Himalayas, and Masson is made to say that the glacis around Lahore is cleared from rubbish. We, of course, altogether acquit Mr. Thornton of the slightest wilful misquotation; but rather attribute such cases to confusion of mind, caused by long continual poring over books of contradictory statements. Such confusion, also, not unfrequently leads the compiler to attribute to one author what was written by another. In the marginal references, also, some errors of volume and page occur which, with an entire omission of notice of the date of publication of such of the works as have passed through more than one edition, cause the inquirer much needless trouble. We have seldom been able to discover in the original the references to Elphinstone, although we have a folio and an octavo edition of his account of Cabul by us; so is it with Rennell and other writers. It must be granted that few books of reference would stand such an overhauling as we have given Mr. Thornton's Gazetteer—a labour we should not have bestowed on a less valuable work; but while giving the compiler all the credit he fairly deserves for his laborious research, it is our duty to show how, as a book of reference, the work before us might have been rendered both cheaper and better. Mr. Thornton is evidently an able, industrious, and honest writer; and if he will not disdain to take advantage of some of our hints, he may, by revising, correcting, and shearing his two volumes, furnish us with one of great value and interest, that will be in the hands of every body connected with British India. We need only remind Mr. Thornton that in a Gazetteer, readers value neither controversy nor strings of contradiction, but reasonably expect accurate information briefly and lucidly given. Mr. Thornton has given us two interesting volumes of general reading on the countries N. W. of India; we trust he will now furnish us with a more compact and more matured work for the traveller and the subaltern. We have little hesitation in assuring him of the ready sale of such a volume, which doubtless Mr. Thornton could materially improve, by even seating himself at Loodianah for a few months; but which, with his habits of research and information, we allow he can better compile in London than any author whom we know not personally acquainted with the countries under notice.

It should be remembered that the statistical notices of Leech, Burnes, Lord, Mohun Lall, &c. were either hastily prepared by themselves during brief halts, when they must have trusted to

the party statements of interested officials; or worse still, the notices were often translations of papers prepared by common native writers sent into the country, who made their own arrangements, and must often have either sold themselves to the authorities, or compiled the required statistical returns from their imaginations. We offer these remarks with no view of decrying the labours of the authors under notice, but from a full knowledge of what natives can do, will do, and have done. No native goes on a statistical errand, without considering what profit his deputation will afford. If it be simply to count the houses of a village, he will discover whether the head man wishes to have the number registered more or less than the reality, and for value received will bide by his will. Paid for such falsification, he will doubtless not always attend to the wishes of the man who bribes him; and if expecting his work to be checked, and it happens that the villager can read, the Ameen will have two sets of papers, one for the victim, one for his master. This, however, only happens where checks are at hand; but where could the officers under notice have personally followed up their inquiries? and how much internal evidence there is in their papers, that the masses of names and numbers were simply the unchecked emanations of their underlings' pens. Such native writers were often absent for weeks or months; brought back full and plausible Nukshahs (forms), and received their reward. Returns so prepared, however interesting as points of reference, should never have been taken as verified statistical data, until proved so by comparison with other documents. We are far from stating that all are incorrect, but simply that they are not proved accurate, and that some of them are improbable, and others contradictory. We blame Lord, Leech, and Burnes less in the matter, than those who published and set forth crude materials as if they were authenticated facts. From such reports errors must arise. Many men consider that what has been printed must be correct, and that a Government report is stamped with authenticity.

Such errors have not been restricted to India, and it is astonishing to consider the mass of delusion that is to be found in the standard works on statistics. McCulloch is often very wrong, and with every means and appliance at command, his works contain many errors. If such is the case in England, it may be conceived how much more difficult it must be to procure accurate statistical returns of eastern countries not even under British control. Indeed, we consider that no such returns, prepared by or through the present race of native subordinates, can be worth a straw, unless largely checked *on the spot*

by intelligent officers, *accustomed* to statistical details. Ample proof of the correctness of this opinion is to be found in Mr. Thornton's volumes. The discrepancies of the different authorities quoted by him are even greater than could have been expected. In fact, where three or four, or sometimes even half a dozen persons are referred to, it is seldom that two agree. One gives the population of a place as thousands, where another states it to be hundreds, and almost as great differences of opinion occur as to areas, distances, antiquities, and historical deductions. Many of these discrepancies are owing to the inexperience of the observers; sometimes to their negligence; often to their ignorance of the language of the people—but above all they may be attributed to the difficulty of procuring correct information in countries, where every European is considered a spy, is accordingly watched, humbugged, and misled.

It is, however, time that we should bear out our statements by some examples. In doing so we shall run through the two volumes, taking instances as they strike us, sometimes for their errors, sometimes for their accuracies, occasionally for the general interest attached to the localities.

At page 50, article "Ali Musjid," Mr. Thornton tells us, on the authority of Hough, that "the width of the Pass (Khybur) here is about 150 yards," but in a note it is observed, "Moorcroft states that the defile here is in no place above twenty-five paces broad, and in some not more than *six or seven.*" Moorcroft was decidedly much nearer the mark than Hough. The defile immediately under Ali Musjid does not average fifty yards broad, and at one place where a large rock blocks the way, the passage on either side is not above six or seven yards, as stated by Moorcroft. Mr. Thornton continues "there is no water within the fort, but the garrison might be supplied from a well to which (according to Hough) there is a covered way." Hough could never have entered the fort or he would not have written such nonsense. There was an irregular breastwork partially covering a path nearly straight down the hill to the river below, which must have been what Hough *heard* of. The said pathway, however, was anything but a safe one, being precipitous and exposed to the view of any occupants of the opposite precipice.*

Our next example is a specimen of Mr. Thornton's gentle handling of Masson and a proof of the bold and reckless assertions of the latter person. His ambition was to have been the guide, the Mentor of Sir John Keane's Army, and his menda-

* Lecch, noticing Ali Musjid, says, "*It is not* supplied with water, and the garrison is obliged to descend to the rill below for it.—"Page 10, Report on Khybur Pass.

cious statements regarding the late Sir Wm. MacNaghten, and Sir Alexander Burnes are mainly attributable to the refusal of Government to employ him in other than a very subordinate office. Such inferior post he scornfully declined. We have here a specimen of how well he would have guided Sir John Keane. We give in full Mr. Thornton's account of the Dasht-I-Bedaulat, prefacing it by stating that after a glowing description of the tract of country during *spring*—the very season the British army traversed it, and found only scanty food for camels,—Mr. Masson states, "In that season (spring) it swarms with the tomans of the Kurd Brahui tribe, who are proprietors of the plain, and reap its produce, but return as soon as it is collected to Mero." The Brahuis are a *pastoral* and *plundering* tribe, and it might have occurred to Mr. Masson that they came down, not to reap crops, but to pasture their cattle and to collect tolls on travellers. As the "proprietors," moreover, come down in spring and retire to Mero, when the crop is reaped, it is difficult to understand *when*, and *by whom*, the said crop is sown. But such considerations do not stand in Mr. Masson's way; however, we let Mr. Thornton explain.

"Dash-i-bedaulat (the wretched plain), in Beloochistan, between the summit of the Bolan Pass and Shawl." It is described by Masson as "a good march in breadth, nor (he adds) is its length less considerable." The British force which invaded Affghanistan found it about eighteen miles across, destitute of water, and covered with wild thyme and southernwood, the food of a scanty stock of goats and camels belonging to the wild tribes holding the surrounding mountains. During spring, crocuses, tulips, and various other wild flowers render the scene "unprofitably gay." Such was the appearance which it presented in the prime of that beautiful season when our troops marched over it. Masson, departing from his usual accuracy, describes it, from hearsay accounts, to be at that season a pastoral paradise, and he even provides it with harvests. The elevation exceeds 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. Lat. 30°, long. 67°."

We now offer two quotations showing how error creeps and increases. Hough read Burnes, and Burnes read or talked to Masson; and hence we have Huft Kotul interpreted *seven passes*. The accurate Hough even counted an eighth; the fact being that his eighth is the only pass in the case; being the first mile or so from the Tezeen Valley, where indubitably there is a pass, rocks and precipices rising on either side; but afterwards it is a simple ascent or rather series of ascents, with here and there, in the distance, a hill or broken ground, giving cover to an enemy, but seldom or never commanding the road way. The *one* hill that *was supposed* to command the ascent, the whole way from the right, (ascending) at no point does so; and the late Major Skinner who was sent up, the night before the advance from Tezeen, by General Sir George Pollock, has been heard

to say that he never once saw the column, during the day's operations. But let Mr. Thornton speak for himself.

"Huft Kotul, in Afghanistan, is on the route from Jelalabad to Kabool, and about thirty-two miles east of this latter place. The name signifies "seven passes," though Hough reckoned eight, and remarks, 'an enemy might dreadfully annoy a column moving down this last descent, as they would have a flanking fire on it!' and in fact, in this defile, about three miles long, was consummated the massacre of the British force in the disastrous attempt to retreat from Kabool at the commencement of 1842. Here also, in the September of the same year, the Afghans, after their defeat at Tezeen, attempting to make a stand, were again utterly routed with great slaughter by the British army under General Pollock. Lat. 34° 21', long. 69° 27'."

Mr. Thornton is as wrong here in his history as in his topography; for at this place was *not* "consummated the massacre of the British force, in the disastrous attempt to retreat from Cabul"—the consummation *was at* Gundamuk, an intervening terrible slaughter having been made at Jugdulluk.

The ford over the river Jelum, where in December 1839 Captain Hilton and ten men of H. M. 16th Lancers were drowned is noted, as if, at that point, a ford is usually to be found in the cold weather. Mr. Thornton remarks that Hough (who was present when the accident occurred) says the ford extended "about 500 yards, and had more than three feet water and a strong current near the south bank," on which Mr. T. adds, "It is obvious that, for the greater part of the year the ford must be totally impassable." A three-feet ford, however, ought to be passable for cavalry, and so *would* the one under notice have been, under good management. Experienced guides should have led the regiment from fixed points, well established by boats or buoys. All the fords in the Punjab are more or less zig-zag, and all more or less vary, not only from season to season, but from day to day; so that it is probable every detachment that has crossed the Jelum, since 1839, did so at points different from that crossed by H. M. 16th Lancers.

At page 293, we have "Jumrood, a small town in the province of Peshawur, ten miles west of the city of that name and at the eastern entrance into the Khybur Pass."

* * * * * *

"The Seikhs have strengthened their position here by building the fort of Futteghur on the west side of Jumrood." For the first part of the above extract, Burnes and Leech are given as authorities; for the last, Hough and Wood. We have consulted all these writers, and find as follows: The volume and page of Burnes's Bokhara is not given by Thornton. We have therefore been unable to trace the notice in that work, and as Burnes on

his first visit to Cabul did not travel by the Khybur, we presume that the reference was made by mistake. In his second work,* Burnes simply remarks that Jamrood is "three miles from the mouth of the Khybur Pass," and tells us that "the village of Jumrood is in ruins, but is marked by a brick fountain." Wood only says that Jumrood is "a Seikh fortress at the west end of the Peshawur plain, commanding the entrance to the Khybur Pass." If he had said "commanding the outlet from it," he would have been nearer the mark. A force may be long enough at Jumrood without commanding an entrance, although it may bar an advance eastward. Leech agrees with Burnes in calling the distance to the pass three miles; he gives the name of the fort as Futtehabad, and estimates its distance as nine miles to Peshawur. Hough is quoted merely with reference to the erection of Futteghur: but though Leech is wrong in his distance to Peshawur, we have shown that none of the three other authors have misled Mr. Thornton as to the position of Jumrood. In fact there are not less than four serious mistakes in these two short sentences: Jumrood is not a town; there *was* a fort, and may have been a small village, when Peshawur and Cabul were under one ruler. The first is in ruins, and there is no trace of the other. The ruin is a quarter or half a mile to the west, *not to the east* of Futteghur, which place is not less than fourteen miles, instead of ten, from Peshawur, and *is not at* the entrance of the Khybur, but three or four miles from both the Jubogec or Shadie Bugiaree defiles. Travellers encamp, in fear and trembling, under the walls of Futteghur for the night, but it is not the place where a town would be built. The only inhabitant, outside the fortress, is a Fakir, who lives in a speck of a garden a quarter of a mile west of Futteghur, and probably gives notice to the Khyburees of the approach of travellers.

The town of Mazufurabad is thus described:—

"Mazufurabad, in the Punjab, a town at the confluence of the Jailum and its great tributary, the Kishengunga. It is a small place,† and apparently only worth notice on account of its commanding position at the entrance of the Baramula Pass into Kashmir. There are ferries here over both the Kishengunga and the Jailum. Lat. 34° 12′, long. 73° 24′."

* Since writing the above we find that Burnes does, at page 105, say, "Jumrood opposite the Khybur Pass," but Thornton's reference is to page 126, where the statement is as in our text.

† The statements of travellers as to the size and population of this place are widely different. According to Vigne, it has from 150 to 200 flat-roofed houses. Moorcroft (ii. 307) states it to contain about 3,000 houses, while Hugel gives it a population of only 2,100 inhabitants. There can be no doubt that Moorcroft's account is greatly exaggerated, and probably Hugel's estimate of the population is so too.

Mr. Thornton, in the note we have copied, gives a specimen of how his authorities perplexed him. It must be remembered that Moorcroft travelled fifteen years before Vigne and Hugel, but however deteriorated the place may have become under Seikh rule, it is impossible to conceive Mazufurabad to have been reduced from (3,000) three thousand to (150) one hundred and fifty houses, within a dozen or twenty years, as no especial plague had fallen on it more than on the surrounding country generally. Moorcroft does not appear to have been a very accurate observer, and may have, therefore, miscalculated the houses by a third or a fourth; but, from its position, we have every reason to believe that Mazuferabad was always a place of great importance. The Emperor Aurungzebe built a fort there, and Ata Mahomed, the Affghan governor, caused a second and stronger one to be erected, allowing the first to fall in ruins. A Persian manuscript now before us, written by an intelligent native of India, who travelled much about the time Moorcroft did, generally confirms the statement of that adventurous traveller. The (mongrel Persian) words of our manuscript are "Marufurabad khoob shuhur kulan ast, imarat ali darad" meaning that Mazufurabad is a large city, and contains fine buildings.

Under the head of *Saiyadabad*, at page 164, vol. ii. Mr Thornton tells us, on the authority of Masson, that the inmates live in rows of houses of two stories, each story being about twenty-five feet high. Masson's words go even further, being "those of the ground-floor were twenty or thirty feet in height, and they had above them others equally lofty and capacious." This is evidently either one of Masson's exaggerations or haphazard remarks, written from memory; for it is notorious that even the palaces of the kings, and the dwellings of the chiefs, in Affghanistan, seldom exceed ten or twelve feet high. Where domes are used, as at Kandahar, the rooms are higher; but Masson expressly says, "the whole of them *had been* originally covered with domes, * * * at present the roofs are flat. When the roofs were arched, then those dwellings of the family of a petty chief must have been from 35 to 40 feet high. Verily, Mr. Masson is as particular as he is positive.

Mooltan (page 59, vol. ii.) is another specimen of the discrepancy of statements through which Mr. Thornton has found it difficult to wade to a conclusion. He tells us, Masson states the fort to be protected "by a ditch, faced with masonry," but Burnes says "the fortress of Moultan has no ditch; the nature of the country will not admit of one." We have carefully examined all the original authorities quoted, viz., Masson,

Burnes, Vigne, Leech, Moorcroft, Malcolm, and Arrian; and wonder not at the compiler's doubts. The population is stated by Burnes to be 60,000, by Masson to be from 40,000 to 45,000, and by Vigne to be about the last stated number, and yet Mr. Thornton, we scarcely know why, estimates the number at 80,000 (eighty thousand) being the population given in Leech's report. Burnes and Masson, however, had more than, and Vigne as much time and opportunity as, Leech to obtain a correct return, and as for once the two latter nearly agree, it would have been safest to have taken Burnes's medium estimate of 60,000 as the approximate population of the place. Regarding the ditch of the citadel of Moultan, a very material question to set at rest, though Masson, as usual, writes positively, he contradicts himself by telling us in the same breath, that "it (the citadel) is well secured by a deep trench, neatly faced with masonry; and the defences of the gateway, which is approached by a *draw-bridge*, are rather elaborate." In the same paragraph Mr. M. continues, "the casualties of the siege it endured have not been made good by the Seikhs, consequently it has become much dilapidated." Thus in the same paragraph it is stated, that the citadel is well secured, &c., and that it is much dilapidated. Both statements cannot be correct. Masson's whole account is so contradictory that Mr. Thornton should have hesitated to accept his testimony on the question of the ditch at all events, had not Vigne in a measure supported Burnes's statement, saying (at page 19), "they (the walls) have been surrounded by a ditch, in many places entirely destroyed." It appears to us that, situated as is the citadel on a tumulus formed of old debris, and built without reference to artillery, and in a country where the chief force was cavalry, there probably never was a ditch, but that, round the base of the mound, the earth was most likely partially scraped away, to furnish mud for the cement of the brick-work above; which excavation Masson may have considered as, and called a ditch. We can also believe that opposite to one or more gates, there may be scarped ascents, and that at such points ditches may have been excavated. To our certain knowledge Sawun Mull has had several injunctions within the last few years to put his fort in thorough repair, and from his character he was not likely to have needed the repetition of such an order.

On the authority of Leech, "Mooltan is noted as the largest town in the Seikh territory after Lahore and Amritsur." This we consider is an error—Peshawur is at least as large; so is Sirinagar, the capital of Kashmir. Mr. Thornton in a note states that Prinsep's account of Runjeet Singh having compelled his troops

to disgorge their booty "gained at the storm of Mooltan, is at variance with the account given by the Maharajah himself to Moorcroft, but his Highness might not, perhaps, regard a slight sacrifice of truth to the honour of his liberality." No, certainly! Maharajah Runjeet Singh was not more particular as to truth than are other Maharajahs. The anecdote, moreover, narrated by Prinsep is given on the authority of a most accurate and well-informed officer, the late Captain Murray.

Burnes here, as elsewhere, jumps at an antiquarian conclusion, and, in opposition to Major Rennell, pronounces, on what he considers the authority of Arrian, that "we have little reason to doubt its being the capital of the Malli of Alexander." Now we have closely examined all that Arrian says on the subject (which is very little), and find no reason to come to the conclusion drawn by Burnes.

Whatever is its ancient history, the position of Mooltan renders it a place of great present interest to Anglo-Indians. It is in one of the great lines of invasion, and has often changed hands. While India was still in the hands of Hindoo princes, Mooltan was the seat of a Mahommedan sovereignty. Mahommed of Ghuznee captured the city in the year 1006; as did Tamerlane in 1398. The province appears to have varied, from age to age, in its dimensions, according to the strength of the local rulers. At one time it was subject to the King of Ghuznee, then to the rulers of Sindh, and again to the monarchs of Delhi.

During the reigns of Alla-ud-Deen, the second, and Belodi Lodi, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the first great break up of the Mahommedan empire in India commenced. In the Dekkan, in Malwa, Juanpoor, Goozrat, Bengal, and Mooltan, the governors, one after the other, threw off the yoke, and assumed royalty. The Mooltan dynasty extended to thirteen princes, and lasted about a century, until the Emperor Hoomayoon recovered the province, when he re-established himself at Delhi.

After the plunder of the imperial city, in the year 1739, by Nadir Shah, that conqueror annexed Mooltan to his dominions, and left a governor. On the rise of the Suddozies, one of that clan was appointed as vicegerent, who, induced by his distance from Cabul, and the weakness of both the Mogul and Affghan empires, soon assumed independence. Mr. Elphinstone mentions that Sirfuraz Khan, the nawab of the day, shut his gates on him, and was in constant alarm, during the nineteen days the Envoy remained at Mooltan, of his obtaining possession of the city with his small escort. The nawab was then on the

footing of an independent prince, and feared that Shah Soojah would cede to the English the recusant territory that he could not hold himself. The strength of the position of Mooltan enabled the weak governors to hold out for a time against Mahratta, Seikh, and Sinde marauders. It did not, however, prevent their lands from being harried, and even the city, at length, being occupied, first by the Mahrattas and then by the Seikhs. But though Runjeet Singh plundered the place in 1806, and frequently levied rakee (black-mail) on the last nawab, Muzuffer Khan, it was not until the year 1818 that the place was finally carried by storm, and the governor killed in the breach. Numbers and celerity of movement, in this instance, as on many others, were the instruments of Runjeet Singh's success. The very Patan feudatories in his camp, who had themselves been only subdued, were concerting to aid the besieged, when Runjeet, by a free expenditure of his Akalies, headed by their notorious leader, Phoola Singh,* carried the place, and brought the remnant of the Mooltan territory under the Seikh yoke.

Abul-fazel tells us that the Soubah of Mooltan (when united to Futtab) extended "from Ferozepoor to Sewistan 403 cose; and was in breadth, from Kutpoor to Jeselmere, 108 cose. But with the additional length of Futtab, it measures, to Kutch and Mekran, 660 cose." Its present limits are very much contracted, but it nevertheless now occupies districts that formerly appertained to Soubah Lahore. We should roughly estimate the present province at 10,500 square miles, or 150 long and 70 broad. Leech tells us that Mooltan is "not in the flourishing condition it was under Muzaffer Khan;" but considering its former and present condition, we consider the province to have improved under Seikh, or rather under the late Sawun Mull's rule. Elphinstone states that, in his time, the country bore evident symptoms of deterioration; and that, although the old watercourses were very numerous, affording ample means of irrigation, many villages were in ruins; and that not above half the land around the city was cultivated. The cultivation has evidently since increased, and Masson tells us that "the gardens of Mooltan

* Phoola Singh led the Akali attack on Mr. (Sir Charles) Metcalfe's escort in 1809; he also made more than one inroad south of the Sutlej on such freebooting and murdering excursions as the more fanatic Akalis were wont to undertake, wherever a field lay open for them. Moorcroft tells us that Phoola Singh volunteered his services for the benefit of the British Government, to carry fire and sword wherever he might be ordered. He was a violent man, and when displeased with Runjeet Singh, would as readily have made an onslaught on the Khalsa as expended his blood in its favour. He was eventually killed in the battle of Noushera, performing prodigies of valour. Mounted on an elephant, he led the Seikhs to storm a long low ridge of hills occupied by the Affghans. He succeeded, but at the expense of his life. A tomb was raised to his memory on the spot where he fell by the grateful Maharajah.

are abundant, and well stocked with fruit trees, as mangoes, oranges, citrons, limes, &c. Its date trees also yield much fruit, and vegetables are grown in great plenty."

The city of Mooltan is surrounded by a wall; it is situated about three miles east of the River Chenab (Masson says of the Ravi), the inundations of which extend to the suburbs. The city is built upon a mound of considerable elevation. The bazaars are extensive. Leech tells us that there are four thousand six hundred shops, and, as he details the numbers of each trade and calling, it may be presumed that he had some means of proving the accuracy of the return. He enumerates sixty merchants, and sixty bankers—715 pastry cooks, 112 goldsmiths, 45 enamellers, 160 *houses of dancing girls*, 250 silk weavers, 360 plain weavers, 112 temples, 109 mosks, 7 schoolmasters, 8 pandits, which, with grain sellers and vendors and makers of all sorts of sundries, completes " in all 4600 establishments " (page 80, report). Mr. Thornton, however, erroneously calls these *establishments* of pandits, schoolmasters, weavers, dancing girls, &c. shops, saying " the *shops* amount altogether in number to 4600," an error that would mislead as to the wealth and importance of the place.

Mooltan is famed for its silk and carpet manufactories; the loongees, or scarfs of Moultan of fine rich silk, worked with gold, are greatly prized in India. Considerable trade is carried on with Affghanistan, and India, as well as with Lahore and Amritzur, and now that a direct road has been opened viâ Bhawulpoor to Delhi, we may hope, under good arrangements, that the intercourse with India will greatly increase. Mr. Thornton, on Leech's authority, states that the merchants are considered rich, and about fifteen of them are computed collectively to possess a million and a half of rupees. The word " about " saves Mr. Thornton; but why use it, when Leech gives the names and capital of each individual of nineteen, and not fifteen, the total making 13,35,000, and not 15,00,000. Mr. Thornton is not good at figures.

The country around the city of Mooltan is covered with ruins of mosques, tombs, and dwelling houses, evidencing the antiquity and former extent of the place, though the latter less so than, at first thought, would appear. Orientals seldom or never repair the works of their ancestors, much less of their predecessors of a different faith; a well, tank, or tomb is invariably allowed to go to ruin, wherever there are not especial funds allotted to their repair. So is it with cities. One emperor of India chose to live at Agra or Futtehpoor Sikri, another at Delhi or Lahore—the consequence is that each of these last mentioned places are

now apart from the sites of the old towns, and so it is in a hundred instances in India and in the East generally. The ruins of one town are used to build another in the vicinity, giving an exaggerated idea of the city that is thought to have originally covered both the site of the new town, and of the space covered by the masses of ruins.

Mr. Thornton referring to Malcolm tells us "that north of the place (city of Mooltan) is the magnificent shrine of Sham Tubreeze, who, according to tradition, was flayed alive *here* as a martyr, and at whose prayer the sun descended from the heavens, and produced the intense heat from which Mooltan suffers, and for which it is proverbial." We doubt the propriety of admitting such legends into a book of reference; Malcolm at any rate should not have been the referee. Burnes, Masson, and Vigne all give the legend—the last referring to Malcolm, as to the saint being a Soofi. Malcolm, however, does *not* mention Mooltan, but simply gives the legend of "Shems Tubreezee, who was sentenced to be flayed alive on account of his having raised a person that was dead to life." He wandered over the world, carrying his skin with him; but being ex-communicated, was refused food. He found a dead ox, but being refused fire, by man, to cook with, he ordered the sun to descend, on which "the world (not Mooltan) was upon the point of being consumed, when the holy Shaikh commanded the flaming orb to resume its station in the heavens." In a place where, as Burnes tells us, the thermometer rises in an artificially cooled house in June to 100° of Fahrenheit, it may not be considered surprising that a rude people should have a legend to account for the heat, though the fact is, that the thermometer rises quite as high at Sukkur, Ferozepoor and Lahore, at which places ninety degrees is no unusual temperature during the night in June. Burnes records the Persian couplet, written doubtless by one who had emigrated from the colder climes of the North West,

> "Chuhar cheez hust, tookfujat-i-Mooltan,
> Gird, Guda, Gurma, wu Goristan,"

which may be rendered "graves, heat, beggars, and dust are the four rarities of Mooltan." The same traveller tells us, that the forty thousand Mahommedans, who reside in the city of Mooltan, are unmolested by the Seikhs.* Trade is encouraged and protected. The Muezzin's cry is, how-

* There is one exception, and it is a proof of either the policy or good feeling of Runjeet Singh, perhaps of both. The Kalora family, when driven out of Sindh by the Talpoors (the late Ameers), were provided with a rent-free estate, near Dhera Ghazi Khan. When the territory was subdued by Runjeet Sing, he continued the lands, almost uncurtailed, to the descendants of the fallen princes, and Wood tells us, "No troops are quartered among them, and here the Mahommedan is even permitted to raise his voice in prayer."

ever, prohibited, as elsewhere, within the Seikh dominions. The mosques, too, are often polluted, and, in the words of Burnes, "in a veranda of the tomb of Shumsi Tabreeze, a 'Gooroo,' or priest of that (Seikh) persuasion, had taken up his abode since the conquest of the city." Such, as all over the Punjab, are the insults to which the Mahommedans are liable. In all other respects the faithful are as free as are the Seikhs or Hindoos, and a Mussulman in authority will as readily belabour one of the Khalsa, as he will a follower of his own prophet.

The slaughter of kine here, as throughout the Seikh dominion, is prohibited under penalty of death, and the person, of whatever caste, who is even the innocent or accidental cause of the death of a cow, does not escape severe punishment. No persons, however, torture and abuse bullocks; and we have even seen the Sands, or holy bulls, that feed at large in the bazaars and fields, unmercifully beaten, and even a leg broken, when the owner of a field of grain could punish them unobserved; but yet the horror that is caused by the slaughter of kine is great. Within the last three years every shop was shut at Almorah, Amballa, and Loodianah, owing to the traders ascertaining that bullocks had been killed in those towns. Doulut Rao Sindea offered, when the treaty was being made at the peace, to make a further grant of territory, on condition of a clause being inserted in the treaty that kine should not be killed in the ceded Pergunnahs. In the Mogul times, a favoured chief or trader occasionally obtained such grace from the Mahommedan rulers for his town or state; and the favour was highly estimated. During the late war in Affghanistan, when the Lahore Government gave aid in men, camels, and grain, they would not furnish a bullock, not even on a guarantee that the cattle should not be slaughtered.

A word about Sawan Mull, the late able and respectable ruler of Moultan, of whom we wrote a brief obituary notice in our last number. Indian names are so sadly murdered by English writers, that as Mr. Thornton (whose nomenclature, by-the-by, is very good) does not mention the late Deewan, we may give him a further brief notice, lest he be lost to fame in Mr. Masson's mention of a "Brahim Sohand Mull," or in Vigne's "Samun Mull." The late soobadar, or, as he was usually called, Dewan Sawun Mull, was not a Brahman, as Masson states, but a Khurtree; a mongrel sort of Chutree, calling themselves of Rajpoot descent, but in the Punjab almost all employed as wholesale or retail dealers, or as writers. The *Mull* family, Mr. Masson might have known, are not Brahmans. In Hindostan we understand them to be Seraudi Bunyas. According to Sir C. Wade, Sawun Mull was originally a Mohurrer (writer) in

the Lahore Finance Office. After a time he renounced the world, and became a recluse; a very common trick at native Durbars, and one that told especially well with Runjeet Singh. After a time Sawun Mull returned to court, and was readmitted to the service with increased favour.

We should be surprised to see a Downing-street clerk, or a Leadenhall-street linen-draper, appointed to the command of a corps of Lancers, or of a brigade of Infantry or Artillery; but such appointments are every day made in the Punjab, where at this moment we see Adjoodea Pershad and Joda Ram, Ventura's and Avitable's dewans, commanding the brigades of those officers. So it was with Sawun Mull. "In 1823-4, when the Maharajah extended his authority to the confluence of the Punjub with the Indus, he appointed Sawun Mull to remain with a garrison of troops at Sitpur. While there he applied to farm the adjacent territory extending to Shujabad, and gaining favour with his master for the zeal and ability with which he conducted the civil administration of those districts in 1829, he was nominated to the government of Mooltan, in which office I had an opportunity of observing in the state of the cultivation, and from the reports of every class of the population, that his representation was well deserved."* For twenty years the able dewan managed the country placed under his charge. An almost unexampled period for a renter or governor to hold office in the Punjab, or indeed any where in the East; and, in this case, especially extraordinary, as Rajah Dhyan Singh, the powerful minister of nearly all that period, was the dewan's bitter enemy, and often by covert, as well as by open means, sought his removal or destruction. We have, in former numbers, given some anecdotes in exemplification of Sawun Mull's character; and need therefore only say, that he has left a fairer name than any Governor who has for many a day ruled a province or district of the Punjab. He was strict, but not, according to native notions, cruel; he took from the cultivator and trader all he could take, without killing the nest-egg; but he allowed no ravaging by murree or mazaree plunderers, or by more lawless Seikh soldiers. He kept both his own people and his wild neighbours in hand, by combined energy and moderation. He was a man who knew when to be strict, when to be lenient. Contrasted with the ignorant, the faithless, and ruthless spirits around him, Sawun Mull was a wise, an honest, and a merciful man. He was *so good* as to be held up as an example of integrity in the Punjab and its neighbourhood. He was not *so good* as to

* Sir C. Wade.

have been above taking advantage, fair or unfair, of an enemy. He was not *too virtuous* to have been a conqueror. Like Augustus, he would not have hesitated at crime to gain his purpose; but, like the same Augustus, when secure in authority, he would have wielded it for the welfare of his people. An oriental vice-regent has a difficult game to play. A bad governor may make a good sovereign. If the former would leave his children the fruit of his toils, if he would himself be safe for a day, he must oppress his charge, that he may bribe the court myrmidons. Sawun Mull extorted less and bribed less than any governor in the Punjab. In short, Sawun Mull was one of those men who found empires. Had he lived, he must have played a conspicuous part in the approaching break-up of the Punjab empire. His son Dewan Moolraj, who has succeeded to his offices, is said to be a good and able man, and we trust will even improve his father's ways, and remember that the ruler's strength is in the wealth and security of his people. Domestic dissension, the curse of native courts, is however already at work against him, and may involve the destruction of the whole family. Who can calculate on the stability of any eastern establishment?

At page 101, volume i. under the head of Bhawulpoor, Dr. Lord is given as authority that "the Ghara is a sluggish, muddy stream." Now Lord appears only to have seen the river in the Bhawulpoor territory; at any rate, a much better authority on the subject would have been Mackeson, who is elsewhere quoted, under the same head (Bhawulpoor), and the fact is that the Sutlej is as rapid as any of the six rivers of the Punjab except the Indus (Sinde), flowing at from two miles, in the cold weather, to four and five miles per hour in the hot and rainy season. At page 104, Leech, in connection with Masson, is given as authority that the dominant race in Bhawulpoor are Juts. Masson does erroneously so state at page 26, vol. i. but Leech correctly says, "Buhawul-khan is by caste a weaver (kooree)." A Persian manuscript now before us, giving a full account of the Bhawulpoor family, thus commences:—"It is related, that Daood (David) Abassee was a man of note at Shikarpoor, his family was from Arabia, and followed the calling of weavers. Daood and his brethren were however mighty huntsmen, and well skilled as marksmen." Thus fully confirming Leech's account in opposition to Masson's. Postans, moreover, the best authority on Sindh affairs, states in his Personal Observations: "The Jutts are a quiet inoffensive class, and exceedingly valuable subjects to the Sindh state," whereas it is notorious that the Daoodputras are most turbulent ones. After telling us who the Jutts are, Postans says, "the Daoodputras who inhabit

generally the country of that name in the North, are to be met with in various parts of Sindh."—(Page 41, *Postans' Observations.*)

At page 105, Mr. Thornton makes the rulers of Bhawulpoor to have "assumed the title of Khan;" what less could they have assumed? Half our table attendants being, or affecting to be, of Patan blood, call themselves Khan (Lord). It would have been more correct to have said that the chiefs arrogated to themselves the title of Nawab, as hundreds of others in Hindostan have done. So many of these gentlemen rose at once in the Dekkan, during the great Nizam-ool-moolk's time, that he ordered his servants to beat every Nawab coming into his presence with their shoes. Masson is given as authority that Bahawul Khan has "seven regiments of infantry, each containing 350 men, and having six field pieces; the latter are worked by 400 artillerymen." Now Masson's statement is hap-hazard enough, but to our reading Mr. Thornton here makes him more absurd than he really is. Masson's words are "to each regiment (which were previously stated to be seven) are attached six guns, which may suppose some four hundred artillerymen." Whereas, from Mr. Thornton's statement, it would be inferred that there are altogether six guns, and that they are manned by four hundred gunners. We have seen Bahawul Khan's army, and doubt if there are, or rather were, more than six field guns equipped, or if there were one hundred artillerymen, instead of four, as surmised by Masson. The condition in which native chiefs keep their guns is notorious; a few large ones without ammunition, gunners, or any means of being used, are often considered sufficient to keep the populace and neighbourhood in awe. At Julalabad there was one such gun, called the *Kazee*, that used to be taken out into the plain by the Barakzyes, to administer justice on especial occasions of refractoriness. In Oude, such expounders of the law are to be seen in the court-yards of many Amils; but seldom or never are artillery-men attached to them.

The account of the Daoodputra army given by Major Leech, is, we consider, much more correct than that of Mr. Masson. The former tells us that the whole Daoodputra force is 12,000 men, including 2,000 regular infantry and 147 golundaz. Leech adds that not above three thousand could be brought into the field. Above, he himself tells us, that the father of the present Khan (Mahomed Sadick Khan, who received Mr. Elphinstone) took 8,000 into the action at Forgad, near Subzulkote, where, though he won the day, he was obliged to surrender Subzulkote to the Sindeans.

Late events on the north-west frontier, as well as the position of Bhawulpoor, make it a place of much interest. A brief sketch of the country and of its history may therefore be here appropriately given. The annals of the family run thus—

The Daoodputras were, and are, one of the wild, stranger tribes of Sindh. They claim descent from Abbas, the uncle of Mahomed, hence Daood, a leading man of the tribe, was called Abbasee. A weaver by profession, he was a robber-soldier by choice. About a century ago, he came into notice, at the head of twelve hundred of his brethren. His depredations were so extensive around Shikarpoor, that Amed Shah sent an army against him from Cabul. Unable to meet the royal force, he fled with his followers and their families into the desert, east of the Indus. They met a Fakir, who told Daood not to be discouraged, for his posterity should be princes. The tribe dug a few kutcha (without bricks) wells in the roe (desert), and awaited the arrival of their enemy, whom taking at advantage, they discomfited, and caused to retreat. Sadik Khan, the grandson of Daood, making a circuit, endeavoured to intercept the flying Affghans, but was himself taken prisoner and carried to Cabul. The tribe was, however, no more molested by Ahmed Shah, and after a time Sadik Khan was released and permitted to return to his family. Their fortunes now daily improved, the Fakir's prophecy fulfilled itself, and out of the neighbouring states a principality was soon carved. The brother of Daood was a great warrior, his name was Gohur ; from him the second great division of the Daoodputras called Guhranees has sprung. The immediate descendants of Daood taking the first rank are called Purjanees, from Peeruj, the son of Daood, who had four sons, the three eldest of whom, Sadik, Bahawul and Koobarik Khan, successively filled the Musnud, which they had contributed to raise. Bahawul Khan procured a royal sunnud from Delhi for the possessions the family had acquired from the neighbouring states of Bikanier, Jesselmere, and Moultan.* He founded the town of Bhawulpoor, calling it after himself. Mobarik Khan succeeded his brother, and encouraged traders and cultivators to settle in his country. Having no child, he adopted Jafier Khan, the son of his younger brother Futteh Khan, who, by the title of Bahawul Khan, succeeded him. The young Nawab was violently opposed by more than one pretender to the musnud, but after the usual scenes of blood in such cases, at eastern courts, he established his authority, and enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. His son Sadik Khan received Mr. Elphinstone. The present Bahawul Khan is son of Sadik Khan, and

* Portion of a note by Colonel Wade affixed to Leech's report on Moultan.

we believe it to be the established rule of the family, that the reigning Nawabs are alternately to receive the names, or rather titles, of Buhawul and Sadik Khan.

The Daood-putras are a particularly fine race of men—tall, stout, and able-bodied, accustomed to the heats of Sindh, good marksmen and adventurous hunters; they possess many of the materials that form conquerors. Their rise, though much about the same time that so many sovereignties were established in India, was not exactly in the usual fashion of Hindostan. They colonized deserted wilds, and partly by sufferance, partly by conquest from their several neighbours, on both sides the Ghara, their principalities soon acquired strength and rose into importance. The great desert, however, interfered with their progress to the south, while north and east the rising power of the Seikhs met them. They accordingly lost their possessions beyond the Ghara, though they long afterwards continued to rent districts in Moultan, and retained the farming of Dera Ghazee Khan until the year 1832. The Seikhs constantly threatened them, even on the left bank of the Ghara, and they assuredly would have been absorbed by Runjeet Sing, but for British protection. When it reached them, the territory extended 300 miles along the Ghara, Punjab, and Indus, with an average breadth of about seventy miles. Not above a fifth of the (enclosed) area thus included is, however, cultivated or even culturable. The roe, or desert, is not always sand, but more generally a high, dry, stiff soil, so devoid of water that nothing but stunted Jhund and Babool trees (Mimosas) are produced. Water is only to be found at depths of 200 and 300 feet. The desert* appears to be gaining on the cultivated strip of ten miles along the river, and the periodical winds from the desert drive up heaps of sand, that form in various places hillocks of 50 and 100 feet high. There are in different places traces of the channels of old streams, whose drying up has desolated an immense extent of country.

* It may be considered visionary to expect to be able to stop the progress of the desert, but there can be no doubt that the desolating effects of sand drifts are to be partially obviated. We would suggest to the botanical world, the good that might be done by encouraging, in our dry soils bordering on sand beds, such plants as run out long fibrous roots, forming a mat over the sandy soil. On the north and north-west coast of Ireland, where the wind blows across the Atlantic, we have seen miles of arable land desolated by the light sand blown from the shore. One gentleman whose estate had been thus deteriorated, offered a reward "to any one who could discover *a plan to prevent the wind from blowing the sand.*" We never heard of any claimant for this prize, but there certainly are means to prevent the sand being blown by the wind. On the coast we speak of, the bent, a coarse dry grass, or rather reed, with long jointed fibrous roots, forms a strong matted coat, effectually keeping down the sand. Probably the guinea-grass might be found equally serviceable in India.

The country yields indigo, sugar, wheat, barley, and vegetables of different kinds. The fruits of Upper Hindoostan are produced in the gardens. Near the rivers, patches of luxuriant beauty are to be met with. We once found ourselves in, as it were, a lake of green sward, evidently the bed of an old stream, surrounded by a forest of Jhow Shrubs (tamarisk), taller than our elephants. In a country where a tree is a rarity, and all around is parched, these forests of bright green tamarisk are very pleasant to the sportsman or traveller. The mirage extends over these plains. On one occasion in the Bhawulpoor territory, we saw a line of battlements before us, and could scarcely believe that the landscape was an illusion, and that we were miles from the nearest castle. The sun was near the horizon, and behind us, when looking westward, we saw a long line of turreted curtain, wall-flanked by towers. The whole totally unlike any fort in the neighbourhood. Our private authorities estimate the revenues of Bhawulpoor, before the late grant, at fourteen lakhs of rupees; of which four and a half are enjoyed by the relations and clansmen of the Nawab, in rent free and military tenures; four lakhs are expended on (what is called) the regular army, and the balance of five and a half lakhs goes to the privy purse. The territory made over by Lord Ellenborough, we believe, yields about six lakhs, so that the present income of Bahawul Khan may be considered twenty lakhs, which by judicious liberality to traders and cultivators he may easily raise to half a million of money, benefitting his subjects, no less than himself. The culturable portion of the territory being along the banks of great rivers and intersected by the many streams (we have the names of twelve large ones before us) that flow from the Ghara and Punjnud, is capable of indefinite improvement. There is, however, little or no irrigation except from these streams, large and small. Well-water is scarce and often brackish. The climate is trying for foreigners, who seldom escape fevers, and are teased with swellings of the tongue and gums.

The Nawab is a keen sportsman, and for eight months in the year is in the desert, and on its borders, moving from one temporary village to another, roughly run up with grass and reeds. Bahawul Khan usually rides on a swift camel, and makes field sports the business of his life. He is generally followed by half or more of his army, and by the majority of his Sirdars. On one of his excursions we fell in with him and were much pleased with his frank and manly manner. There was a decorum and at the same time simplicity about his rustic durbar, that made more impression on our mind than the tinsel and silks of more holiday courts. Eight hundred troops, or there-

abouts, were drawn up to receive us, outside, and the Khan himself surrounded by nearly a hundred chiefs and petty officers, welcomed us at the door of his sylvan-shed, and courteously led us to his own large, soft Guddee, placed on the cloth-covered ground. We were seated at his right hand, while around and behind us, in positions, half sitting, half kneeling on the floor, the numerous Daoodputra and mercenary retainers attended in perfect silence. The conversation turned chiefly on hunting; when a grizly grey-beard, behind the Nawab, was pointed out as the hero who, single handed, had killed a tiger. At parting we were presented with a beautiful long rifle made by the Khan's own gunsmiths. All went pleasantly at the interview, and, in our mind, we pronounced Bahawul Khan to be one of the pleasantest chiefs we had met. His country is not ill managed; very much better, indeed, than that of either of his neighbours of Sindh or Mundote. Bahawul Khan not only owes his existence as a power to our protection, but for slight services in the way of provisions during the Affghan war, Lord Ellenborough restored to him the Subzulkote and other lands wrested from his father by the Sindh Ameers. He has many reasons to bless the Company's rule, and *he is* thankful for the benefits conferred on him, and if judiciously treated will probably continue a good friend to the British Government.

To return, however, to Mr. Thornton's work. Under the head of Bulti, (page 120) we have, "Its greatest length which is about 170 miles, is from south-east; north-west its breadth not more than fifty or sixty. Its superficial extent is about 12,000 square miles." Now the above area should be the product of the average length and breadth, but taking the greatest length and breadth given we have 170 + 60 = 10,200 instead of 12,000 square miles. Of this sort of error there are several examples in the volumes before us.

As Mr. Thornton is too lenient to Masson and others, so is he at times unduly severe to some of his authorities. In the same article, Bulti, (page 122) is an example of what we conceive unjust, or at least of unproved, objections. "The amount of population of Bulti, (Little Thibet, of which Iskardoh is the capital) has sometimes been preposterously exaggerated, being stated at 300,000 families, or, (if five persons be allowed to each family,) at 1,500,000 souls; a twentieth part of this amount, or 75,000 would probably be not remote from the truth. Such a supposition would rate the density of the population at a little more than six to the square mile." In the margin, Wade (Sir Claude) is given as the authority who has "preposterously exaggerated," but we are not favoured

with any ground for the cavalier assumption of exaggeration. Mr. Thornton states, at page 100, as already quoted of Bulti, that "its superficial extent is about 12,000 square miles," and adds, "it consists principally of a valley." Now, he has not only dealt harshly with Wade, but is himself materially in error in one of two points. Either Bulti does not consist "principally of a valley;" or, if so, it must, according to all received opinions, contain more than six souls to the square mile, and would not improbably contain 120, as stated by Wade. All who have travelled in mountainous countries, whether in Europe or Asia, will have observed that, however barren and uninhabited the hills, wherever a valley opens out, whether of one or of a hundred square miles, *there* the population is as dense as, if not denser than in the adjoining low countries. A hundred specimens of valleys might be given in our own Himalayas. We lately counted the houses in three valleys of five, eight, and twelve square miles, and estimating each house to have only four inmates, the population in those valleys is not less than (230) two hundred and thirty to the square mile.

Under another head we find "Iskardo, the capital of Bultistan, is situated on an elevated plain, forming the bottom of a valley embosomed in stupendous ranges of mountains. The plain or valley of Iskardoh is nineteen miles long and seven broad." This account is very different from what we have just quoted, "its superficial extent is about 12,000 square miles. It consists principally *of a valley*, having an average elevation of from 6,000 to 7,000 above the sea." In some parts of the above statement there is clearly an error; we pretend not to explain, but we should be inclined to suppose that Bultistan contains *several small* valleys, more or less like that of Iskardoh, and is occupied by a population as near to Wade's as to Thornton's estimate, perhaps by thirty souls, instead of six, to the square mile.

At the next page (123) we have Wade again sneered at, though this time in company with Vigne. "Some have idly supposed that the people of Bulti are descended from some settlers of the army of Alexander, and that Iskardoh is a corruption of Iskanderia or Alexandria, but they might as plausibly assign such a descent to the Esquimaux." Colonel Wade was not a traveller, and only wrote second-hand, telling us not of a fact but of a "tradition." There seems to us more reason to smile at Vigne's mode of getting out of his Alexanderian scrape, than at his falling into it. The Mongolian features of the inhabitants of Bulti offer no proof that they may not at one time have been conquered and ruled by Greeks, or descendants of Greeks. As good proofs could be given that

London was never held by the Romans, or Constantinople by the Greeks. Out of the followers of Alexander who founded the Bactrian and other Asiatic empires, unquestionably but few were Greeks; and, year by year, when intercourse with Greece had ceased, they must have deteriorated, as have the Portuguese descendants of Albuquerque, of whom a thousand years hence it may well be doubted, if their race ever held dominion in India. But to Mr. Vigne, as quoted by Thornton—

"Vigne, who at one time maintained the fabulous Greek origin of Iskardoh, in retraction states, that "Iskardo, Skhardo, or Kardo, as it is sometimes called, is obviously only an abbreviation of Sagara Do, the two floods or rivers." He then mentions, that the people of Ladakh call it Sagar Khood, and adds, "Sagara is an old Sanscrit word for the ocean; and in this case Sagar Khood may signify the valley of the great flood or river; *do* signifying two in Persian; and its cognate is added to the name Sagur, because the open space is formed by the junction of two streams, the Indus and the Shighur river."

Vigne's derivations are unfortunate; we have looked in half a dozen dictionaries for Sagur, and no where can we find that it means either flood or river—but simply sea, ocean.

Mr. Thornton tells us that, "two or three years ago, Iskardoh and the other strongholds of Butti were seized by Golab Singh, the cruel and rapacious Seikh ruler of Jamu." Golab Singh is not a Seikh but a Dogra Rajpoot, though in five places he is called by Mr. Thornton a Seikh.

Neemla, a small town rendered memorable by the defeat of Shah Soojah there, in the year 1809, by the Vizier Futteh Khan, is erroneously marked as about three miles east of Gundamuk, whereas, the distance is not less than seven miles, with an ascent too, just above Neemla, that makes it equal to ten miles of ordinary road. We have five times traversed the ground.

Did our limits permit, we would quote Mr. Thornton's description of the city of Lahore, although it contains several errors. Taking Masson as authority, he gives a somewhat exaggerated account of the strength of the place, and in two instances misquotes his authority. Mr. T. writes—

"Runjeet Singh ran a good trench around the walls, and beyond this constructed a line of strong works and redoubts round the entire circumference, mounted them with heavy artillery, and cleared away such ruins and other objects as might yield shelter to assailants."

The above gives a too formidable idea of the defences. Masson does not say that the glacis is cleared away, but that Runjeet Singh "*is removing* the vast heaps of rubbish and ruins." This *removing* has been going on, or rather orders have yearly been given for the removal of the mounds, ever since our acquaintance with Lahore commenced; and yet there is, to this

day, rubbish and ruin enough to give cover for an army, in several directions, nearly up to the edge of the ditch. Mr. T. states the city to be on a small stream flowing from the Ravee, and about two miles east of the main stream. Masson's words, however, are, "situated within a mile of the Ravee River." In noticing Shah Dura, or the tomb of the Mogul empire, Mr. T. tells us, on the authority of Burnes,—

"There is a tradition that Aurungzebe demolished a dome that formerly covered this mausoleum, in order that the rain might fall on the tomb of his grandfather, in reprobation of his licentious conduct; but Moorcroft supposes that the building was never finished. This beautiful monument is about three miles west of Lahore."

Moorcroft is probably correct. A professedly religious Mussulman would hardly destroy his own grandfather's tomb. Aurungzebe was not himself so moral as to have been able to cast stones at his ancestor. He lived in open concubinage with his own sister Roshnera Begum, as his father Shah Jehan did with her sister—his own daughter. We are aware of no licentiousness of Jehangeer equalling such iniquities. The latter monarch, it is true, caused his father's (Akber's) minister, Abul Fazel, to be assassinated; but the faithful, doubtless, considered the deed justifiable, if not meritorious, on account of the heretical opinions of the minister. When safe from his father's anger, Jehangeer boasted of the act. On the authority, also, of Burnes, Lahore is stated to have a smaller population than Amritsur. This is not the case, unless, indeed, when the camp is at the holy city. But, independent of the troops and their train, we consider Lahore to contain from 100,000 to 120,000 souls (as given by Thornton), and Amritsur about 80,000 or 90,000. Mr. Thornton calculates that, "as it is larger than Lahore, its population is probably about 120,000." His whole account of Amritsur would give an impression of the sacred city being a grander and richer place than it really is. Since the Gooroo-Matas, or Seikh national assemblies, ceased, it has lost much of its importance. The Gazetteer notes it as having "spacious bazaars, furnished with the richest wares: it has also considerable manufactures of coarse cloths and inferior silks," &c. The authority for this statement is marked "Moorcroft, vol. i. p. 114." Having, in our rambles through Amritsur, seen neither spacious bazaars nor the richest wares, we referred to Moorcroft, and found no mention of one or other at page 114. He, however, states at page 110 that, "at Amritsur, shawls are largely manufactured, but they are of an inferior quality." After thrice examining all that Moorcroft says of Amritsur, we have been unable to discover a word about bazaars or wares, or indeed any item of the local trade, except that of shawls. Leech is also quoted on the same

subject in this manner,—"VIII. 3. p. 79;" which we take to mean Report 8, paragraph 3, p. 79. We have carefully read the whole Report, and find no other than incidental mention *that bills* are given at Mooltan on Amritsur, and that dupattas, silk, cochineal, assafœtida, horses, gold, carpets, and cotton fabrics, are exported from Mooltan to Lahore and Amritsur. A third authority is quoted on the same subject—viz., Burnes,—"Trade of the Derayat, 98-101;" but, on reference, we simply find Amritsur mentioned as one of the places with which the traders of Dera Ghazee Khan communicate. Mr. Thornton omits the information that Amritsur is a walled town. He might have certified that its defences being of mud, lower and thicker than the brick work of Lahore, the former city is the most defensible. He tells us that—

"The most striking object in Amritsur is the huge fortress Govindghur, built by Runjeet Singh in 1809, ostensibly to protect the pilgrims, but in reality to overawe their vast and dangerous assemblage. Its great height and heavy batteries, rising one above the other, give it a very imposing appearance."

He should have written *near*, instead of "*in* Amritsur;" the nearest approaching faces of the citadel and city being five or six hundred yards apart.

Govindghur is certainly imposing from its height and treble lines of defence, one within the other; but as the outer face does not exceed four hundred yards, and there are treble breast-works, the inner area must be very confined. Against native troops without mortars and howitzers, such fortifications are very formidable; but if ever a European army enters the Punjab, they should mask the city of Amritsur, cut off the citadel, shell, batter, and storm the latter, when the holy city, as well as Govindghur, would be in their hands within three days of the batteries being opened.

The following is the description given of the village and tope of Manikyala; Mr. Thornton, as usual, furnishing us with the contradictory statements and deductions of travellers:—

"Manikyala, in the Punjab, a village remarkable on account of an antique monument or tope (as such objects are called by the natives), of great dimensions, said by the people of the neighbourhood to have been built by a prince of the name of Manik.* According to Elphinstone, the height from the summit of the artificial mound on which the tope is situated to the summit of the tope itself is about seventy feet, and the circumference is one hundred and fifty paces; but Court states the height to be eighty

* Hough remarks: "The difficulty in the execution of this work consists in the great size of the stones, which it would be difficult to remove from a quarry." Moorcroft observes,—"They were, however, but pebbles compared with the blocks we had seen in the ruined buildings of Kashmir, and the workmanship was equally inferior."—(ii. 311.)

feet, and the circumference from three hundred and ten to three hundred and twenty feet. There does not appear to be any where so complete a description of this monument as that given by Elphinstone, in the following words:—"The plan of the whole could, however, be easily discovered. Some broad steps (now mostly ruined) lead to the base of the pile round the base to a moulding, on which are pilasters about four feet high and six feet asunder; these have plain capitals, and support a cornice marked with parallel lines and beadings. The whole of this may be seven or eight feet high, from the uppermost step to the top of the cornice. The building then retires, leaving a ledge of a foot or two broad, from which rises a perpendicular wall about six feet high; about a foot above the ledge is a fillet formed by stones, projecting a very little from the wall, and at the top of the wall is a more projecting cornice." Above this complex basement, which may be taken to be from sixteen to twenty feet high, rises a dome approaching in shape to a hemisphere, but truncated and flat near the summit. "It was built of large pieces of a hard stone common in the neighbourhood (which appeared to be composed of petrified vegetable matter), mixed with smaller pieces of a sandy stone. The greater part of the outside was cased with the forementioned stone, cut quite smooth." These stones are about three feet and a half long,* and one and a half broad, and are so placed that the ends only are exposed. Elphinstone and his party considered it decidedly Grecian. Moorcroft, on the contrary, is of opinion that "it has not at all the character of a Grecian edifice. It has a much greater resemblance to the monumental structures of the Tibetans." Erskine, as quoted by Wilson, observes of it,—"Although its origin is unknown, yet, in its hemispherical form and whole appearance, it carries with it a sufficient proof that it was a magnificent dahgope, or Buddha shrine, constructed at a remote period by persons of the Buddhist faith." In 1830, General Ventura, in the service of Runjeet Sing, sank a perpendicular shaft in the centre of the platform on the summit, and at various depths found repositories, one below another, at the intervals of several feet. These contained coins of gold, silver, and copper, boxes and vessels of iron, brass, copper, and gold. The copper coins were considered to be some of those struck by the Indo-Scythian kings, Kadphises, or Kanerkes, who are thought to have reigned about the latter part of the first and the commencement of the second century. There are fifteen other topes in this neighbourhood. One of these opened by Court, another officer in the service of Runjeet Sing,† was found to contain a coin of Julius Cæsar, one of Marc Antony, the Triumvir, and none of a much later date. The country around bears traces of having been formerly very populous, and the inhabitants assert that it was the site of an immense city. Burnes and Wilson consider it the site of the Taxila of the Greeks, the Taksha-sila of the Hindoos, the greatest city between the Indus and the Hydaspes (the Jailum). North-east of this place is a mausoleum surmounted by a dome, the burial-place of the Ghikar chiefs, who formerly held this country. Lat. 83 deg. 32 min., long. 73 deg. 9 min."

Mr. Elphinstone is, we think, mistaken, while Moorcroft and Erskine are correct when they pronounce the mound to be a Budhist shrine. Similar structures must be familiar to every traveller among the tribes who profess Budhism. We have

* Prinsep considered that this tope was constructed about the middle of the fourth century; but Cunningham maintains that its construction is probably to be dated about the commencement of the Christian era.

† According to Vigne (ii. 190), it is Muni-Kyala, "the city of rubles."

seen such, both in the Burman empire and among the Himalayan hills.

Burnes gives a peremptory opinion, that Manikyala is "the *Taxilla* of the Greeks, the Taksha-sila of the Hindoos; but we cannot follow the reasoning by which he arrives at this conclusion. His words are, "I was much struck with the position of Manikyala, for it stands on a spacious plain, and the tope is to be distinguished at a distance of sixteen miles. Various surmises have been thrown out regarding this site, but I do not hesitate to fix upon it as Taxilla, since Arrian expressly tells us that 'that was the most populous city between the Indus and Hydaspes;' which is the exact position of Manikyala;" the sequitur being, that because Taxilla was the most populous city between the Jelum and the Indus two thousand years ago, therefore Manikyala marks the site of Taxilla,—not that *it is* a large city, or that *there is* any proof of its having been so; but because "it stands on a spacious plain, and the *tope* (in which Greek coins had been found) is to be distinguished at a distance of sixteen miles." There are a hundred such plains between the two rivers; there are many such topes; and there may have been a score of populous cities, each having at least as good claims to have been Taxilla as Burnes parades in favour of Manikyala. This specimen alone shows how little value is to be set on Burnes's antiquarian researches. Vigne, as usual, gives an etymology, making the words Muni-Kyala to mean "the city of rubies." He does not say in what language, and we would venture to suggest that as good derivation would be "*the saint's tomb.*" From Muni, a holy man, and Kal, death. Such structures were certainly Budhist tombs, or at least cenotaphs; and, however absurd our derivation may be, it is at least as reasonable as Vigne's. Both show how easy it is to trace fanciful etymologies. Manikyala bears no especial marks of having ever been a great city; but when writers are looking for facts to bear out their preconceived theories, it is no difficult matter for the imagination to mislead the reason into very strange mistakes. Burnes evidently inferred that Manikyala was once the site of a great city, from the fact of their being on that spot a monumental structure of remarkable size, containing Greek coins; and because the neighbourhood shows many similar mounds. But if one such tope is, *per se*, proof of the site of an ancient city, all other such mounds must bear like testimony in favour of their respective localities, and there consequently must have been a large city in the middle of the Khybur pass, and in other nearly as unlikely places. Moorcroft likewise saw symptoms

of Manikyala "having been formerly very populous," and the inhabitants assert that it was the site of an "immense city." These intelligent travellers had they not gone prepared to find wonders, would hardly have detected *such evident* marks of former greatness in the ruins about Manikyala. Perhaps, however, it was our own stupidity that was to blame, for in that spot we could see nothing more indicative of great antiquity or former splendour, than in a score of other places that have fallen under our observation.

Burnes does not seem to us more fortunate in determining the site of Nicoc, and Bucephalia, than when he decides on the position of Taxilla. Nor are we at all satisfied with his reasoning regarding the scene of Alexander's engagement with Porus. Mr. Elphinstone considered the battle to have been fought at Julalpoor; Burnes near the village of Jelum, because Quintus Curtius writes "of sunken rocks." Burnes adds, that the notice "of islands in the stream, projecting banks, and waters dilated" by the same ancient writer is much in favour of Elphinstone's hypothesis. Rocks may last, but, "islands, projecting banks, and waters dilated," vanish and vary from day to day, and year to year, and it is altogether idle to argue on points of ancient geography from the general depth or breadth of Indian streams, or even from their course, unless where they run through a rocky channel. Still more futile is any hypothesis which assumes that islands and projecting banks existed centuries ago, where they now stand. Burnes says that the river Jelum is "fordable at all times, except in the Monsoon."* The fact is, that in the month of January, when nearly at the lowest, camels have to be unladen before they can cross the stream, and at all seasons, as already observed, the fords are dangerous, zig-zag, and constantly shifting. We doubt whether the river is at any season fordable opposite Julalpoor, or for more than four months of the year, near the town of Jelum. At no time is the passage there safe without a guide.

Mr. Thornton states on Hough's authority, that "Julalpoor is one of the great passages over the Jelum, on the route from Hindoostan to Affghanistan." As Hough could not have been at Julalpoor himself, he must have written from hearsay, or have copied from Burnes, when he says, "The high roads from the Indus pass this river at two places, at Julalpoor and Jelum."† *If there is* a high road by Julalpoor, we must have missed it on our travels, for such a path, if path it can be called, as we traversed direct between Manikyala and Julalpoor, we

* Page 57, volume i. † Ibid.

have not often seen. Across the Dhunnee plains, the road is smooth, except where occasionally broken by ravines; but, for twenty miles west of Julalpoor, the country is a confused mass of hills, a very "Ossa on Pelion heaped." The line of country is little, if at all traversed, except when large bodies of troops are sent to the Indus from Lahore; on which occasions the columns move by different routes, to save the main line by Jelum from utter spoliation. There were only two ferry boats at Julalpoor when we visited the place.

"Lughman," north-west of Julalabad (and familiar to British ears as the valley which contains the Fort of Budiabad, where the captives that escaped the Cabul massacre were confined) is erroneously stated to be "forty miles long, thirty miles broad," and to be bounded on the east by the Koom or Kana* River. Mr. Thornton thus evidently includes in Lughman the two districts of Beysoot and Shewa, but the eastern boundary of Lughman is a ridge of hills running N. and S., from the N. W. corner of Shewa to the Cabul River, opposite the town of Charbagh, thus making Lughman scarcely average ten miles broad instead of thirty. The map is also in error, making it appear as if the Kooner river is the eastern boundary of Lughman.

Under the head of Cabul province, Mr. Thornton, referring to Burnes and Masson, says "the principal towns are Cabul, the capital, Istalif, Ghuznee and Julalabad," but at page 295 Julalabad town is more properly shown to be in the province of the same name. The reference on this subject to vol. i, p. 407 of Masson, is erroneous; at this place there is no mention of Julalabad. The reference to Burnes is also incorrect. He does not state that Julalabad is in the province of Cabul; but, writing of the extent of Dost Mahomed Kahn's authority, says, "the eastern portion, or Julalabad, is a recent addition of territory."

At page 394 vol. i. the article describing the province of Jelalabad seems to us replete with error. There is a province called Jelalabad, of which a valley of the same name forms one portion; Mr. Thornton confounds the two. We give his own words, lest we should do him injustice.

"Jelalabad.—A province of Affghanistan, so called from the name of the principal town. It is a valley forming a natural subdivision of the great valley of Kabool, being closed on the north by the Siah Koh and the mountains of Lughman, on the east by the Ali Boghan hills and the Khyber range, on the south by the Highlands of Nungnehar, on the west by the Kurkutcha range. It is in its greatest extent about sixty miles in length from east to west, and thirty miles in breadth, from north to south, and lies between lat. 34° 10'—34° 40', long. 70° 71'."

* Though called by Thornton the Kooner or Kama River, its name is the Kaskote.

Eight authorities are quoted, but they have been sadly misunderstood. Masson distinctly calls the Sofed Koh* the southern boundary; and though Wood does separate Nungnahar from Jelalabad, he says, "I have, however, heard the word used to designate the valley of the Cabool river, and believe it the more correct definition of the two." MacGregor also lays down the correct boundaries, but Mr. Thornton, though he quotes all these writers, gives us the boundaries on three sides inaccurately—the Liah Koh, *and* the mountains of Lughman as the northern boundary, which cannot possibly be true of both; for considering Kuj as in Lughman, the Siah Koh is its southern boundary. It is not very clear what other mountains of Lughman are alluded to; whether the N. the E. or western hills; the two last, running nearly *perpendicularly* from the Cabul river, can hardly be called the N. boundary; and, if the north hills are meant, these must be forty-seven miles from Jelalabad, by Mr. Thornton's own account, as he makes Lughman forty miles long, and as Darunta, the south-east corner of Ruj, is seven miles from the town of Julalabad, which would make the province of Julalabad seventy miles broad. Neither can the eastern boundary of Julalabad be both, "the Ali-boghan hills, and the Khyber range," as they are nearly thirty miles apart. Nor can Nungnehar be in any sense the southern boundary of the province, but simply of the plain or valley of Jelalabad. Wood states, "the length of the plain of Julalabad is twenty-five miles, and its width does not exceed four miles." This account, as well as the boundaries given, are quoted by MacGregor, who, therefore, with full opportunity for detecting error, must have considered it essentially correct. Mr. Thornton further affirms what is only partially true, that "the district is beautiful, and in general fertile." There are many mistakes in the following passages which conclude the account of Jelalabad.

"In the desert tract of Butte Kot, at the eastern extremity of the valley, the heat sometimes produces a violent and fatal simoom. Men or beasts exposed to its influence are struck dead, and their frames so disorganized, that the limbs can, with little effort, be torn from the body. The valley is not only productive and well cultivated, but densely peopled, and crowded with villages and castles—the latter rendered necessary by the turbulent and rapacious habits of the Affghans. In regard to natural advantages, it is altogether a delightful tract, the beauty of the vale being contrasted with the sublime appearance of the stupendous snow-clad mountains which surround it. Masson, an eye-witness, observes, "Few countries can possess more attractive scenery, or can exhibit so many grand features in its surrounding landscape." The revenue is now calculated to amount to

* Page 177, vol. i.

300,000 rs. It is stated by Moorcroft to have been, at one time, 652,000, but under so unsettled a government as that of Affghanistan, such estimate must be liable to great inaccuracy."

The Butte Kote simoom is little more than a bugbear. The heat, reflected from a belt of stony desert, seven or eight miles broad, is great; but the best proof that it is no worse at Butte Kote than on other similar routes is, that Kafilahs passed almost weekly backward and forward during the whole of the hot season that General Pollock remained at Jelalabad. We have ridden at a stretch, in the month of June, straight from Dakka across to Jelalabad, starting after breakfast, and thus crossing the Simoomy belt at the very hottest time of the day, and were no worse for the trip. The scenery is not always beautiful—in the desert, for instance, and the scarcely less rocky country west of Jelalabad, towards Gundamuk ; there are, however, valleys of exquisite beauty on both sides the Cabul river, especially under the Sofed Koh, where, beneath the shade of noble trees, on the banks of a pebbly stream, all around looking fresh and lovely, with stupendous mountains towering over his head, the traveller may for a few hours fancy himself in fairy land. A single march will dispel his allusion. Mr. Thornton says, " the valley is not only productive and well cultivated, but densely peopled, and crowded with villages and castles." Estimating the province at sixty miles long by thirty broad (as given by the *Gazetteer*), which at the very least it is, the revenue stated by Mr. Thornton, of 300,000 rs., was not much for it to pay ; but the sum mentioned by Moorcroft is more probably correct, viz. rs. 652,000, which is, indeed, almost the very amount paid to Shah Soojah, in the year 1839 and 1840, he having received, including Lughman, 646,273 rs. The *Gazetteer* makes one remark as to the population, but from a manuscript statement by Major MacGregor, now before us, we calculate it to be 116,465 souls.

Estimating the area at 2000 square miles (Mr. Thornton makes it 1800), the above total would give only fifty-eight souls to the square mile, a direct refutation of the assertion that the province is " densely peopled." The whole number of villages amount only to 209. Castles, or, as we should call them, forts, abound in some directions, though they are seldom more than mere towers, and never consist of more than four turrets, connected by a curtain thirty or forty yards in length. In other quarters, however, there are miles of country without a vestige of building, or of cultivation. The castles generally protect villages, and are considered as portions of them.

According to MacGregor (not quoted by Thornton), the principal valleys subject to the governor of Jelalabad are Goshta,

Kama, Shewa, Shegee, and Beysoot,* north of the Kabool river. While south of the same are Julalabad, Chardeh, Butteekote, Besh Bolak, Dakka, and the numerous rich vales under the Sofed Koh, occupied by the Sinwaries and Kojianees. What Wood surmises Macgregor states to be fact, viz., that the above named country (Julalabad province), "is the valley of the Cabool river, but it is generally termed Nungnahar," meaning nine rivers, by which the valley is intersected. Except the Kabul river the Kashkote (called by Mr. Thornton the Kooner river), and the Soorkh road, the nine streams are mere rivulets, chiefly fed by the melting of the snows of the Sofed Koh. The Kabool river is navigable by boats from near Peshawur; but above that city, rafts, formed of inflated hides, only are used. They are safer than they appear, and, except at two or three rapids and whirlpools, the voyager moves pleasantly along. The return journey is made by the raftsmen on foot, carrying the hides out of which they have allowed the air to escape. We once made the voyage on one of these rafts from Jelalabad to Peshawur, with great comfort, in about fifteen hours, being at the rate of nearly ten miles an hour. The mountain streamlets are led along the ridges and sides of the hills, and are often brought for miles, by artificial means, for purposes of irrigation, sometimes on raised aqueducts, and often in kureezes, or small tunnels. Wherever there is water under the hills, there are to be found many of the shrubs and wild flowers of Europe, with mulberries, pomegranates, grapes, and other fruits. Indeed nothing can exceed the loveliness and repose of some of the small valleys of Affghanistan, and they seem even more beautiful than they are, as being generally approached over stony belts of wilderness, and surmounted by dark, grim hills, occupied by grimmer inhabitants.

In the province are nine distinct tribes split into numerous subdivisions. One-fourth of the population are Khoogianees, who inhabit about Gundamuk, Kujjer, and Futteabad; another fourth are Taujauks, scattered throughout the country; a sixth are Momunds, occupying both sides the Kabul river towards the Khyber. The Shinwaries, who constitute another sixth, reside in the rich valleys under the Sofed Koh, towards Beshbolak, and claim kindred with the occupants of Lohargi, in the Khyber. The Hindoos are estimated at one twenty-third ($\frac{1}{23}$) of the

* The inhabitants of the beautifully rich valley of Beysoot are chiefly of Arab descent. The daughter of the petty chief was seen by Ahmed Shah Abdallee, then a mere follower of Nadir Shah, as she went down to the river for water; he was struck with her beauty, and married her. She was the mother of Timoor Shah, and grandmother of Shah Soojah.

whole, and are scattered about, though chiefly to be found in large villages as Besh Bolak, Bala *Bagh*, Kujjer, &c.

In noticing the town of Jelalabad, Mr. Thornton thus summarily flings aside a very accurate authority. "The amount of population is doubtful, but probably does not exceed 3,000, though Havelock estimates it at 10,000." The actual census table of Jelalabad town has not fallen into our hands, but we have been permitted the use of several returns made by Major M'Gregor. One gives the total of the nine roods (or districts) of Jelalabad as 23,293 houses, on which datum, allowing four persons to each house, he makes the total population to be 93,172. Considering that the multiplier should have been five, we have made the population 116,465. We have also lists of the villages of each rood, with statistical tables of produce, and showing the total number of houses in each rood. But the total houses of the nine roods only amount to 20,259 instead of 23,293; while in the list of the Soork rood, in which the town is situated, the name of Jelalabad has no statistical data opposite to it, showing that a separate paper (which has not fallen into our hands), had been devoted to its statistics. The difference, then, between 23,293 and 20,259 or 3,034 houses, is evidently the number intended for the town of Jelalabad, which, at five souls to the house, would give 15,170 instead of 3,000, as pronounced by Thornton, or 10,000 as estimated by Havelock. A further proof of the correctness of our inference is, that the Soork rood has altogether only 2,827 houses, while among its twenty-seven villages are the large ones of Futtehabad, Balabagh, Sooltanpooa, Neemla and Charbagh, containing among them at least 1,200 inhabitants. It is therefore impossible that Jelalabad could have been, with the twenty-one other villages, entered as having *only* 1,627 *houses*. We have explained this point fully, because we like excessive squeamishness and distrust of a respectable authority, as little as we do overweening confidence in less trust-worthy testimony. We never counted the houses of Jelalabad, but from memory should say *it could not* have contained less than 10,000 inhabitants during Shah Soojah's *last* occupation of Affghanistan. No great number either, when we remember that the Suddozye kings usually made it their winter quarters, and that the provincial governor always resided there. In considering such questions, it must always be borne in mind that there are no hamlets, and but few small villages, in Affghanistan; the people congregating together for mutual protection. There is not a village on the same side of the Kabul river, within five miles of Jelalabad, which must therefore contain the cultivators of at least thirty square miles of arable land.

Jelalabad town was built by the Emperor Akbar, surnamed Jual-ud-deen, and called after himself. MacGregor gave a romantic account of its many vicissitudes, but its best and most permanent interest will always be mingled with the narrative of General Sale's memorable defence, in which MacGregor himself bore so worthy a part—

When treachery's storm was sweeping past,
And woes fell thick as hail,
They gave their war-cry to the blast,
And buckled on their mail.
Hemmed in by foes, and daily mocked
With hope of coming aid,
Their fortress gates they faster locked,
And poured their cannonade.
Days upon days to weeks had risen,
And weeks to months had swelled,
While in their foe-beleaguered prison
His court grim Famine held.
Theirs was the soldiers' noblest worth,
And proud we all may feel
To claim a brotherhood of birth
With those stern hearts of steel.*

But to return to the Gazetteer—

Kapurthulla, the chief town of the Aloowala Sirdar, the descendant of the great Jusa Sing Kulal, who helped Runjeet Sing's family to the throne, is thus absurdly described, on the authority of Von Hugel. This gentleman evidently did not understand what was said to him in Hindustanee, but he seems to have delighted in differing from other travellers:—

"Kopurthella, a town in the Punjab, is about ten miles from the left bank of the Beas, and on the route from Loodiana to Lahore. Here Futteh Sing, the half brother of Runjeet, built a magnificent street, a palace, and a temple, and near the town commenced and almost completed a mansion, in so massive a style that he incurred the suspicions of the Maharajah, and was in consequence obliged to fly. Lat. 31° 24′, long. 75° 21′."

According to our judgment, the name ought to be spelled Kapeirthulla. The town is one of some consequence, and contains about fifteen thousand inhabitants. It is the seat of Nihal Sing Aloowala, as it was of Futteh Sing his father, who *was not* the half brother of, nor any relation to Runjeet Sing, but who changed turbans with the Maharaja and thus became *his sworn brother*. The Maharaja, like his neighbours the Affghans, was most dangerous when he multiplied his oaths of friendship; he courted the Sirdar as long as he required his aid, and when he could do without him, tried every device to absorb the Aloowala possessions, as he had done those of almost all the other chiefs of the Seikh confederation. We have seen the "massive man-

* See lines that appeared in the *Delhi Gazette* for April 1842, slightly altered by the author.

sion at Kapurthulla:" there are a dozen more substantial at Lahore. The crime of the Sirdar was and is, that he has wealth, power, and influence, and that he obtains a half sort of protection from the British, for his cis-Sutlej possessions.

On searching the Gazetteer for Kooner, the only mention we found of that name was as follows:—

"Kama river, so called from a district of that name through which it passes, bears also the name of the river Kooner, from a town on its eastern bank. It rises in the valley of Chitral, in the Hindoo Koosh, and flowing south-west, traverses Kafiristan, whence it proceeds still in a south-west direction into Lughman, a province of Affghanistan, and falls into the Kabool river at its northern side, in lat. 34° 24′, long. 70° 35′. Though about 220 miles in length, it is, according to Moorcroft, of no great size."

This is a very inadequate notice of a country conspicuous in Affghan annals. The river is more generally known as that of Kashkote. The town of Pushoot, the capital of the province of Kooner, is about fifty miles north by east of Jelalabad, on the road to Bajour. The province has long been prominently before the public, as having been one of the most troublesome portions of Shah Soojah's dominions. It is now one of the most unmanageable under Dost Mahomed, whose son, Mahomed Akbar, has lately been again plundering and dispossessing in that quarter. To illustrate Affghan local history, we shall offer a few words regarding the family of the chiefs of Kooner, as a sample of the unholy feuds that have long distracted Affghanistan. The facts we give are chiefly drawn from a manuscript report by Major MacGregor.

The chief of Kooner, in the days of the Emperor Baber, was a Syud. A prince in his own strong country and a descendant of the prophet, his alliance was considered worthy of the emperor, who gave him his daughter in marriage. Hence, perhaps, the head of the family has assumed the title of Padshah or King of Kooner. Syud Nuzeef, the eighth in descent from Baber's daughter, had nineteen sons; of these several died early; one (Azeem) became mad, another (Jumal) turned ascetic; another emigrated to Hindostan; and the rest remained at home to cabal against one another, and cut each other's throats. The downfall of the family is attributed to Syud Nuzeef having espoused the cause of Shah Mahmood when he was contending with his elder brother Shah Zuman for the kingdom of Affghanistan. A force under the Syud turned the scale against the unhappy Shah, and led to his capture and the eventual loss of his eyes. When Shah Soojah succeeded to the throne he determined to avenge the wrongs of his brother, Shah Zuman, on the chief of Kooner; and accordingly sent a force against him under Akram Khan Urzbegee. Unable to meet the royal

troops, Syud Nuzeef fled to the hills, whence he negotiated with Akram Khan, with whom he was on friendly terms. The latter, accordingly, accepting a bribe, and taking one of the sons of Syud Nuzeef as a hostage, abandoned Pushoot, which he had seized. Through Akram Khan's influence at court, the Syuds remained unmolested, until the Barukzyes had put down the Suddozyes. But when Mahommed Zuman was Governor of Jelalabad, he demanded the cession of the valley of Shewah, one of the most productive districts of Kooner; it was refused; a fight ensued, when the Governor's troops were worsted and himself wounded. This victory, however, proved ruinous to Syud Nuzeef, bringing down on him the whole force of Mahommed Azeen Khan, the then head of the Barukzye family. Pushoot was captured, and Syud Nuzeef himself seized and sent to Peshawur. Azeen Khan, leaving his son Akram Khan as governor, proceeded to Peshawur, and endeavoured to conciliate the old Syud, even offering him a maintenance of 40,000 rs. per annum. He refused all pecuniary aid, and only asked permission to visit the tombs of his ancestors, near Kooner. This was granted; he went, and having performed the usual ceremonies, took advantage of his vicinity to Kooner, slipped into the valley, raised his standard, was joined by his people, and closely besieged Akram Khan. The young chief held out stoutly, until reinforced from Kabul. On the arrival of succour, a capitulation was proposed by the garrison, offering to Syud Nuzeef the restoration of his principality, shorn of the valley of Shewa, on condition that he should nominate as deputy his own son, Buhaoodeen, the same whom Akram Khan Urzbegee had taken away as a hostage in Shah Soojah's time. The old chief unwillingly consented, but dissensions soon arose between the father and his son, the deputy. Their broils were fostered by the Barukzyes, who at last encouraged Buhaoodeen to seize and imprison his father. He did so, but soon released him; when the old man acquired the mastery, and drove his son out of the country. At this time, with the exception of Mahaoodeen Khan, all Nuzeef Khan's sons were in open or secret rebellion against him, and they regarded their brother with no good will, because of his fidelity. Accordingly one of the rebel-brothers, by name Fakir, took advantage of the old Syud's temporary absence, to get rid of Mahaoodeen, by stabbing him in open Durbar. The murderer was banished, but soon obtained a small government under his too indulgent parent. Suyd Fakir, however, was not touched by this forbearance; he continued his intrigues, and soon returned to Pushoot, seized and imprisoned, and finally killed his father, though aged eighty years.

The rival brothers now contended with the parricide, but latterly the several parties merged into two, one for the double murderer, Fakir, the other for Buhaoodeen. Each of these two brothers entrenched himself near the town of Pushoot, and for *eight years* carried on a desultory warfare, each party collecting the revenues of the country occupied by his own troops. In 1834, Dost Mahommed Khan interfered in favour of Buhaoodeen, assigning to Fakir for his maintenance the village of Charbagh, five miles west of Jelalabad, where the man who had in cold blood slain first his brother and then his father, resides in honour to this day. Buhaoodeen soon incurred Dost Mahommed's displeasure, by harbouring a Frenchman, by name Carren, who the Ameer believed to be an English spy, and whose surrender he repeatedly demanded. Meeting with a refusal, Dost Mahommed ordered his son to proceed, and by any means in his power to seize the recusant Buhaoodeen. Mahommed Akbar made no scruple of swearing friendship, enticing the unwary Syud to Jelalabad, and then imprisoning him. He next marched to Pushoot, and attacked Buhaoodeen's two sons, Nizamoodeen and Husamoodeen. The former fled and joined Prince Timoor, who, with Colonel Wade, was then advancing against the Khyber. Dost Mahommed placed Syud Hashim, one of the other brothers, in charge of the province, on his promising to pay 28,000 rs. annually. In January, 1840, Buhaoodeen was reinstated by the British authorities; a change which stirred up the petty war of Pushoot,—a campaign not yet forgotten perhaps by many of our readers, and mournfully remembered* by the friends of those who there shed their blood.

The son of the murdered Mahaoodeen is Syud Ahyaoodeen (whose name must be familiar to many who were in Affghanistan), a handsome, gallant young fellow, who took a warm part in favour of the British during the Kabul insurrection. He joined Captain Mackeson at Peshawur, and was the main instrument in supplying the Jelalabad garrison with cash; on one occasion proceeding himself, with 500 or 1000 gold coins, as far as Gohsta, and thence sending two of his own people into the besieged town in the face of the enemy. He accompanied General Pollock's army to Kabul, and when Sir Richmond Shakespeare made his me-

* As usual in Affghanistan, and in India too, an inefficient force was sent against Pushoot. A breach was effected on each side of the gateway, but an inner gate was found closed. An attempt to blow it in failed, though the gallant young Pigou (who afterwards fell before a like insignificant fortress) was the engineer, An excellent young officer, Collinson, of the 37th N. I., was killed with nineteen men, and double the number wounded. The garrison having repelled the attack, shortly after evacuated the place, repeating exactly the occurrences of a hundred such assaults in Hindostan and Affghanistan.

morable move on Bamean for the rescue of the prisoners, Syud Ahyaooden was by his side, in worthy fellowship with the bold and venturous knight. Ahyaooden is now an exile, living on the bounty of the British Government near Peshawur. Not long since, we read in the Akhbars, that he had found some treasure, and being ordered to attend before the Seikh Governor, Tej Singh, to surrender the cash, he replied that he knew no master but the British Government. The Seikhs, and indeed all demi-savages, respect such fearless characters as Ahyaoodeen. The Syud is the best Affghan of our acquaintance; he neither flatters nor swaggers. His manners are simple, and his conduct won the regard of many officers at a period when he was "among the faithless faithful only found." We therefore wish him long life to enjoy his pension.

Such murderous acts as those of the Syud Fakir are common in almost every family in Affghanistan. Each has its tale of blood. We narrate one other. Azeez Khan Ghyljie, one of the notables whom Sale thrashed on the 5th April, had a feud with his cousin Mayooden (the brother of Gool Mahomed of local fame), for carrying off his widowed mother, though with her own consent. He at last patched up a truce, and invited the offender and his brother Hyder to a feast in a house, beneath which he had previously lodged a quantity of powder. At a signal the host left the apartment and, abandoning several of his *friends*, he blew up the whole party. He was begged to give his own partizans time to escape, but refused, lest the intended victims should thereby take alarm.

Among them was only one old man, wise enough to suspect treachery in time to make his escape. We give his narrative as related to us by Dr. Robertson, the intelligent surgeon of H. M. 13th Lt. Infantry. "As we were riding along," said that gentleman, "we came to the ruin of a house which with all around bore the appearance of an old explosion. I remarked to my companion that the house must have been blown up. 'Oh yes!' he replied, 'and I barely escaped being one of the victims. That was the house in which Azeez Khan got rid of his cousins and their friends, aye and of some of his own, at the same time, Sahib; I'll tell you how it was. We were all seated, and had taken our fill of *such* pilaos and soups. After dinner the pipes were brought in, and we were comfortably smoking, when I thought I observed a smell very like gunpowder. I whispered to the man next me, that I hoped there was no trap laid for the company. He was too well satisfied with his dinner and with the passing hookah, to move or to take alarm, and told me to be quiet. Presently I caught another whiff of

sulphur, and, observing that Azeez Khan had just glided out, I said not a word but moved off too. My horse was at hand, I mounted and when a little way from the house, set off at speed; but before I had quite lost sight of the building, I heard a report that told me what had happened. Look, Sahib, there are some of the blackened timbers lying yet, and that great hole is where the powder was buried. Not one of the guests escaped except myself.' The old man thought only of his own good fortune, and blamed not Azeez Khan."

Oaths on the Koran, and guarantees of Syuds and Peers, are the usual modes of decoying adversaries to their doom. Dost Mahommed was an especial adept in the art. Affghanistan is overrun, even worse than India, with religious mendicants, making a trade of what they call religion, but generally themselves among the worst of the land. We were once told by an Affghan, when speaking on the subject, "Oh yes, Sahib, the Peer-Zadahs, Akkoon-Zadahs, and Sahib-Zadahs are all Haramzadahs," which may be interpreted, that "the sons of saints, teachers, and chiefs are all blackguards."

Our readers may grumble at the circuitous route by which we have been conducting them to Kashmir, but we could not find in our hearts to hurry over the intervening country, or pass without examination the sign-posts and way-marks set up by former travellers. The remainder of this article shall be devoted to Kashmir itself, combining a portion of what is said by Mr. Thornton and some of his authorities, with such particulars as we have been able to collect from other quarters. The modern writers from whom Mr. Thornton has chiefly derived his information regarding Kashmir are Forster, Moorcroft, Von Hügel, Jacquemont, and Vigne; while Bernier and the Ayeen Akberry have also been freely used. The articles under the several heads of "Kashmir," "Serinagur," its capital, "Jelum," the great river that runs through the valley, though each containing some contradictions, incidental on the discrepancies among the authors quoted, are on the whole, all very interesting, and we recommend them to the attention of our readers. The compiler must indeed have been perplexed by the extraordinary disagreement he found in the testimony given by eye-witnesses, not only on points of opinion, but on matters of fact.

Vigne, who saw all things with an artist's eye, was delighted with the scenery of Kashmir. He is enthusiastic in his remarks on its varied beauties of wood and water, of mountain and of dell. Old Bernier described the valley to be an Eden, and Abul Fazel reports it as a garden in perpetual spring. Yet Jacquemont, fresh from the arid plains of Hindostan, though

allowing the bounding mountains to be grand, could see no beauty in the filling-up of the picture. Moorcroft considered Kashmir unhealthy, while Hügel pronounced it one of the most salubrious countries in the world. Vigne writes of sudden storms, causing the foam to arise on the lake; but Hügel declares that the air is perfectly still. The last named author also tells of the extraordinary *dryness* of the air in a country bounded by cloud-catching mountains intersected by streams, and whose staple produce is rice. Jacquemont could not, during the hot weather, cool himself, even in the snow-fed lake,* in a land where snow lies a foot or more deep for four months of the year, where it rains for two months more, and which is constantly liable to showers. Vigne and Moorcroft agree with the geographer Rennell that the valley was originally the bed of a lake; but Von Hügel treats their combined opinion with scorn, and will have none "of the traditions of the scribes" (Brahmins). In our judgment, the Baron is here as wrong as he is positive. He is nearer right when he says that the horses of Kashmir are small, but active, and of great bottom, even though Moorcroft, a veterinary surgeon, speaks slightingly of them. We are the more surprised that the latter gentleman should have done so, as he was one time the advocate of the Hindostani *tattoo*, declaring with truth that they were more blood animals than any breed of horses in the country.

In the face of almost universal opinion in favour of the physical appearance of the people, Jacquemont despaired of ever surrendering "to the oriental proverb about the beauty of the Cashmerian women."† Considering, however, that the proverb has even reached Europe, we are surprised to find the judicious Foster speak disparagingly on the subject. This may have arisen from his having seen only unfavourable specimens among the poorest and most squalid class, with whom he himself lived a sort of involuntary prisoner, in constant alarm of being forcibly detained as a gunner by the Affghan governor.

Yet most of those who have emigrated from Kashmir to Hindostan to seek refuge from Affghan and Seikh exaction, are people of this very class; and, despite their filth and laziness, they are a strikingly handsome race, with a most remarkable resemblance to each other. The Kashmirian profile, especially, has a defined and well-proportioned character, very different

* Jacquemont's affectation was the more absurd, in that he had just before travelled through the Punjab in no very princely style, with the thermometer in his tent at least twenty degrees higher than he could have had it in the hottest weather in Kashmir.

† Page 123, vol. ii. Journey in India.

from the unfinished clumsy outline, common to Hindustanees. There is something, too, in the gait of a Kashmiree woman that Mrs. Siddons might have studied. Often have we remarked at Loodiana, Simla, and other towns on this side the Sutlej, where Kashmiree emigrants have settled, one of these women, perhaps old and wrinkled, certainly filthy and ragged, yet stalking along the street with the air of a queen, and adjusting her threadbare drapery into folds fit for a statuary. Their dress is very picturesque. Ample paijamas,* over which they wear a loose large shirt, almost as wide as a surplice, fastened by a button round the throat, and hanging in folds to the knees, with wide open sleeves, which, when not tucked up, fall over the hands. The shirt is generally fastened round the waist by a bright red girdle called dentanoo. The hair is combed together to the back of the head, and there plaited into a massive braid ornamented with shells, tassels, coins, or jewels, according to the means of the lady. A light cap, or rather fillet, of scarlet cloth, is worn, rising three or four inches perpendicularly from the forehead, giving height and dignity to the well-set head. To the inner rim of this fillet is gathered a long muslin sheet or veil (called poochee), which generally hangs back to leave the arms free, but which, when drawn round the shoulders, is wide enough to cover the whole person.

The men's dress is not less picturesque. A large and gracefully folded turban, wide paijamas, and long, closely-fitting vest, over which they generally wear a loose choga or cloak. The head is kept closely shaven, but the beard is of luxuriant growth. The shoe commonly worn in Kashmir is made of a grass called Poolhurroo. Our remarks, as already said, have been made chiefly within the British provinces, and probably may be mainly applicable to the Mussulman Kashmirees, but what we have personally remarked makes us very sceptical as to Von Hügel's assertions, quoted by Mr. Thornton:—

"All the Hindoos of Kashmir are Brahmins, who are, in a physical point of view, distinguished from the rest of the population by darker complexions —a circumstance the reverse of that observable in other parts of India, throughout which that caste is remarkable for the comparative lightness of their hue. The native Brahmins in Kashmir informed Hügel that, subsequently to the establishment of Mahometanism, the number of their caste was by oppression reduced to eleven, and that it was recruited by the settlement of 400 Brahminical families from the dark-complexioned natives of the Deccan."

For many years we have been acquainted with Kashmiree Brahmins, and always considered them remarkably fair complexioned. While we write, we have one at our elbow; he is not darker

* The Hindoo women do not wear paijamas.

than many Europeans, much fairer indeed than most Spaniards. He is an acute and well-educated man, and yet when we asked him about the legend of the immigration of his ancestors from the Dekkan, he replied he never heard of such an event. We have also consulted two original manuscripts and all the published accounts of Kashmir, but can nowhere find any hint corroborating the statement of Von Hügel, who evidently misapprehended what was said to him on this and many other subjects. The majority of Hindoos in Kashmir are Brahmins, and call themselves pundits, but wherever Brahmins are to be found, there must necessarily be inferior castes, springing from concubinage and mixed marriages.

The last discrepancy we purpose to notice is that regarding the pillars of the Jumma Musjid, or great mosque* at Sirinagar. Moorcroft circumstantially tells us, "The number of pillars is three hundred and eighty-four, the intervals are usually considerable. The columns are formed of an assemblage of square blocks of Deodar, about a foot in diameter, laid at right angles to each other, so that each face presents a succession of butts and sides, or, to speak more technically, a bond of alternate headers and leaders; the blocks are probably secured together by pins, but those are not seen exteriorly."† While Vigne, as quoted by Thornton, as decidedly states, "The foundations are of stone, but the roof of the surrounding cloister, or interior, is supported by two rows of pillars, three hundred and ninety-two in all, on plain stone bases, each pillar being formed *of a single deodar tree*, about thirty feet in height."‡ Mr. Thornton, though putting Moorcroft's account in the text, throws his mantle over Vigne in a note. Moorcroft, however, not only enters into particulars, but gives the reason for the singular mode of building: it being with advertence to the frequency of earthquakes. We therefore suspect that Vigne only jotted down the number of pillars, on the spot, and trusted to memory for the rest of his description. He is too honest a man for us for a moment to suspect any intentional misrepresentation.

And now we gladly close our ungracious task of fault-finding. Mr. Thornton's literary merits are so well known in England, that his statements must not be allowed to pass unanalysed, lest his name should give currency to error. As an historian, his merits have already been canvassed in this Review; and, as on that ground too, we were obliged to question his opinions and

* This Mosque, Moorcroft says, is capable of holding 60,000 people.

† Pages 120, 121, vol. ii. ‡ Page 240, vol. ii.

statements, we are the more anxious to do justice to the claims he unquestionably possesses.

In compiling the Gazetteer, he has evidently spared no pains, and we are satisfied has never wilfully misled his readers; but he has dived for facts in the dark, and has filled his basket indiscriminately with rubbish and with pearls. We began by asserting that without some personal experience as a traveller, no geographer is competent to separate the false from the true, on modern questions of topography and statistics. We do not blame Mr. Thornton for not possessing this advantage, but we regret that, in its absence, he should have employed much labour and research, which might have been bestowed more advantageously.

Our diminishing limits forbid us here to pursue the tempting game of philological discussion—

> ——————"To chase
> A parting syllable through time and space,
> Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark,
> Through Gaul and Greece, and into Noah's Ark."

We therefore forego all controversy respecting the derivation of the name "Kashmir," and will not even attempt to settle the important question, as to whether the valley was originally drained by a demon or a god. Existing appearances confirm the local legends that it was the bed of a lake, until its waters narrowed into the Jelum river, forced a passage through the Baramula pass, in the Pir Punjal range, into the plain of the Punjab.

Abul Fazel tells us that, in the time of Akbar, the Soobah of Kashmir was "composed of Cashmeer, Pehkely, Bhembher, Sewad, Bijore, Kandahar, and Zabulistan. Formerly it had Ghuzneh, but now it has Cabul for the capital." In the introductory notice of the twelve (and afterwards fifteen) Soobahs of the empire, "Cashmeer" is not named, but "Cabul" is, showing that the Soobadary was more generally known by the name of its capital, Cabul. During the Mogul times, the Valley of Kashmir had generally an officer of rank as governor, sometimes more or less dependent on the Soobahdar of Cabul or Lahore, but more frequently reporting direct to Delhi. The great Ali Muadhan Khan, whose name is preserved by his bridges, aqueducts, and remains of canals, was for thirteen years governor of Kashmir. His utilitarian philanthropy makes us almost forget that, when holding the viceroyalty of Kandahar, for the Persian king, he sold his charge to the Delhi emperor. Under its Mogul governors, as under its ancient kings, the ruler of Kashmir's authority was limited to the plain surface of

the valley, or it extended over the rude tribes nestling among the surrounding hills, or sometimes it even included circumjacent rajahs and chiefs, according to the strength and character of the Hakim (ruler) of the day.

We purpose here, however, to restrict ourselves to a brief description of the valley of Kashmir. It is bounded on the north by Little Thibet; on the south by Rajawur, Jummoo, and Ramnugger; on the east by Kishtawur and Ladak; and on the west by Pukli and Púnch; according to Thornton, it lies between 33° 15′ and 34° 30′ N. lat. and 73° 40′ and 75° 30′ east longitude. It is an elevated region, rising about 5,600 feet above the sea, and embosomed in stupendous mountains, which tower above the valley from 3,000 to 9,000 feet. On the north these hills are extremely steep and craggy, with ragged precipices, down which large cataracts rush. To the south and south-west the heights slope more generally towards the plain, and are clothed with fine forests. For a great portion of the year, these mountains are covered with snow.

The elevated ridges encircling Kashmir are indented by twenty seven known passes, of which eleven are practicable for horses. The three principal passes into the Punjab are the Baramula, being the bed of the Jelum River, the Pir Punjal (through Bimber and Rajawar) and the Banihal opposite Jumoo, and Ramnugger.* The Seikhs, when invading Kashmir, took light guns slung on poles and carried by men, through the Barimala Pass. The emperor Akbar three times entered the valley by the Pir Punjal route, and Bernier accompanied Aurungzebe by the same route.

The mountain chains are almost entirely of igneous origin; several small basaltic hills are scattered over the valley. Primary formations are seldom to be found, but blocks of granite are scattered over some of the passes. Sandstone, clay and pebbly conglomerate, cover many of the mountain slopes.

The valley forms an irregular ellipse, the outline of which is broken by several projections, and by a concave indentation to the north, opposite the city of Sirinagur. The greatest length, from the crest of the eastern to the crest of the western hills, is one hundred and twenty-five miles; the least is ninety miles. The greatest breadth is sixty-two, and the least thirty-eight miles, making the average length of the valley, from the summits of its girdling mountains, one hundred and seven miles, and its average breadth fifty miles. The area of the valley will there-

* Pir Punjal Pass is about 12,000 feet above the sea.
Banihal „ „ 9,000 „ „
Baramula „ „ 8,500 „ „

fore be 5,350 square miles. The level alluvial portion may be estimated at 1491* square miles, but there are likewise many small elevated plains and terraced sides of hills affording good arable land and excellent pasture. The soil is generally light and porous, readily absorbing the snow and rain. The air is therefore comparatively dry, very much more so indeed than might be anticipated from the quantity of water that falls during the year. Snow usually falls from the beginning of December until the middle of March, and sometimes lies two feet deep. During April and May there are continual falls of rain.

The valley is now divided into thirty-six Pergunnahs; formerly the eastern division was called Meraj; the western, Kamraj, the chief towns are, Sirinagur, the capital; Islamabad, Shupeyon, Barammula, Pampar, Sopur, Bijabahar, and Shahabad.

The houses are usually three and four stories high, and have often terraced roofs, covered with earth and planted with flowers. The brick-work of the buildings is largely mixed with timber frame-work as a precaution against earthquakes, which are frequent and violent. The lower stories are devoted to the cattle; the upper to the families.

The population is now estimated at only 200,000 souls, and is stated to have been thus reduced, within the last twenty years, from 800,000; but, great as has been the misery suffered, we are inclined to doubt the extent of the reduction. We would estimate the present population at between three and four hundred thousand souls.

We have already given our opinion of the people; the general character they bear is a strange mixture of good and bad; the first inherent, the last probably the effect of long oppression. They are well formed and have handsome features, often with blooming cheeks, acquiline noses, fine white teeth, and large dark eyes. The women are in great request throughout India and the Punjab, as dancers and singers. Men and women are

* Bernier calls the valley 30 leagues by ten or twelve; Forster says 80 miles by 40 miles; Hamilton (in his Hindostan,) gives the length, including mountains, 110 miles, breadth 60 miles. Mr. Thornton gives length 120, breadth 70 miles, but he strangely estimates the extreme area at only 4500 square miles. Von Hügel gives the extreme area 5000, and the bottom of the valley 75 by 40 miles. The area of the level alluvial tract, according to the lengths and breadths given by Hügel, Vigne, and Moorcroft, are respectively 1725, 2250, and 500 square miles; from which, by what process we know not, Mr. Thornton deduces the said level surface to be 2000 square miles. Our estimate of 1491 is derived from an average of the three. Moorcroft's of only 500 miles is clearly too little, as Vigne's is probably too much; but the best practical surveyor could not be expected to guess at any thing like the exact quantity of level ground lying in thousands of detached portions, and separated by ravines, rivers, hills, &c. &c.

light-hearted and good-humoured, witty and ingenious, and extremely fond of pleasure. They are good mechanics and skilful artificers. The men are very able-bodied, and as porters, carry loads of 150 pounds weight over the highest passes. They are however cowardly, quarrelsome, litigious, filthy, and extremely immoral; and, among nations of liars, they are famed for their mendacity; they have, in short, the vices of slaves. The Mahommedans in the valley are considered to be about eight times as numerous as the Hindoos. The Suni sect prevail. The Hindoos of India consider all Kashmir as holy ground, and pilgrimages are made to the several shrines in the valley. The Mahommedans are all either immigrants from India, Persia, and Affghanistan, who came with the various conquerors, or the descendants of forced converts from Hinduism. The same game is said to be now again playing,—the insurrectionists forcing all Seikhs and Hindoos that fall into their hands to abjure their respective faiths under penalty of death.

The valley is generally salubrious; but in low spots, at particular seasons, feverish miasma arises. Latterly the cholera has extended to Kashmir, but the valley is free from most of the violent epidemic diseases that afflict other countries, and on the whole may vie in salubrity with any country in the world. In the cold weather the thermometer seldom falls below 30° of Fahrenheit, and in the hottest weather, during July and August, it rarely rises to eighty. The average temperature of the year is about fifty-five. By ascending the surrounding hills any desired temperature may be obtained; from the mountains, innumerable cataracts and streams come down and swell the Jelum and other rivers which intersect the whole valley, giving ample supplies of water for irrigation, and the means of water conveyance from one end of the plain to the other.

The level of the Jelum river, which conduces much to the prosperity of the valley, is generally above that of the low alluvial tract, so that its waters can be easily applied to irrigation. There are three principal lakes and many small mountain ones, the city lake called "the Dal" (or "the lake"), adjoins the city on the N.E. side, and joins the Jelum by a channel two miles long. The lake is six miles long by four broad, the Manasa is the most beautiful lake in Kashmir. The Wulier lake is about twenty miles by nine wide, and is, in fact, merely an expansion of the Jelum.

The staple produce of the country is rice, on which the poor classes chiefly subsist. The singhara, or water-nut, which grows at the bottom of the Wulier lake, is also a main source of livelihood to many; the nuts are eaten raw, or are either boiled or roasted and then reduced to flour and made into gruel. Sixty thousand

ton weight of these nuts, feeding 20,000 persons are stated (by Thornton) to be annually grown on the great lake, a portion of the valley having a rich loamy soil, produces large quantities of excellent saffron; wheat, barley, millet, maize, and vetches are also grown, but to no extent. Large quantities of oil seeds are also grown. Most of the plants, fruits, flowers, and forest trees of Europe, are to be found in the valley or among the neighbouring hills. Cucumbers and melons of excellent quality are produced in floating gardens in the city lake.

Iron of good quality is found in abundance; lead mines have also been lately worked. The people talk of silver and gold, but *have not yet* discovered their localities.

The zoology of Kashmir is not rich; the principal wild animals to be found are the black and brown bear, the wolf, leopard, jackal, fox, otter, stoat, ibex, wild-goat, musk-deer, and several other kinds of deer. There are many birds of prey, vultures, eagles, falcons, hawks, and also herons, which furnish the small feathers, so much prized by the Seikhs for plumes. Geese, ducks, snipe, woodcocks, jays, nightingale, and many small birds also abound. Sheep and goats of good quality are plentiful, and are eaten by those who can afford animal food; the latter by Hindoos, both animals by Mahomedans. The kine are poor and little encouraged. Asses and mules are numerous. A fine breed of dogs, as large and powerful as Newfoundlands, are employed to guard the flocks against wild beasts. Fish in great abundance and of various kind are procurable.

Mooreroft gives a very interesting account (at chapter 3, part 3) of the staple manufactories of shawls, leather work, lacquered ware, and fire-arms: all have much fallen off; and trade is now almost at a stand-still.

The revenue of the country has been very much over-estimated, perhaps owing to the fact that the Kashmir rupee is only equal in value to nine (instead of sixteen) annas of the Company's coin. The present proceeds of the valley are not above twenty-five lakhs or £250,000 per annum, and the local expenses must absorb at least half that sum, though the Seikhs, trusting too much to the effeminacy and cowardice of the population, keep up a very slight garrison.

The language of the people is a dialect of the Sanscrit, but is written in the Devanagri character. It contains many Persian words.

There is nothing like an authentic history of Kashmir prior to the middle of the sixteenth century. Its early fabulous legends are too meagre and incoherent to admit of any satisfactory *translation* into the language of fact. Abul Fazel, indeed, tells

us of two hundred and twenty-six native monarchs, previous to the conquest by the Mogul Emperors. One hundred and ninety-four were of the Hindoo and Budhist persuasions. Lists of the several dynasties (except of the first which numbered fifty-three princes,) are given in the Ayeen Akbery, but as the reigns of ten monarchs are stretched over five hundred and ninety-two years, we cannot regard these tables as establishing anything beyond the bare fact that successive independent native monarchs during many centuries governed Kashmir.

Tradition, as usual, preserves no medium characters, but exaggerates the tyranny of tyrants, the virtues of virtuous princes. We have thus, in Kashmir, as elsewhere, conquerors who outdid Alexander, and cultivators of peace who outrivalled the combined wisdom and justice of Solomon and of Noorshirwan. As in modern days, the conqueror, the legislator, the man of peace, and the man of war, each had his turn. An early monarch took such pleasure in witnessing the sufferings of animals that when an elephant in his train once fell down a precipice, and in its agony uttered doleful cries, the delighted prince ordered a hundred others to be precipitated from the same place for his amusement. During the reign of another king, a great rock blocked up the course of one of the rivers in the valley. The workmen were unable to remove it, and gave over the endeavour in despair; "a voice was heard proclaiming that, if a virtuous female would lay her hand upon the stone, it would disappear." Woman* after woman was brought, but the rock remained unmoved, "the Rajah put to death the wives for their incontinency, their children for being bastards, and the husbands for permitting the wickedness, till at length three millions of persons were massacred." The miracle was at length performed by a potter's wife. A good vizier, who had been crucified by his sovereign, rose from the dead and succeeded to the throne. One monarch gave away eleven years' revenue to the poor. One king of Kashmir ruled over all Hindoostan. Several conquered westward and southward. Rajah Sultadut "conquered Iran, Turan, Fars, Hindoostan, Khatai, and almost all the rest of the habitable world." Such are the materials of the early annals—foreign war and domestic tyranny, with an occasional instance of profuse and reckless liberality.

* Four years ago some convulsion of nature precipitated a rock into the bed of the Attock (Indus), so as to block up the channel of that river. For some weeks or months the stream was stopped, till at length the accumulated waters forced for themselves a passage, carrying destruction to all before them for miles on either side of the river. The damage thus caused may be estimated from the one fact, that the flood rose thirty feet or more under the fort of Attock.

From the specimens, however, that still remain of ancient buildings, of great extent and magnificence, as well as from the many proofs of former exceeding population, we may infer that Kashmir, under its native sovereigns, enjoyed at least an average share of the chief blessings of peace and justice. But the tremendous mountains on the north proved no barrier against Thibetian invasion, and the passes of the south and west admitted the Moguls, Affghans, and Seikhs. Each have in their turn desolated its fair fields, and, for nearly three hundred years, have treated this rich and beautiful country as the step-child of their professedly parental governments.

Thirty-two Mahommedan princes reigned in the country previous to its conquest by the Emperor Akbar. The last Hindoo king was a prince of Little Thibet, who had subdued Kashmir: he appointed Shahmeer, a Mahommedan officer of the late rajah, his vizier, and was by him converted to the religion of Islam. The king dying soon after, the vizier, Shahmeer, assumed the name of Sultan Shumshaoodeen, married his master's widow and seized the throne. The Emperors Baber and Humayoon each sent armies to Kashmir, were at first successful, but failed to establish themselves there. The arms of Akbar were defeated in two campaigns, but, aided by treachery, he at length made good his footing in Kashmir, A.D. 1591. The Emperor Akbar thrice visited it, and Jehangeer, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe each made triumphal progresses to the valley, enjoying for the hot season its various pleasures. The traveller Bernier accompanied Aurungzebe, and is loud in his praise of the beauty of the country and of its people.

The last Mogul governor, by name Kassim Khan, son of a previous vicegerent, threatened the lives of some of the local chiefs. They fled to Lahore to Jehan Khan, then governing the Punjab for Ahmed Shah Abdali, gave him full information concerning the passes, and, in the year of our Lord 1752, led a force under Abdoolah Khan into the valley. The Mogul governor fled, without a struggle. Abdoolah Khan plundered the country; extorted cash from all who could pay, "leaving nothing moveable in the capital city." He then returned to Lahore, after a stay of six months, during which time he raised the revenue from thirty-six (36) to forty-five (45) lakhs of rupees, leaving Sookh Jewun, a Hindoo, as governor.

Sookh Jewun ruled mercifully, but it was for his own sake. During nine years he paid no revenue; and, trusting to Ahmed Shah's having more urgent employment elsewhere, he at length assumed the entire sovereignty of Kashmir. He entertained 40,000 Seikhs, Dograhs, and Hindostanis, and prepared to

defend his usurpation. The Shah, being at length aroused, sent Nooroo-deen Khan, with a strong force, against Sookh Jewun. The prestige of victory was on the side of the Affghans. They were also poor and hardy, while the troops, long located in Kashmir, had lost their soldierly qualities in the luxury and effeminacy of the valley. Sookh Jewun, however, gave battle, was defeated, taken prisoner, and deprived of his eyes. Nooroo-deen succeeded to the vice-royalty. He governed the province fairly, and paid his dues to the king; a combination of liberality and obedience that has rarely been found in Eastern, and especially in Kashmirean governors. As a reward he was in two years superseded. His successor, on whose account he had been thus dishonoured, made friends on the spot, but, instead of remitting the tribute to Cabul, sent the Shah a koran, with a humble message that the holy book was all that remained of the revenues of Kashmir, after paying the expenses of the army and of improving the country. Nooroo-deen was again sent with troops to displace the rebellious viceroy, and again for two years was faithful to his trust and merciful to the people. But when he heard that he was to be once more superseded, and that by an eunuch, he left the valley under charge of a deputy, and proceeded to Court to plead his own cause. The deputy collected a large force, and declared independence.

For the third time was the good Governor sent with an army, and once more rescued the country from an usurper. For two years more he was permitted to hold the government, but was finally removed in favour of the same eunuch who had before been promised the appointment. The palace minion was soon ousted by a hardier soldier, named Umur Khan, who for six years kept the valley on his own account, and bequeathed it to his younger son, Azad Khan. Ahmed Shah was now dead, and his empire had fallen into the feebler hands of his son Timoor, who long submitted to the insolence of Azad. Kashmir had been gradually recovering the spoliation of Abdoolah Khan, but Azad Khan renewed the worst days of its worst tyranny. He especially oppressed the Hindoos, who fled from his yoke in great numbers to Hindoostan. At length Timoor Shah sent a large force against the Governor, under his elder brother, Moorteza Khan. The royal army was defeated; many prisoners were taken, put into boats, and sunk in the lake, to terrify future invaders. The Shah, however, appointed Muddud Khan, a bolder leader, to head his next army. He was joined by many refugees, the victims of Azad Khan's oppression. The tyrant was surprised, and fled to Punch, closely pursued by a detachment under Moola Guffoor. Azad Khan, being refused

support by the Punch Rajah, committed suicide, but had not expired when his pursuers came up and wreaked their revenge for past cruelties by tearing out the wretched man's eyes. Moolla Guffoor, who was the son of a Seikh captured and converted by Ahmed Shah, governed Kashmir well for a year, when he was, at his own request, relieved.

Seven governors then rapidly succeeded each other, in scarcely more than as many years; one only, Jooma Khan, holding the reins for six years with moderation and justice. At length Shah Zeman sent his vizier, Shere Mahomed, to settle the country and appoint a governor. The vizier selected Abdoola Khan, who ruled righteously for several years, and then, leaving his younger brother, Atta Mahomed, as deputy, went to pay his respects at Court. The Shah forthwith seized and imprisoned the viceroy and sent Moola Mahomed Khan with an army against the deputy. A rajah, who was friendly to the old governor, intercepted Moola Mahomed, in Kashmir. Zeman Shah was soon afterwards defeated by Mahmood Shah, who released Abdoolah Khan, and sent him back to his government. Remembering past royal doings, Abdoolah Khan now strengthened himself, enlisted soldiers from the surrounding hills and from Hindoostan; seized Rajawaur, Punch, Kishtawur, Pukle, Little Thibet and Dhumtour, and received tribute from many rajahs and chiefs who had heretofore been independent. All this time he made no remittances to the Cabul sovereign, who accordingly sent his vizier against him. Two battles were fought, in both of which the Governor was defeated, and shortly after died. Shere Mahomed appointed his own son, Atta Mahomed, as Governor, and, returning himself to Affghanistan, was soon after put to death by Shah Soojah.

Atta Mahomed governed moderately for six years, during which time Affghanistan was convulsed by the rival claims of the several descendants of Timoor Shah. Shah Soojah was at this time enticed into Kashmir, and imprisoned by Atta Mahomed and his brother Jehandad Khan, who had obtained considerable influence in the province of Peshawur, and acquired possession of the fort of Attock. The minister, Futteh Khan Barukzye, now advanced at the head of a considerable force, to recover Kashmir, but, hearing of the preparations made by Atta Mahomed, he obtained an interview with Runjeet Singh, then in the full flush of victory, and requested the co-operation of a portion of his army. The maharajah, who would not have desired a better opportunity of feeling his way into the happy valley, gladly agreed, and deputed his able

minister, Dewan Mohkum Chund, with a considerable force to aid Futteh Khan. The combined army advanced, and Atta Mahomed, doubting the fidelity of his troops, made no opposition. With a view of conciliating the Dooranies, he released Shah Soojah and treated him with great respect, but the followers of the Shah all joined Futteh Khan. Attah Mahomed then surrendered at discretion, and was taken, with all his property, to Cabul by Futteh Khan, who left his own brother Azeem Khan, governor. Shah Soojah joined the Seikhs. Jehandad Khan who had fled on hearing of the captivity of his brother, sold the fort of Attok for two lakhs of rupees and a Jagheer to Runjeet Singh. Azeem Khan governed Kashmir for six years and oppressed the country fearfully; raising the revenue to eighty lakhs of rupees.

The purchase of Attok was much resented by Futteh Khan, but Runjeet Singh declared that it was caused by his own breach of faith, in not fulfilling the terms of their agreement and paying the expenses of Dewan Mohkum Chund's contingent. The dispute ended in a battle, where the Maharajah was completely successful, and found encouragement for his further designs. He made his usual unscrupulous arrangements, gained over several of the Hill Rajahs, and subdued others, till at least he judged his schemes ripe for an advance on Rajawaur. Azeem Khan boldly met the Seikh army and completely defeated it, obliging a retreat to Lahore. Two years after, (A. D. 1819,) Azeem Khan, hearing of the cruelty practised on his brother Futteh Khan by Prince Kamran, left his brother Jubbar Khan as deputy, and himself proceeded to Affghanistan.

The Maharajah, who had been baffled but not discouraged by one defeat, now took advantage of the Governor's absence and that of a portion of his army, again to send troops against Kashmir, under command of Misr Dewan Chund, Hurre Sing-Nuloa, Futteh Singh Man, Jugget Sing, Khooshyal Sing, Sham Sing and others of his ablest officers. Jubbar Khan made a weak and ill-arranged defence, was himself wounded, his troops were dispersed, and the Seikh rule was established in the valley. Runjeet owed his success mainly to the co-operation of the Punch and Rajawaur Rajahs, and to the guidance of many Kashmir exiles, who had fled from Affghan tyranny. Berdher Pundit who, with his whole family had been forcibly converted to Islamism, was the chief guide of the Seikh army.

The Maharajah's delight was extreme at the easy victory he

had gained. He counted on the plunder of a rich instead of an exhausted country.

Dewan Molee Ram, the son of Mohkum Chund, lately deceased, was made Governor, but soon disappointed the greedy expectations of the Maharajah. His earliest report announced the poverty of the country, and that such was then the excessive price of the necessaries of life, that the poor were selling their children. The Governor, however, in a short time effected what was called a revenue settlement of the country, by farming it out for sixty-nine lakhs of rupees. He was soon after recalled, but his son, Kripa Ram, appears to have succeeded him. Like his father, the son soon fell into disgrace and was summoned to "the presence." At first he satisfied the Maharajah, by bringing with him fifteen lakhs of rupees, but Runjeet Singh having separately examined several Kashmir Pundits respecting the collections that had been made, became or affected to be, convinced that the Dewan had embezzled thirty-six lakhs. After much bullying, Runjeet Singh obtained Motee Ram's signature to an agreement that he would pay nine lakhs of rupees on account of his son. Their Jagheers were confiscated, and both were for some months imprisoned; at length, they were released, and informed that they should be restored to favour on paying four lakhs of rupees, but this they declared their inability to do. Motee Ram then went on a pilgrimage, the usual resource of disgraced Hindoo or Seikh ministers. Kripa Ram soon followed, and for a long time remained at Kunkul near Hurdwar, where his actual poverty was the best vindication of his former conduct. Kowr Sher Sing, (the late Maharajah,) fresh from his victory over Syud Ahmed Shah, was next sent as Governor to Kashmir, but he, too, failed in making the due collections. The country was, at the time we refer to, suffering under various calamities. In the year 1828 an earthquake had destroyed many lives: two months afterwards, this was followed by cholera, which carried off an eighth of the population. And now, in 1833, when an unseasonable fall of snow had almost entirely destroyed the rice crop, and while the wretched inhabitants were dying by thousands and the survivors flying from the country in flocks, the revenue screw was even more closely applied; less, let us hope, from deliberate barbarity, than from ignorance of the true state of affairs.

The sufferers flocked* in thousands to the Punjab and to

* The refugees were kindly received in the British provinces. Many settled for the time at Loodianah, but hundreds of families found their way even as far as Furruckabad, in the Dooab, where Hakeem Mehndee, the late Vizeer of Oude, and some

Hindoostan; numbers dying on the road, and others selling their children for a morsel of bread. Even Runjeet Sing's heart seems to have been touched for the time; he gave some relief to those who came to Lahore, and ordered that the people of Kashmir should not be oppressed. But, while issuing such injunctions, he took measures that increased the distress. He sent Jemadar Khooshyal Sing, Bhae Goormukh Sing, and Sheikh Golam Mohyoodeen as a commission to assist and watch Sher Sing; enjoined them *to spare* the country, *but to collect* the revenue. To watch *them* again, he soon after sent two revenue Mootsuddees (writers), by name Mahtab Roy and Utter Mull. Sher Sing, feeling that he was distrusted, sent his Dewan, named Bysakha Sing, to his reputed father, (the Maharajah,) who after hearing his report and receiving no cash, ordered him into arrest at large.

He was then offered liberty, on paying a quarter of a lakh of rupees; the Dewan replied he had not a cowrie with him, but would procure the required sum from Kashmir. The Maharajah then consulted Rajah Dhyan Sing and Fakeer Azeezoodeen, as to what should be done with the defaulter. Eventually he was placed under charge of Purshooram Bog* Tazeanah, (literally whipper,) with a guard of five hundred men, with orders to take him to Kashmir, and there deliver him over to Jemedar Kooshyal Sing, who was enjoined to find out where his (Bysakha Sing's) money was concealed, and to extract it from him. At the end of the first march, Pursooram wrote to the Maharajah that the Dewan would pay five lakhs, on condition of not being sent back to Kashmir. He was ordered to sign a bond to that effect; two and a half lakhs were eventually forthcoming, and General Allard, in whose charge he was placed, became security for the balance. Whether it was ever paid we are not aware.†

European gentlemen, fed them gratuitously for a time; and at length the former established them in a shawl manufactory, and located a portion in a village which he purchased for that purpose. Five years after, when famine broke out in the same Dooab, how different was the conduct of the British Government to what had been that of Runjeet Sing! Lakhs of rupees of revenue were remitted, and even a larger sum expended in feeding the multitudes that flocked into all the large stations. We believe that we are within the mark, estimating the loss of revenue at a million of money during the year 1838.

* A *gentleman*, employed as executor of Runjeet Sing's dirty work, including spying, whipping, and minor tortures. Runjeet did not kill, or the *bog* might be called chief executioner.

† Mr. Masson, writing of General Allard, says, at page 405, vol. i.:—"He was universally and deservedly respected;" Mr. M. adds, that he cherishes "a regard for his memory;" but at page 446 of the same volume, we are told "even General Allard condescended to serve the Maharajah's views in such respects, and while I was there had in charge two Brahman prisoners, who were most ignominiously treated, and tortured with thumb-screws, under the notion of forcing them to disgorge the wealth they were accused of having amassed in Kashmir. The men may

The Maharajah soon ascertained that although he had aggravated the miseries of Kashmir by the number of officials let loose on the land, he had not taken the right way to increase his own receipts from thence. Jemadar Khooshyal Singh wrote that, by advice of Sher Sing, the commissioners had imprisoned the native Khardars (Kashmere Agents) and had thus obtained a promise of eleven thousand rupees, which sum, however, could only be paid by instalments. The old Maharajah began to perceive that there was a combination against him. He accordingly called upon the agents of Sher Sing, and ordered them to collect one and a half lakh of rupees, from that Prince's Jaghers on both sides the Sutlej, and to pay the amount into the treasury, when it should be credited to their master in his Kashmir accounts. Sher Sing and the Commissioners were all soon recalled, and long remained under displeasure; the Maharajah, taking every possible means of ascertaining to what amount they had respectively plundered Goormukh Sing, was especially called upon, if he valued his own safety, to give evidence against Khooshyal Sing. But we are not aware that Runjeet recovered any considerable sum, and the Jemadar (Kooshyal Sing) died the other day, one of the richest men in the Punjab.

Such is an epitome of the Seikh system of administration. It begins and ends in an endeavour to extract the last possible farthing of revenue. When the district or province is at hand, and the proceeds are well known, the work of squeezing a Viceroy is simple; but from distant or troubled frontiers, very little cash has ever come directly into the royal treasury: though eventually on the death or imprisonment of the plunderers, the sovereign frequently recovers a large share of the spoil.

have been guilty, but I grieved to hear that their religious prejudices as to food had been purposely violated, and to witness them occupied, under terror of the bayonet, in the degrading labour of bringing baskets of earth on their heads into the general's gardens." The French general, then, who superintended thumb-screwing, was a man "universally and deservedly respected." We would leave Mr. Masson to get out of his dilemma in his own fashion, but out of respect to the memory of the gallant general, we will express our entire disbelief of the story as told by Masson. The prisoners alluded to must have been Byaskha Sing and his son, though Masson, as usual, gives us as little help as possible, by names or dates, towards testing his statement. We, however, annex a literal translation of a manuscript now before us, written by a respectable native, quite unconnected with either the durbar, the prisoner, or General Allard: the simple statement is the best exculpation of the old general. "The Maharajah called Bysakha Sing and his son, and told them if they would pay down two lakhs, and get the security of General Allard, or of any other officer, for the balance, he would be satisfied. The Dewan agreed, and with his son was accordingly sent to General Allard, with orders to keep them under a guard. On the second day the general went to the Maharajah, and stated that Dewan Bysakha asked permission to proceed to Patteala to raise the money, leaving his son, Herra Sing, and Kan Sing as his security. Runjeet Sing consented, and the Dewan was permitted to depart under charge of a guard."

Runjeet Sing now devised a scheme for the more profitable management of Kashmir. His dignitaries and his own (supposititious) son had deceived him. He now deputed a simple commandant of a regiment as Governor. In a former number, we narrated the death by the violence of his soldiery of old Colonel Mean Sing, a respectable man of his kind, in the year 1841. We also narrated that, when Rajah Golab Sing proceeded to Kashmir to avenge Mean Sing's death, he took with him Sheikh Goolam Mohyoodeen, who has since held the government of that province. The Seikh we believe to be an intelligent and not ill-disposed man, though supposed to be a creature of Golab Sing. He has had great experience in Kashmir affairs. Originally a shoe-maker, he gave proof of early ability which induced Dewan Kripa Ram, when Governor of Kashmir, to take him by the hand and at length to make him his chief financier. He was then sent as joint commissioner with Khooshyal Sing, and unless he has recently been disposed of by the rebels, he is to this day Governor of Kashmir. Mohyoodeen is an old man, and has a son Sheik Immamoodeen, Kardar of the Jullinder Dooab, who we observe is, with other officers, ordered to Kashmir with reinforcements to the support of his father.

The people of Kashmir, endowed with a light and volatile temperament, and having for generations learned to look on oppression as their destiny, have proved easy victims to each successive tyrant. A new Governor might improve a condition which he could hardly make more abject; but, when the yoke became intolerably galling, Kashmir always furnished a large party ready to league with foreign invaders. Thus were Moguls, Affghans and Seikhs successively admitted to the valley by a domestic faction. Rebellion, or rather tumult, has been raging there for two months past. The specific cause of complaint has not reached us, but the Persian proverb says, "it is the last feather in the load, that breaks the camel's back." Wherever a spirited leader arises among such a people, he will not have far to seek for grievances to avenge. In the present instance, however, we surmise that the outbreak is not among the inhabitants of the valley, but among the neighbouring tributary and only half-subdued Rajahs, who from time immemorial, have chafed at any attempts on their independence. For one year that such chiefs have paid tribute they have been ten years free. The Moguls could seldom touch them. The Seikhs and Jummoo Rajahs have assailed them more successfully; but they are hardy and occupy strong country, and if they could only act

together they might without difficulty liberate themselves, or even subdue Kashmir. There is, however, no bond of unity among them, and unless a master-spirit arise, the confederacy, whatever it may be, will soon fall to pieces. We should not however be surprised to find that the outbreak is secretly, if not openly, instigated by Rajah Goolab Sing, either with the view of weakening the Seikh Government, or with the direct object of increasing his own influence in Kashmir. As yet he has not been called on to aid the Governor. If he is applied to and consents, it will not be for nothing. At this moment there is not so able a schemer among the many intriguers in India. Heera Sing is indeed clever, and has been brought up in the school of his father and uncle, but he has not the experience, and he wants the patience and judgment of Goolab Sing. The nephew will dare much, but the very fire of youth may lead to his destruction.* The uncle will bide his time, and watch events —be neither too soon nor too late in striking his blow. He is quite unscrupulous as to means; and with as much courage as any man need possess, combines the rarer power of keeping it subordinate to the more useful quality of prudence. Golab Sing is truly a dangerous man to the integrity of the Seikh state. We watch his steps with interest. The wealth of Lahore is now at Jummoo, and by the events of the last few months Golab Sing has shown that while commanding an almost impregnable country, he can collect a force at least equal to what the Khalsa can bring against him; that he can ravage the Punjab at will while his own domains are comparatively safe. As long however as he can retain the Salt mines and his many farms and jagheers in the Punjab, why should he openly quarrel with the Durbar? While he can avowedly benefit by the Khalsa, and at the same time take his measures for an eventual separation of interests, he is not likely to hazard a premature rupture. Rajah Golab Sing will not draw the sword rashly, but when it is drawn, the Seikhs will find him a very formidable enemy, and, if he once acquires Kashmir, an invincible one.

We have just reperused Mr. Vigne's picture of the Military and Civil advantage which the British Government would derive from occupying Kashmir. He writes glowingly of civilization, of Missionary labours, and of our Simla sanatarium being emp-

* And as we are dispatching this sheet to press, intelligence of the destruction of the young Rajah has actually reached us. As we have before remarked, the writer of Punjabee annals, finds the ground ever shifting beneath him. Heera Sing has been removed from the stage; and the troops of Golab Sing are said to have taken part against the minister.

tied into Kashmir. He states that, some forty years ago, a deputation from thence, arrived at Delhi, with a request "that the Company's Government would take the country under its protection," and laments that their petition was rejected. Had it been granted, "the East India Company might have long since been in the possession of the Punjab." Mr. Vigne might have added, that, when we had acquired the Punjab, we should have been at hand to pounce on Affghanistan.

But away with such reasoning, which is only a mask for a principle that, barefaced, we should be ashamed to admit. Benevolence of this sort seldom goes forth except towards sufferers who inhabit a country that holds out a prospect of substantial reward to its benefactors. We concur in the opinion that Kashmir would be an inestimable gem in the British crown, and possessing the intervening country, an excellent military position. We also believe that under British rule, the miseries of Kashmir would be relieved, but as we have no manner of claim on the country, and have no present ability to move a finger in its favour, it is idle to expend our symphathies on the subject.

Should providence ever place Kashmir under British protection, it will then be time enough to consider what remedy may be applied to its wounds. In the mean time, we have an obvious duty before us in improving the extensive tracts already under our rule. We have hills and villages, forests and plains lying to our hand sufficient to employ our full energies during the next century. Let us place our own native subjects in the mountains and in the plains, on a footing of comfort and security. Let us occupy our thinly-populated hills with our worn-out veterans and their children, and we shall require no better military position than is already in our hands. At worst, when the time of need comes, we shall have a happy native population in our rear, and a contented army, backed by a hardy band of European colonists, ready to meet the invader.

ART. V.—1. *Lilawati, or a Treatise on Arithmetic and Geometry, by Bhascara Acharja. Translated from the original Sanscrit, by John Taylor, M.D., of the Hon'ble East India Company's Bombay Medical Establishment. Bombay*, 1816.

2. *Algebra, with Arithmetic and Mensuration from the Sanscrit of Brahmegupta and Bhascara. Translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq. F.R.S., &c. London*, 1817.

3. *History of Algebra in all Nations, by Charles Hutton, LL D., (Mathematical and Philosophical Tracts*, vol. ii.) *London*, 1812.

4. *Lectures on the Principles of Demonstrative Mathematics, by the Rev. Philip Kelland, A.M., F.R.S.S.L. and E., Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. Late Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge. Edinburgh*, 1843.

HERODOTUS informs us that Geometry took its origin in Egypt, and supposes that necessity was the mother of the invention;—that the purpose of it was to delineate the boundaries of the fields on their emerging from the waters of the Nile. We see no reason to reject the venerable historian's statement of the fact, nor to accept his theory in regard to it. As to the fact, it seems to be incontrovertible that Geometry as a Science was unknown in Greece before the time of Thales the Milesian, and there seems no reason to question the uniform tradition that he imported the knowledge of it from Egypt. But as to the theory of Herodotus regarding the necessity that gave rise to the invention,* we can suppose no foundation on which it can rest, except the etymology of the Greek name of the Science (ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΑ, or measure of the earth) and this is useless as a foundation for the hypothesis, unless it can be shown that this name is an exact rendering of the Egyptian name of the Science. Moreover, we should suppose that γεωμετρια is not the term that would have been employed to signify the mensuration of *land*, since we know of no instance in which the term γαια or γῆ is employed in such a sense. If we might be allowed to conjecture, we would venture to suggest that this name was given to the Science only when it reached such a stage of advancement that mathematicians began to apply it to the determination of the size of the earth. In fact the whole amount of Geometry that would be required for the purpose indicated by Herodotus, (the rather that he

* It is to be observed, that Herodotus states it merely as an opinion of his own, not as an historical fact. His words are these,—δοκεει δε μοι ενθευτεν γεωμετριη ἑυρεθεισα, ἐς την Ελλαδα ἐπανελθειν—*Euterpe*. 109.

tells us the Egyptian estates were all squares) would be the problem to draw a straight line between two points, and this problem we presume it was not left to the Egyptians to be the first to solve.

This consideration suggests to us a fact that seems to have been strangely overlooked by writers on the history of the Mathematical Sciences;—viz. that, speaking strictly, the mathematical sciences could have no beginning apart from the original creation of the human race, for their first elements are bound up in the very constitution of the mind of man. We believe there has never been a man capable of exercising his faculties, who did not know that *things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another*, yet no one who knows this can properly be said to be wholly ignorant of mathematical science. From this initial point a line continuous and unbroken stretches upwards and onwards to all that modern mathematicians know of the properties and relation of space and figure, and is destined to be prolonged to all that their successors shall ever know. And what is true of Geometry is equally true in regard to Algebra—the other great branch of mathematical science. An utter ignorance of number and quantity seems to be scarce compatible with rationality. We scarcely know how thought can be exercised apart from a knowledge that there is a difference between *one* and *two*. Yet this is the foundation of Algebra, the first step on the ladder that stretches continuously upward to that lofty eminence from which Lagrange looked down. If in this statement we be in error at all, it is, we apprehend, in speaking of the ascent from the lowest degree of knowledge that is compatible with rationality to the highest attainment in this department that is permitted to man in his present state of being, as accomplished by a series of successive steps: it is rather by a continuous plane of the gentlest and scarcely perceptible elevation, so that of those engaged in the ascent it is often difficult to determine who has attained the greatest height. There is no break in the whole ascent; and this, we may state in passing, is one of the grand advantages of mathematical study as a mental exercise. There is no man who is incapable of the study, neither is there any man who does not find in it full employment for all his faculties. No man is incapable of taking his place on the bottom of the plane, and beginning the ascent; no man, on the other hand, has ever reached, or will ever reach, the summit.

This too it is that renders the history of mathematical discovery often a work of great difficulty. Of this the most notable example is furnished by the long-agitated, and still un-

decided question, as to the invention of the differential or fluxional Calculus. All mathematicians, and multitudes who are mathematicians are familiar with the details of this celebrated contest, in which it was most warmly disputed whether Newton or Leibnitz should be regarded as the inventor of the Calculus. To some it might appear that this would be a matter of very easy determination; but the fact is that neither the one nor the other advanced more than a scarcely measurable step above the point reached by several of their predecessors. Roberval and Fermat and Wallis and Pascal are constantly mentioned as having approached indefinitely near to the method; and we believe it might be shown that one who is never mentioned at all in connection with this subject approached at an earlier period nearer to it than any of them. We mean the famous Napier of Mercheston, the inventor of the most useful of all mathematical instruments, the logarithnic Calculus. These facts show how difficult it is to trace the progress of mathematical discovery. But if it be so in regard to those lofty elevations which so few can reach, and where each man stands prominently out to the view of all who are capable of seeing so far aloft, and where there is comparatively little chance of the favoured ones jostling each other, how much more may we expect to find difficulties in ascertaining the precedence of those who throng the lower regions, where progress is comparatively easy. We are told, for example, that Pythagoras discovered the proposition that is now universally known as Euclid's forty-seventh, and we do not doubt the fact; but we can pronounce no judgment as to the merit of the discovery, since we know not, and now can never know, what propositions were known to him and his predecessors before—or, to keep up the figure that we have hitherto employed,—since we cannot tell how far in taking this step he left his contemporaries behind. It is scarcely possible to construct a square and draw its diagonals without perceiving by inspection that in an isosceles right-angled triangle the squares on the sides are equal to the square on the hypothenuse, since it is evident that the square of half the diagonal is equal to half the original square, and therefore the square of the whole diagonal equal to double the original squares, or equal to the sum of the squares of the two sides of the square, that is the sum of the squares of the sides of an isosceles right-angled triangle of which the diagonal of the original square is the hypothenuse. Thus then a particular case of this celebrated proposition is almost self evident; and it does not seem to us now that it could ever be a matter of

difficulty to generalize the theorem; but then we know that it is one thing to invent new methods of proving a truth, and another and very different thing to discover the truth itself. If, however, it be true that Thales brought the knowledge of Geometry into Greece, and if it be true that Pythagoras, who was born sixty years after, was overjoyed at the discovery of the equality of the squares on the sides of a right-angled triangle to the square on the hypothenuse, we may safely conclude both that the amount of knowledge introduced by Thales was not great, and that the progress of the Greeks in Geometry was not rapid,—that no one of them shot far ahead of his predecessors or compeers.

In the history of mathematical science we have no very marked exception to our theory of the gradual progress of invention and discovery, unless it be in the case of Euclid: and it is not improbable that his merits *as a discoverer* may be very considerably over-estimated from an ignorance of the attainments of his immediate predecessors. It is difficult indeed on the one hand to suppose that one man could have so far surpassed all others as Euclid must have done, had he been the discoverer of any considerable number of the propositions in his ELEMENTS, as well as the arranger of the whole; and equally difficult to suppose on the other hand, that a man possessed of so pure and exquisite a mathematical taste should not have been himself a great discoverer. For ourselves we are disposed to believe (since the matter must ever remain one of mere conjecture) that the ELEMENTS were chiefly or entirely composed out of previously existing materials. There is that about them which indicates that the materials existed in his mind in their totality from the outset, and fell naturally into their proper places. At all events it is the exquisiteness of its arrangement that makes the ELEMENTS such an incomparable book, for incomparable it unquestionably is. There is not a more singular fact in the whole history of man than this—that in the most progressive of all the pure Sciences, a work composed in the comparative infancy of the Science should hold its place to this day as the very best elementary work that has yet been produced. That it will still hold that place we think may be safely asserted, for we can confidently appeal to every mathematician whether he does not feel a degree of revulsion from the very idea of intermeddling with Euclid,—a revulsion similar in kind to that which the pious Christian feels when neological criticism lays its impious hand on the inspired record of his faith.

It appears then that even among the ancient Greeks,—yea

even among the English and German mathematicians of the eighteenth century, the progress of mathematical discovery cannot be accurately traced. Now if the question as to the discovery of the Calculus be destined to remain for ever undecided, as it apparently is, how much more may we expect to find it impossible to trace the history of discoveries far less important, in times far more distant, in a country where there was no printing to record discoveries, nor TRANSACTIONS of societies at once to identify and treasure them? The History of the Hindu mathematics is accordingly, as might well be expected, hopelessly obscure. Whether the Hindus derived their first knowledge of mathematics *as a science* from Egypt, or whether the Egyptains on the other hand derived theirs from India, or whether both drew from a common fountain, or whether each nation set forth independently from those first principles, which, as we have attempted to show, are inseparable from the existence of rationality—will probably never be determined. One thing, however, which we may notice as deserving attention, both as interesting in itself and as pointing to an origin of the science distinct from the Egyptian source from which the stream of Greek mathematics took its rise, is the very different direction that the mathematical pursuit seems to have taken in the two countries. If we assume that the Grecian mathematics are the development of that science whose rudiments were found in Egypt in the days of Thales, then we must infer that *Geometry*, or the science which treats of figure and space, was far more cultivated there than Algebra, or the science which treats of numerable quantity. Now the very opposite seems to have been the case in India. The Greek Algebra was as nothing in comparison with the Greek Geometry; the Hindu Geometry was as little worthy of comparison with the Hindu Algebra. How far this difference might be accounted for, on the supposition of a common origin, by the difference of climate and of the habits of the people, we must leave to others who may be better qualified and disposed than we to speculate upon. It seems certain that the countrymen of Phidias and Praxiteles and Appelles must have been more capable than the Hindus of appreciating the beauties of mathematical figure; while the mysteries of number, a thing undefinable but real, a thing regarding which men may reason all their days without making the matter a whit plainer, must have been equally grateful to the taste of the abstruse Hindu sages. As for the common notion (adopted by Professor Kelland in the work whose title stands at the head of this article) that the attempts at the quadrature and the publication of the cube had a great influence in promoting the progress of Geometry among the

Greeks, we set nothing by it. Every one knows the application made by Lord Bacon of the fable of the youths being made to dig up their vineyard under the delusive belief that there was a treasure buried in the soil, but with all deference we must express a doubt whether such results have really followed the vain pursuits of men in geometry, alchemy, and astrology as are generally supposed to have resulted from them. At all events, we think it very certain that the questions as to the duplication of the cube and the quadration of the circle must have arisen, not in the infancy of geometrical science, but after it had made considerable progress, and thus if the spirit of geometrical science had not taken this direction, it must have taken some other, and probably a far better one. Any one who thinks otherwise may as well suppose that an apple falling before a peasant would have led him to the theory of universal gravitation, or that if no apple had fallen before Newton, he would never have solved that sublime theory.

As with the heroes who fought before Agamemnon, so has it fared with the Hindu algebraists who studied before Brahmegupta. This Brahmegupta, who lived in the seventh century of the Christian era, and Bhascara who flourished in the twelfth century, are the authors of the works translated by Mr. Colebrooke, —the standard works of Hindu mathematics. All subsequent algebraists have been content merely to illustrate and simplify the works of Brahmegupta and Bhascara. An account of these works is, therefore, to all intents and purposes, an account of the Hindu algebra. Such an account we purpose in the present article to give. Some of the commentators indeed mention several algebraists who seem to have preceded Brahmegupta, but of them no record remains but the mere mention of their names. Arya Bhatta, indeed, who lived, as is supposed, in the fourth century, was certainly an algebraist; and is mentioned, by a commentator on Bhascara, as the founder of the science; but what was the amount of his attainments, it is impossible to discover. Nor may we suppose that Algebra was wholly unknown before his time. In fact, we find allusion in very ancient Hindu books which leave no doubt on our minds that algebra was cultivated at a very early period among the Hindus. One came under our observation very recently, which it may be well to quote as a specimen of many that we have met with from time to time. In the Nalodaya, recently translated by the Rev. Dr. Yates, of Calcutta, we find that when its hero Naloh, in the days of his humiliation, was serving as charioteer to Ritipurna, his master astonished him by telling at sight the number of leaves and fruit on a particular tree; Ritipurna's power of doing this the poet

ascribes to his familiarity with dice. The passage, as translated by Dr. Yates, is as follows :—

He afterwards resolved to show his skill
And to astonish and delight the mind
Of his expert and pious charioteer
With calculations of immense extent.
Such knowledge had he gained by means of dice,
That when a tree was full of leaves and fruit
He could, at sight, of each the number tell.
Descending from the car he marked a tree
And told in sums exact its whole contents.
When Nala counted all the leaves and fruit
And found the sum of both and each agree
With what had been declared, he was surprised
And wished to understand the wondrous art
By which such calculations could be made.
The king as ardently desired to know
By what mysterious art the charioteer
All other men in horsemanship excelled.
So they agreed their secrets to reveal
And from each other mutual aid derive.
But when these heroes, famed for martial deeds,
Had thus their art consented to transfer;
The transfer they confirmed by solemn oath
That neither to a third should e'er disclose
The science which they both now understood.

Nalodaya, book iv.

We cannot hesitate for a moment to conclude that this passage is intended to indicate that Ritapurna was an algebraist. The poet was either himself ignorant, or deemed it inconsistent with his poetical design, to inform us of the data on which the calculations proceeded; but his allusion to dice is quite sufficient, independently of every thing else, to show us that it was an algebraical process that he has thus, either from ignorance or from choice, invested with mystery. There is no connection between anything that can be indicated by means of dice, and the number of leaves and fruit on a particular tree: but the same algebraist calculated, as algebraists calculate now, the chances of the throws of dice, and calculated also the number of leaves on a tree from so small data that the uninitiated supposed that it was done by mere intuition. The question that Ritapurna actually solved might be such an one as those that occur in our ordinary school-books —as, for example, the number of leaves on the tree is to the number of fruit in a given proportion, say as 2 to 1, and 3 times the number of leaves added to 6 times the number of fruit make 20,000. All those who are acquainted with the

elements of algebra know that such questions as these may be endlessly multiplied. We can have no doubt that it was the solution of such a question as this that Kalidas intended to eulogise on the part of Ritapurna, though as to its actual difficulty it is of course impossible for us even to conjecture. But whether the question actually solved were difficult or not, what we have at present to do with is this, that at the period in question the algebraist was on a footing with the "horse-whisperer" as an object of admiration. The science was therefore precisely in the same state in regard to its advancement and diffusion that it had attained in Europe in the days of our own Baron Napier of Merchiston, who astonishes the minds of his superstitious countrymen by similarly divulging the results, and concealing the processes of his calculations. Now Kalidas lived in the days of Vikramaditya, a little before the commencement of the Christian era. At this period, therefore, we conclude that the science of algebra was so far known in Hindustan, that its professors were able to solve such equations as those given in our ordinary school-books, and so far unknown that such solutions were regarded as amazing, and almost miraculous, not by the vulgar alone, but even by the generally intelligent but unmathematical portion of the community. This is all that we know regarding the history of algebra till the time of Brahmegupta. Probably more might be inferred from allusions in the poets similar to that quoted above; and we may be permitted to observe that it is a subject well worthy the attention of the oriental scholar.

We have before us the principal, or rather the only, algebraical works of the Hindus, viz. the Ganita (arithmetic) and Cuttaca (algebra) of Brahmegupta, and the Lilavati and Bija Ginata of Bhaskara Acharya. These are all translated (in a manner that requires not our praise) by the late Mr. Colebrooke; and the Lilavati also by Dr. Taylor of Bombay. From Dr. Taylor's and Mr. Colebrooke's works having been published in consecutive years, the one in Bombay and the other in London, we suppose that the translators laboured without any knowledge of each other's intentions. It is well that they did so, as not only is Mr. Colebrooke's work far more complete than it would have been without the Lilavati, but the possession of a two-fold rendering is the most satisfactory guarantee to the student ignorant of the original Sanscrit, that the renderings are faithful.* As it is, it is

* We have learned caution by a somewhat ludicrous experience in regard to translations of these same books. A few years ago, being anxious to attain some knowledge of the Hindu mathematics, and not being even aware of the existence of either of the books now before us, we procured the services of a Pundit, an alumnus

perfectly satisfactory to find that, with great variation in the mode of rendering, the Lilavati, as translated by Colebrooke and by Taylor, is substantially the same. Taylor's is the more literal, and therefore to us the more valuable translation; Colebrooke's is the more elegant, and is moreover enriched by selections from the annotations of the principal Hindu commentators, some of which contain explanations without which the text were well nigh unintelligible.

One striking and important fact we ought to notice at the outset. That it appears certain that we were indebted to the Hindus for our numerals, though, having derived them through the medium of the Arabs, we have appropriated to them the name of that people. Although the numerals of our modern typographers differ very much from the Sanscrit characters so that it were scarcely possible to recognise them, yet it is not difficult to trace the process by which they were transmuted from the original Sanscrit form into their present elegant figures. Dr. Hutton in his mathematical tracts gives several figures by way of showing the transition, and it appears to us clear on inspection that the case is made out. In fact the figures actually used in Europe up till four hundred years ago, were almost as like the Sanscrit characters as they were like the modern numerals. If it be granted then that the decimal notation originated with the Hindus, it will be difficult to deny them the highest place in the scale of Algebraical eminence, for there is unquestionably nothing in the whole range of mathematical science that combines elegance with utility to a greater extent than the decimal notation. But, then, while we believe that the decimal characters were derived from the Hindus, we believe that the decimal scale, properly so called, is of a far more ancient date. In fact it seems altogether a catholic system, common to the whole human race; and must, as we think, have been in use wherever there were men with two hands, and five fingers on each. But if we be indebted to the Hindus for the decimal notation alone, our obligation to them is sufficiently great. Those who know most of numbers will be most willing to admit this, for they will be best able to tell at once how admirable the decimal system of notation is, and how important to the

of the Sanscrit College in Calcutta, who engaged to translate a portion of the Lilavati into Bengali every day. This he brought to us on the following morning, and we read it together. In this way we had accomplished nearly the whole book, when one morning we were astonished by finding an example relating to the *Gobernor Janiral Sahib's* elephant. We soon found that he had thought it his duty to *accommodate* the work of the sage old Bhascara to European comprehension, not by translating it, but by diluting it with the mixture of what little he knew of European mathematics. Thus did we throw away a good deal of money, and more precious time, but gained withal some profitable experience.

progress of mathematical science is a good system of notation. The full beauty of our arithmetical notation consists in its extension to decimal fractions, by keeping up the rule that the value of a figure shall be diminished tenfold by its removal one place towards the right hand. It is not clearly ascertained who first introduced this extension of the decimal notation. It is sometimes stated to have been introduced only by Stevinus near the end of the sixteenth century; but this we believe is incorrect, although we are not able to state positively who was the first to make use of it. It is interesting to observe that a very near approximation to the idea of decimal fractions occurs in the Lilavati. In the chapter on plane figure a rule is given for extracting the square-root of a number, in which is contained the germ of our notion of decimal fractions. The rule is as follows:—"From the product of numerator and denominator, "multiplied by any square number assumed, extract the square "root; that divided by the denominator taken into the root "of the multiplier, will be an approximation." The illustrative example given under this rule is the following:—"This irrational "hypothenuse $\frac{169}{8}$ (is proposed).* The product of its numerator "and denominator is 1352; multiplied by a myriad (the square "of 100) the product is 13520000. Its root is 3677 nearly. "This divided by the denominator taken into the square-root "of the multiplier, viz. 800, gives the approximate root $4\frac{477}{800}$. It "is the hypothenuse. So in every similar instance."—(*Colebrooke*, p. 60.) Now we say that this rule, as illustrated by this example, virtually and essentially directs the use of decimals. For suppose that instead of a fraction, an integer were the number given for the extraction of its root. Then the denominator being unity, the rule would amount simply to this, to add pairs of cyphers to the number, and divide the root by as many tens as there are pairs of cyphers added. But this is nothing else than our ordinary method of decimal fractions. We reckon this a point of considerable interest, and we are not aware that it has been pointed out before.

From the subject of arithmetical notation we pass naturally to the subject of algebraical notation, in its more limited sense. This is the strong point of our modern algebra, and, as might be expected, the weak point of the Hindu science. Algebraical notation is the machinery of our modern analysis, and not more superior is the mechanical apparatus in one of our great factories to the rude implements of the Bengali spinners and

* Square of hypothenuse is meant.—Ed. C. R.

weavers, than is the notation of our modern algebra to the cumbrous diction of Brahmegupta and Bhascara, for we observe no progress in this respect during the five centuries that elapsed between these mathematicians. We believe we cannot better exhibit the contrast between the two systems than by selecting at random an equation with its solution from the Bija-ganita, and appending the solution as it would be effected by a school-boy in these days. Here is an example taken *ad aperturam libri*.

It is an example of an indeterminate equation of the first degree:—

EXAMPLE:—What numbers, being multiplied respectively by five, seven, and nine, and divided by twenty, have remainders increasing in progression by the common difference one, and quotients equal to the remainders?

In this case put the residues *ya* 1, *ya* 1 *ru* 1, *ya* 1 *ru* 2. They are the quotients also. Let the first number be *ca* 1. From this multiplied by five, subtracting the divisor taken into the quotient, the remainder is *ca* 5 — *ya* 20. Making this equal to *ya* 1, a value of *yavát-távat* is obtained $\frac{ca\ 5}{ya\ 21}$. Let the second number be put *ní* 1. From this multiplied by seven, subtracting the divisor taken into *ya* added to one, the result is *ní* 7 — *ya* 20 — *ru* 20; and making this equal to *ya* 1 *ru* 1, a value of *yávat-távat* is had $\frac{ní\ 7 - ru\ 21}{ya\ 21}$.

Let the third number be *pí* 1. From this multiplied by nine, subtracting the divisor taken into *ya* added to two, the residue is *pí* 9 — *ya* 20 — *ru* 40; and making this equal to *ya* 1 *ru* 2, a value of *yávat-távat* is found $\frac{pí\ 9 - ru\ 42}{ya\ 21}$. From the equation of the first and second of these, the value of *cálaca* is $\frac{ní\ 7 - ru\ 21}{ca\ 5}$; and from that of the second and third, the value of *nílaca* is $\frac{pí\ 9 - ru\ 21}{ní\ 7}$. This being "last" value, the investigation of the pulverizer takes place: and quotient and multiplier, with additives [derived from their divisors], are by that method found, *lo* 9 *ru* 6 value of *ní*

lo 7 *ru* 7 — of *pí*

Here the additive is designated *lóhitaca*; and the expressions in their order, are values of *nílaca* and *pítaca*. Substituting for *ní* by this value, in that of *ca*, and dividing by its denominator, the value of *ca* comes out fractional $\frac{lo\ 63\ ru\ 21}{ca\ 5}$. To make it integer by investigation of the pulverizer, reduce the dividend and additive to their least terms by the common measure twenty-one, and the values *cálaca* and *lóhitaca* are found *ha* 63 *ru* 42 value of *ca*. Substituting for *lóhitaca* by its value, in

ha 5 *ru* 3 — of *lo*

the values of *nílaca* and *pítaca*, these are brought out *ha* 45 *ru* 33 value of *ní*. Again,

ha 35 *ru* 28 — of *pí*

With these values, *ha* 63 *ru* 42 for *ca* substituting for *cálaca* and the rest in the

ha 45 *ru* 33 for *ní*

ha 35 *ru* 28 for *pí*

values of *yávat-távat*, and dividing by the appertinent denominators, the value of *ya* is obtained *ha* 15 *ru* 10. Here, as the quotient is equal to the residue, and the residue cannot exceed the divisor, substitute nought only for *haritaca*, and the quotients are found 10, 11, 12. Deducing *cálaca* and the rest from their values, the quantities are brought out in distinct numbers, 42, 33, 28.

This question if solved in our manner would stand thus:—

Let x y and z be the three numbers; then by the question:

$$\left.\begin{aligned} \frac{5x}{20} &= a + \frac{a}{20} = \frac{21a}{20} \\ \frac{7y}{20} &= a + 1 + \frac{a+1}{20} = \frac{21(a+1)}{20} \\ \frac{9z}{20} &= a + 2 + \frac{a+2}{20} = \frac{21(a+2)}{20} \end{aligned}\right\} \text{in which } a \text{ is an indeterminate number.}$$

These equations, if multiplied by 20, become severally

$$\begin{aligned} &5x = 21a \\ &7y = 21(a+1) \therefore \quad y = 3(a+1) \\ &9z = 21(a+2) \therefore 3z = 7(a+2) \end{aligned}$$

We have now to determine a such that x, y, and z may be all whole numbers. It is evident that in order to give x a whole number, a must be a multiple of 5, since 5 and 21 are incommensurable numbers. If therefore we try $a = 5$ we find that x and y are whole numbers, but z is not. We therefore try $a = 10$ and find $x = 42$, $y = 33$, and $z = 28$.

This is a very simple example, and therefore the superiority of our notation is not so clearly seen as it would be in a more complicated example. This will however suffice for the present, as an illustration of the inelegant manner of stating the operations, as compared with our modern beautiful system. While on this subject we may be permitted to say again, that we know nothing more thoroughly elegant than the modern system of algebraic notation, when employed in its complete form, with fractional and negative indexes. It has been gradually developed during three centuries by a process somewhat similar to the rise and progress of the Sofa so humorously sketched by its bard. As was "the rugged rock washed by the sea" for a place of repose, so was the notation of the first Italian "Cossists." The "joint stool on three legs upborne" may represent the notation of Carden. Tartalea may take place with the introducer of the "four legs, with twisted form vermicular;" while Stevinus did that for algebra which was done for upholstery by him who transformed the stool into a chair. The notation of Des Cartes may represent the "settee." Lagrange must take rank with him who "in happier days" introduced the "sofa," while the spring cushions and all the improvements which make the sofas of these days far more luxurious than Cowper ever

dreamt of, have their parallel in the improvements introduced by Peacock and the rest of our Cambridge mathematicians.

> Thus first necessity invented stools,
> Convenience next suggested elbow-chairs,
> Aud luxury the accomplished sofa last.

But to return to the Indian notation. It will not be difficult to explain to our readers the connection between it and ours. Corresponding to our a is the term *ya* 1, our $a + 1$ is represented by *ya* 1 *ru* 1, and our $a + 2$ by *ya* 1 *ru* 2. Then the numbers sought are *ca* 1, *ni* 1 and *pi* 1 corresponding to our x, y and z. Thus *ca* 5 — *ya* 20 represents $5x - 20a$, and so on. The process of the *pulverizer* we shall return to ere long; at present we have only to do with the notation; which this short explanation will we trust render in some degree intelligible. It will be observed that a dot over a number or quantity indicates that it is to be subtracted,* while *ru*, the initial syllable of *rupa* (*form*) placed before a quantity marks it as an absolute number, and when it is positive or additive no sign is employed to mark the addition. *Yavat tavat*, (*as much or as many as*) is contracted into *ya*, and is generally employed, just as we employ any letter of the alphabet, to express a quantity either known or unknown: *ca*, *ni* and *pi*, are the initial syllables of the Sanscrit words signifying *black*, *blue*, and *yellow*. These are generally used as the representatives of known quantities, as we use the first letters of the alphabet. Sometimes instead of the colours, the initial letters of the names of the things signified are employed, as we might make p stand for the price of a pearl and d for that of a diamond, if required to solve a question relating to the prices of jewellery.

The works of Brahmegupta translated by Mr. Colebrooke are the twelfth and eighteenth chapters of the Brahma-Sphuta Siddhanta, a treatise on astronomy. This accounts for the great brevity with which the rules are expressed, a brevity which sometimes renders them scarcely intelligible. He sets out by informing us that "He who distinctly and severally knows addition and the rest of the twenty logistics, and the eight determinations, including measurement by shadow, is a mathematician." The twenty logistics are addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, square, square-root, cube, cube-root, five rules of reduction of fractions, rule of three terms (direct and inverse), of five terms, of seven terms, of nine terms, and of eleven terms, and barter. The eight determinations are, mixture, progression, plane figure, excavation, stack, saw, mound and shadow.

* We have substituted the sign *minus* for the convenience of the printers.

The first section consists of rules for the logistics, and the succeeding 8 for the determinations. Mixture corresponds with what in our books of arithmetic is called partnership or fellowship. Under progression is treated only what we call arithmetical progression. One rule is ingenious though a little complicated, and clearly indicates a considerable knowledge of the nature of series. It is when translated into our ways of expression as follows: Given the first term, the common difference and the sum of a series in arithmetical progression, to find the number of terms. The rule is as follows: "Add the square of the difference between twice the initial term and the common increase to the product of the sum of the progression by 8 times the increase; the square root, less the foregoing remainder, divided by twice the common increase, is the period." This rule when translated into our algebraic language will be as follows: a being the first term, d the common difference, s the sum of the series, and n the number of terms: thus $n = \dfrac{\{(2a-d)^2 + 8ds\}^{\frac{1}{2}} - (2a-d)}{2d}$.

This rule we do not find in any of our books, but it is easily deduced from the ordinary formula $2s = n\{2a + (n-1)d\}$ from which, by the solution of a quadratic equation we find

$$n = \frac{\{(2a-d)^2 + 8ds\}^{\frac{1}{2}} - (2a-d)}{2d}.$$

The section on "plane figure" teaches the methods of finding the areas of trigons and tetragons, both approximate and exact, as well as the lengths of various lines in the circle. It appears that Brahmegupta was familiar with the propositions now known as Euc. I. 47. & III. 35. Beyond this it does not appear that his geometrical knowledge extended. It is remarkable that there is no allusion whatever to angles, triangles being merely distinguished as equilateral, isosceles and scalene. Mr. Colebrooke indeed introduces the term right-angled triangle, but explains that it is never viewed by the Hindu mathematicians with reference to its having a right-angle, but is spoken of only as the formal or elementary trigon, because every other trigon may be divided into two such by a perpendicular drawn from one of the angles on the opposite side. A point of more interest is the ratio between the diameter and circumference of a circle. The author states that the diameter being multiplied by 3 gives the "practical" circumference, but that the square root of ten times the square of the diameter is the "neat" circumference. In other words the diameter is to the circumference as $1 : \sqrt{10}$, or 1 : 3.162, &c. a very clumsy approxima-

tion, correct only in one decimal place, whereas the proportion of 7 : 22 is correct to two places, and very nearly correct in the third. From the usually strict manner in which Brahmegupta distinguishes between "gross" or approximate methods and correct ones, we should suppose that he believed this to be the accurate rectification of the circle, and if this be so, it indicates a very meagre acquaintance with geometry.

The section on "excavation" treats of what the Hindu Pandits are perpetually discussing under the title of "tank arithmetic." We learn from it that Brahmegupta knew that a cone or pyramid is one-third of a cylinder or parallelopiped having the same base and altitude, a property which is generally understood to have been discovered by Archimedes. The section on "stacks" (of bricks) is merely a repetition of that on excavation, height only being substituted for depth. The like may be said of the section on "saw" or mensuration of timber, with the exception that the author introduces the calculation of the sawyers' wages, according to the different kinds of wood, precisely as if the rate were fixed as unalterably as the rule for finding the solid contents of a plank.

The section on "mounds of grain" assumes that the ninth part of the circumference of the heap is the height in the case of bearded corn, the tenth part in that of coarse grain and the eleventh part in that of fine grain; and then lays down this rule, that the height multiplied by the square of the sixth part of the circumference is the content. This rule proceeds upon the assumption formerly noticed, that the circumference of a circle is 3 times the diameter.

The section on "measure by shadow" is more properly astronomical than algebraical. It consists of three rules, the first of which is as follows :—"The half day being divided by the shadow (measured in lengths of the gnomon) added to one, the quotient is the elapsed or the remaining portion of day, morning or evening." This is a very rude approximation, which, as rightly stated by the commentator, does not answer for finding the time even in an equatorial position. As we are denied the use of figures it is impossible for us to render the process intelligible by which the rule has been evolved. There are only two cases in which it will be strictly applicable, and these are, *first*, midday when and where the sun is vertical, for then the shadow being nothing, the time will be the half day, and *second*, every day and in every place when the sun is horizontal, that is at rising and setting, for then the shadow being infinite, the time elapsed since sunrise, or to elapse before sunset, will be nothing. In all cases between these it will give a result completely erroneous.

On this subject we may be allowed to make two remarks. The first is, that it indicates the origin of the Hindu astronomy in a place within the tropics, and militates strongly against M. Bailly's notion (which we combated in a previous volume of this Review) of its having been derived from a hyperborean race. Our second remark is, that this rule may throw some light on a passage in Herodotus, the meaning of which has been much disputed. The passage we refer to is that in which he states that the Greeks derived their knowledge *of the pole, the gnomon and the division of the day* from the Babylonians.* Salmasius, as we learn from the notes to Beloe's translation of Herodotus, denies that the pole and the gnomon have any reference to horology. We venture to think differently, and to suggest that Herodotus refers to just such a problem as this of Brahmegupta, which, by the way, his commentator tells us that he copied from earlier writers.

To this work is added a supplement, containing various rules for the abbreviation of the processes of calculation, and some other matters which do not require any particular remark.

The other work of Brahmegupta, entitled *Cuttacad' haya*, or treatise on the Cutta or *pulverizer* is, as we have stated, the eighteenth chapter of the Brahma-sphuta-Siddhanta. The prefatory paragraphs are as follows:—"Since questions can scarcely be solved without the pulverizer, therefore will I propound the investigation of it, together with problems. By the pulverizer, cypher, negative, and affirmative, unknown quantity, elevation of the middle term, colours, and factum, well understood, a man becomes a teacher among the learned, and by the affected square." This same pulverizer plays a most conspicuous part in the Hindu algebra and astronomy, and we must endeavour clearly to explain what it is. In its simplest form it may be stated thus,—given a divisor and remainder, to find the quotient. In this form it is, of course, an indeterminate problem, but if one or more other divisors and the corresponding remainders be given, the problem may become determinate. The rule for such a case is the following:—"Rule for the investigation of the pulverizer.—The divisor which yields the greatest remainder is divided by that which yields the least: the residue is reciprocally divided, and the quotients are severally set down one under the other. The residue [of the reciprocal division] is multiplied by an assumed number, such that the product, having added to it the difference of the

* Πολον μεν γαρ, και γνωμονα, και τα δυωδεκα μερεα τῆς ἡμερης παρα Βαβυλωνιων ἐμαθον οἱ Ελληνες.

remainders, may be exactly divisible [by the residue's divisor]. That multiplier is to be set down [underneath] and the quotient last. The penultimate is taken into the term next above it, and the product added to the ultimate term is the *agranta*. This is divided by the divisor yielding least remainder, and the residue multiplied by the divisor yielding greatest remainder and added to the greatest remainder is a remainder of [division by] the product of the divisors."

This rule will probably puzzle our readers. We believe we shall best make it plain by proposing a question and solving it in our own way, and then showing the identity of the steps with those indicated by the rule. Let it be, for example, required to determine a number, which, being divided by 8, gives the remainder 3, and being divided by 7 gives the remainder 6.

Let x be the number required then by the question.

$$\frac{x}{8} = a + \frac{3}{8} \therefore x = 8a + 3$$

$$\frac{x}{7} = b + \frac{6}{7} \therefore x = 7b + 6$$

Hence $7b + 6 = 8a + 3$

$$b = \frac{8a - 3}{7}$$ which must be a whole number.

Again, since $\frac{8a-3}{7}$ is a whole number, $\frac{a-3}{7}$ must also be a whole number.

This condition will be fulfilled by making a any number in the arithmetical series 3, 10, 17, &c., which will give the number required 27, or 83, or 139, &c.

Now by Brahmegupta's rule we have first to divide 7, the number which yields the greater remainder, by 8, the number that yields the less, the quotient is 0 and the remainder 7. This is then reciprocally divided, that is $\frac{8}{7} = 1\frac{1}{7}$. It ought to be observed that the quotient in this division is what we shall afterwards quote as the *first* quotient. This remainder 1 is to be multiplied by such a number that the product having -3 added to it may be divisible by 7. This number is as before any one of the series 3, 10, 17, &c. Take 10, and the quotient is 1, which we call the *last* quotient, and then arrange the terms thus:

1 first quotient.
10 assumed number.
1 last quotient.

Then multiplying the penultimate into the preceding, and

adding the ultimate, we get 11 for the *agranta*. This being divided by 8, the divisor yielding the least remainder, gives the residue 3. This multiplied by 7 and added to 6 makes 27, the remainder resulting from dividing the required number by 56, the product of 7 and 8. Hence the number is, as before, found to be 27, or 56 + 27 = 83, or 112 + 27 = 139, &c. It will not be difficult now for any one acquainted with algebra to trace the *rationale* of the pulverizer,*—but it will be difficult for any one not acquainted with the Hindus, and ignorant that simplicity is not an element in their ideas of excellence, to account for the fact that Brahmegupta did not prefer the simple process of merely multiplying the assumed number by the greater divisor and adding the remainder in order to find the quotient required, rather than the complicated process of multiplying the first quotient by the assumed number and adding the last quotient, then dividing the result by the divisor yielding the least remainder, multiplying the remainder resulting from this division by the divisor yielding the greatest remainder and then adding to this product the greater remainder itself, in order to find not the number sought, but another number from which that is not a whit more easily found than from the assumed number itself. Such, however, is a method quite characteristic of the Hindu mind.

Such, then, is the pulverizer, which it will be seen is neither more nor less than a method of resolving indeterminate equations

* It may be well, however, for the sake of such as are but moderately skilled in analysis, to carry out our own process to Brahmegupta's result, in order to show more clearly the *rationale* of his method; we therefore resume the process.

Adding the two original equations together we get

$$\frac{x}{8}+\frac{x}{7}=a+b+\frac{3}{8}+\frac{6}{7}$$

$$\frac{15x}{56}=a+b+\frac{69}{56}$$

$$\text{but } b=\frac{8a-3}{7}$$

$$\frac{15x}{56}=\frac{15a-3}{7}+\frac{69}{56}$$

$$\frac{x}{56}=\frac{a-\frac{1}{5}}{7}+\frac{69}{840}$$

But $\frac{a-3}{7}$ is a whole number, therefore $\frac{a-\frac{1}{5}}{7}$ = a whole number + $\frac{24}{35}$. Hence the remainder resulting from dividing the number sought by the product of the given divisors is $\frac{24}{7}+\frac{69}{840}=\frac{14}{35}+\frac{69}{840}=\frac{405}{840}=\frac{27}{56}$.

of the first degree. It is of most important application in the Hindu astronomy, for from it can be found, as is evident, the number of revolutions that have taken place since the conjunction of any number of heavenly bodies, by knowing their periodic times and the fraction of a revolution elapsed at any given time. Suppose, for example, the periodic times of three heavenly bodies to be 50 days, 120 days, and 365 days, respectively, and that at a given period they were 4 days, 3 days, and 2 days, respectively, past a particular point in the heavens, then it is evident that by the pulverizer could be found the number of revolutions that they must severally have made since they were all in conjunction in that point. This is unquestionably the process by which the Hindu astronomers fixed the commencement of the Kali-yug, which occupied so much of our attention in a previous article. We have caught the coiners with the very mould in their hands; and M. Bailly, if he were alive, could not by any possible advocacy counterbalance the weight of this circumstantial evidence.

The other sections of this work do not require particular notice. They only give more complicated cases of the pulverizer with astronomical applications.

We have dwelt thus long on the works of Brahmegupta, and have therefore now only to notice a very few improvements introduced after his time, as manifested in the works of Bhascara. These works are two, the Lilavati and the Bija Ganita. The meaning of the former of these titles is curious. We find it given by Dr. Hutton from the preface to a Persian translation of the work. It indicates a degree of indelicacy that will astonish mere European readers, but which is quite in keeping with the manners of the Hindus to the present day.

"It is said that the composing the Lilawati was occasioned by the following circumstance, Lilawati was the name of the author's (Bhaseara) daughter, concerning whom it appeared, from the qualities of the Ascendant at her birth, that she was destined to pass her life unmarried, and to remain without children. The father ascertained a lucky hour for contracting her in marriage, that she might be firmly connected, and have children. It is said that when that hour approached, he brought his daughter and his intended son near him. He left the hour-cup on the vessel of water, and kept in attendance a time-knowing astrologer, in order that when the cup should subside in the water, those two precious jewels should be united. But, as the intended arrangement was not according to destiny, it happened that the girl, from a curiosity natural to children, looked into the cup, to observe the water coming in at the hole; when by chance a pearl separated from her bridal dress, fell into the cup, and, rolling down to the hole, stopped the influx of the water. So the astrologer waited in expectation of the promised hour. When the operation of the cup had thus been delayed beyond all moderate time, the father was in consternation, and

examining, he found that a small pearl had stopped the course of the water, and that the long-expected hour was passed. In short, the father, thus disappointed, said to his unfortunate daughter, I will write a book of your name, which shall remain to the latest times—for good name is a second life, and the ground-work of eternal existence."

In accordance with this origin of the work, it is throughout addressed to Lilavati, in a way that, to our apprehensions, is sometimes very grotesque. Take a few of the examples at random. "Ten times the square root of a flock of geese seeing the clouds collect flew to the Manus lake, one-eighth of the whole flew from the edge of the water amongst a multitude of water-lilies, and three couples were observed playing in the water. Tell me, my young girl with beautiful locks, what were the whole number of geese?" Again—"Beautiful and dear Lilaviti, whose eyes are like a fawn's! tell me what is the number resulting from one hundred and thirty-five taken into twelve? if thou be skilled in multiplication by whole or by parts, whether by subdivision of form or separation of digits. Tell me, auspicious woman, what is the quotient of the product divided by the same multiplier."

One of the most interesting processes we find in the work of Bhascara is his method of completing the square in quadratic equations. This method was introduced into the European world by Dr. Hutton, in the work whose title stands at the head of the present article, and has now, we observe, found its way into some of our elementary works on Algebra, under the designation of the Hindu method. As, however, it may still be unknown to many of our readers, and as it is in some cases very decidedly preferable to the ordinary method, it may be as well to present it here at length. Let the equation be $a\,x^2 + b\,x = c$, the ordinary method of completing the square would be by dividing both sides by a, and then adding to each side the square of $\frac{b}{2\,a}$; instead of this, however, Bhascara directs us to multiply both sides of the equation by four times the co-efficient of the second power, and to add to each side the square of the co-efficient of the simple power. Thus the complete equation will be this $-4\,a^2\,x^2 + 4\,a\,b\,x + b^2 = 4\,a\,c + b^2$ the first side of which is a complete square. This method, with a simplification of our own which it is not necessary to specify here, we have for a long time used in our practice whenever the second power of the unknown quantity has been effected by a co-efficient. It frequently saves a considerable amount of labour. Bhascara informs us that he takes this rule from Srid'hara.

One of the most interesting matters that we have met with in the works of Bhascara, is the following problem in the chapter of the Lilawati which treats of plane figures. The problem when stated as it would be stated by an European mathematician is the following: *Given the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle expressed by a whole number, to find the sides also expressed in whole numbers.* This problem we are directed to solve thus: "Twice the hypothenuse taken into arbitrary number, being divided by the square of the arbitrary number added to one, the quotient is the upright. This taken apart is to be multiplied into the number put,—the difference between the product and the hypothenuse is the side."

Now it is evident that this is nothing else than the Diophantine equation $x^2 + y^2 = a^2$ in which a is a known number and is required to find x and y in whole numbers. The rule, translated into algebraical language gives $x = \frac{2\ a\ b}{b^2 + 1}$ and $y = \frac{2\ a\ b^2}{b^2 + 1} - a = \frac{a(b^2 - 1)}{b^2 + 1}$.

The author, however, speaks too vaguely when he intimates that we are to assume any number whatever as the multiplier of the hypothenuse. On the contrary b must be taken such that $\frac{a\ (b^2 - 1)}{b^2 + 1}$ shall be a whole number; and in many cases no such number can be found, as ought evidently to be the case, as in very many instances the problem is impossible. It might easily be shown that, in order that $\frac{a(b^2 - 1)}{b^2 + 1}$ may be a whole number, we must have $\frac{2\ a}{b^2 + 1}$ a whole number. Hence in any particular case, since b^2 must be less than $2\ a$, and $2\ a$ must be divisible without a remainder by $(b^2 + 1)$, b may be found by a very few trials, and the question solved, if the case proposed be possible. The process by which this rule must have been investigated bespeaks no slight acquaintance with the principles of the indeterminate analysis, for although the investigation is neither difficult nor tedious when the principles of that analysis are clearly comprehended, yet an algebraist without a distinct apprehension of those principles could hardly by any possibility hit upon the process. The investigation may be here presented as it is given in the Complément des élémens d'Algébre of Lacroix.

$x^2 + y^2 = a^2$ or $y^2 = a^2 - x^2$

Assume $y = bx - a$ then $b^2 x^2 - 2abx + a^2 = a^2 - x^2$

$$x^2(b^2 + 1) = 2abx$$

$$\text{and } x = \frac{2ab}{b^2 + 1}$$

$$y = bx - a \quad \frac{2ab^2}{b^2 + 1} - a = \frac{a(b^2 - 1)}{b^2 \; 1 +}$$

The whole art of this investigation consists in the right assumption of the value of y; an assumption which certainly could not have been hit upon by any but an expert analyst.

But Bhascara may cope with any algebraist, ancient or modern, in his ingenuity in this respect. As a proof of this we shall give one of the examples from the Bija Ganita with its solution, merely substituting our own notation for his, and this done, we shall trespass no further on the patience of our readers.—"Example: Tell me, gentle and ingenuous mathematician, two numbers, besides six and seven, such that their sum and their difference with three added to each may be squares; that the sum of their squares less four, and the difference of their squares with twelve added, may also be squares; and half the product increased* by the smaller number may be a cube; and the sum of all the roots, with two added, may be likewise a square."

Let x and y be the numbers required, and assume

$z - 1 = (x - y + 3)^{\frac{1}{2}}$ .....(1).

Then we have $z^2 - 2z + 1 = x - y + 3$;

or $z^2 - 2z - 2 = x - y$

Now this equation will be satisfied by $x = z^2 - 2$, and $y = 2z$.

From this we get

$z + y + 3 = z^2 + 2z + 1 \therefore (x + y + 3)^{\frac{1}{2}} = z + 1$ ..(2)

$x^2 + y^2 - 4 = z^4 \quad \therefore (x^2 + y^2 - 4)^{\frac{1}{2}} = z^2$ ..(3)

$x^2 - y^2 + 12 = z^2 - 8z^2 + 16. \therefore (x^2 - y^2 + 12)^{\frac{1}{2}} = z^2 - 4$ ..(4)

$\frac{xy}{2} + y = z^3 \quad \therefore (\frac{xy}{2} + y)^{\frac{1}{3}} = z$ ..(5)

Now the sum of these five roots with 2 added, is, by the question, a complete square.

* Colebrooke's translation says "diminished by," which is evidently a mistake.

Adding them together and increasing the sum by 2 we get $2z^2 + 3z - 2$, which being a complete square, let us make $= v^2$; $2z^2 + 3z = v^2 + 2$

Mult. both sides by 8; $16z^2 + 24z = 8v^2 + 16$
Add. 9 to each side; $16z^2 + 24z + 9 = 8v^2 + 25$
$4z + 3 = (8v^2 + 25)^{\frac{1}{2}}$

We must now take v such that $8v^2 + 25$ shall be a complete square; $v = 5$ will satisfy that condition, but as that would give the required numbers 6 and 7, it is excluded. No other value of v will serve our purpose until we come to $v = 175$; this value of v gives $4z + 3 = 495$.

$z = 123$
Hence $y = 2z = 246$ and $x = z^2 - 2 = 15127$

It were superfluous to point out the exceeding elegance of this solution. Truly does Bhascara say that *sagacity is algebra*.

And now we would express a hope that the specimen we have given of the Hindu algebra may have the effect of attracting towards it the attention of mathematicians both in this country and in England. The learned Dr. Hutton got hold of a few fragments of an English version from a Persian translation of the writings of Bhascara, and so forcibly was he struck with its excellence that he published the tract whose title stands at the head of this article, chiefly, as it seems, with the view of giving an account of it. The result of his comparison of it with the writings of Diophantus is very decidedly in favour of the Hindu sage. Yet so little attention seems to have been paid to his admirable treatise, that Sir John Leslie, writing many years afterwards, calls the Lilavati "a very poor performance, containing merely a few scanty precepts couched in obscure memorial verses." We trust that the sketch we have given in these pages, meagre though it be, is amply sufficient to refute this calumny. We have heard that Mr. Peacock has discussed the subject of Hindu algebra at large in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, but we have not had an opportunity of perusing his treatise.

We subjoin the concluding chapter of the Bija Ganita as a specimen of oriental composition :—

"On earth was one named Maheswara, who followed the eminent path

of a holy teacher among the learned. His son, BHASCARA, having from him derived the bud of knowledge, has composed this brief treatise of elemental computation.*

As the treatises of algebra by BRAHMEGUPTA,† SRID'HARA and PADMANABHA are too diffusive, he has compressed the substance of them in a well reasoned compendium, for the gratification of learners.

For the volume contains a thousand lines,‡ including precept and example. Sometimes exemplified to explain the sense and bearing of a rule; sometimes to illustrate its scope and adaptation: one while to show variety of inferences; another while to manifest the principle. For there is no end of instances; and, therefore, a few only are exhibited. Since the wide ocean of science is difficultly traversed by men of little understanding: and, on the other hand, the intelligent have no occasion for copious instruction. A particle of tuition conveys science to a comprehensive mind; and having reached it, expands of its own impulse. As oil poured upon water, as a secret entrusted to the vile, as alms bestowed upon the worthy, however little, so does science infused into a wise mind spread by intrinsic force.

It is apparent to men of clear understanding, that the rule of three terms constitutes arithmetic; and sagacity, algebra. Accordingly I have said in the chapter on Spherics:§

"The rule of three terms is arithmetic; spotless understanding is algebra.‖ What is there unknown to the intelligent? Therefore, for the dull alone, it¶ is set forth."

To augment wisdom and strengthen confidence, read, do read, mathematician, this abridgment elegant in style, easily understood by youth, comprising the whole essence of computation, and containing the demonstration of its principles, replete with excellence and devoid of defect.

In conclusion, we must say that the impression produced upon our minds by the study of this subject is one of deep humiliation.

* *Laghu Vija-ganita.*

† The text expresses *Brahmáhwaya-vija*, algebra named from *Brahma*; alluding to the name of BRAHMEGUPTA, or to the title of his work *Brahmasidd'hánta*, of which the eighteenth chapter treats of algebra. The commentator accordingly premises, "Since there are treatises on algebra by BRAHMEGUPTA and the rest, what occasion is there for this?" The author replies, "As the treatises, &c."
RAM.

‡ *Anushtubh.* Lines of thirty-two syllables, like the meter termed *anushtubh.* This intimation of the size of the volume regards both the prose and metrical parts. The number of stanzas, including rules and examples, is 210; or, with the peroration, 219. Some of the rules, being divided by intervening examples in a different meter, have in the translation separate numbers affixed to the divisions. On the other hand a few maxims and some quotations in verse, have been left unnumbered.

§ *Gólád'hyáya.* Sect. xi. § 3.

‖ *Vija.*

¶ The solution of certain problems set forth in the section. The preceding stanza, a part of which is cited by the scholiast of the *Lílávati*, (ch. 12), premises, "I deliver for the instruction of youth a few answers of problems found by arithmetic, algebra, the pulverizer, the affected square, the sphere, and [astronomical] instruments." *Gól.* Sect. ii. § 2.

Among the Hindus, six hundred, and even twelve hundred years ago, there were men who were as profoundly versed in this branch of mathematical science, as were our fathers a hundred years ago. Their representatives in these days are the miserable drivellers, whose whole knowledge amounts to a few scraps of "tank arithmetic," and that generally known only by rote. Shall it be then that the successors of Peacock and Airy, and Whewell and De Morgan shall ever become such pigmies in intellect? The history of Hindu science very clearly points out to us that there is nothing in the nature of man to prevent such a degeneracy. Yet we are not without hope, though it comes from another quarter. Since European science is not the property of a *man* but of the community, its continuance is not dependent on the accident of individual talents, (though its extension may be,) but is secured on a basis as broad and firm as any thing human can rest upon. It was with the Hindu science, as with the monstrous empires that rose by the prowess of a single hero and passed away along with him. But European science is now so deeply rooted and so widely spread, so amalgamated with all the institutions of government and all the arts of life, that nothing short of an entire revulsion of all that is human can ever eradicate it. This advantage, be it remembered, is one of the thousand unthought of blessings which we derive from that blessed book, which has taught us far more clearly than men were ever taught before, the duties and privileges of mankind. Little as some of our philosophers may dream of it, the Bible is the palladium of our science, as well as of those blessings and privileges which are more directly traceable to it. Its absence, and the prevalence of all those barriers to improvement which it alone can wholly banish, have reduced the science of India to its present despicable state; its suppression produced the dark ages in Europe, and its restoration to its due place gave the impulse to that vast movement which has for three centuries been going on: and its dissemination, with all attendant blessings, is the means appointed by the Lord and Ruler of all for introducing light and liberty and joy into all the dwellings of men.

ART. VI.—*Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, between the years* 1744 *and the period of his decease in* 1797. *Edited by Charles William, Earl of Fitz-William, and Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Bourke, K.C.B.* 4 *vols. London,* 1844.

THOUGH nearly half a century has elapsed since the demise of Edmund Burke, the letters contained in these volumes are now for the first time given to the public. A delay so protracted, in admitting the world to the privilege of communion in this valuable property, was calculated to excite surprise and dissatisfaction. An attempt is, therefore, made by the editors, to account for it in a brief prefatory notice. It appears that on the death of Mr. Burke, the duties of the literary executorship devolved on Dr. French Laurence*—the eminent civilian—and Dr. Robert King, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. From the joint labours of these two distinguished men resulted eight volumes of the octavo edition of their friend's works. Dr. Laurence was cut off in 1809; and the executorial duties, shortly afterwards rendered more onerous by the death in 1812 of Mrs. Burke who bequeathed all her husband's papers and the care of arranging them to the worthy bishop, in conjunction with two others who appear to have been but sleeping partners in the literary concern, now rested entirely on Dr. King. His health was bad and his sight worse; but in spite of these infirmities, against which his veneration for his deceased friend impelled him manfully to struggle, he added eight more volumes to the standard edition of Burke's works.

In 1828 the worthy divine, who had intimated his intention of giving in the concluding volumes of the "Works" some notice of the author's life, with extracts from his correspondence, was gathered to his fathers; and the Burke papers then passed into the hands of the late Earl of Fitz-William. From him they descended to the present earl, who, in conjunction with Sir Richard Bourke—a distant relative of the deceased statesman—has at length given to the world some selections from the correspondence of Edmund Burke. The letters are without any accompanying memoir; but the editors have added, here and there,

* Dr. Laurence was counsel to the managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings. He was an able and excellent man, universally esteemed, a sound lawyer and a writer of no little humour. Brougham says he "united in himself the indefatigable labour of a Dutch commentator with the alternate playfulness and sharpness of a Parisian wit." He was one of the writers of the *Rolliad*; and, no doubt, we are indebted to his pen for the attacks it contains on Warren Hastings.

meagre explanatory notes, which any bookseller's hack might have done with equal ability and considerably more candour. The correspondence itself, it is almost superfluous to say, contains much interesting and suggestive matter. It may, therefore, appear ungracious to add that it has occasioned in us some disappointment. Interesting though it be, it is not *so* interesting as the title of the work led us to expect. The correspondence of such a man, ranging over a period of nearly half a century—and that too the most eventful half century in the history of Great Britain—might have furnished forth a more delicate banquet than that which has been set before us.

But whatever might have been the general character of this long-projected work, it would have been permitted to us but to view it in one aspect. France, Ireland, and America, are the principal themes of the great statesman's espistolary discourse. With France, Ireland, and America, we have nothing to do. We notice these volumes only because some portions of them—scanty portions, it must be acknowledged—relate to India and Indian affairs; because a few of the letters are addressed to, or bear the signatures of, men famous in the annals of the East. We wish that these letters had been more numerous. We had hoped to have gathered from the correspondence something of the secret history of that great state trial, which towards the close of the last century, called forth the highest efforts of oratory which have ever stirred with awe and admiration the hearts of a British audience; hoped to have alighted upon some direct revelations of the under-workings of the great machinery set in motion by the master hand of Burke; hoped to have seen something of the bare heart of the great orator—to have seen him off the stage, a genuine man, not made up for great displays, but a sample of natural humanity, with all the strong feelings, vivid first impressions, and urgent impulses of genius. We thought, moreover, that we might have found in these pages an exposure of the bitter malignity of Philip Francis—thought that we should have seen the silver veil of truth and justice—glittering delusions—upraised from the foul face of the grinning Mokanna—thought that we should have seen, in his real character, the man who, in this country, evinced the morality so boasted of at home, by hating his neighbour and loving his neighbour's wife.

But of all this we find nothing—nothing beyond a few occasional glimpses of the inner workings of the actors' hearts—rare, but for their rarity esteemed. There are letters in the collection from Burke to Francis, and from Francis to Burke; and letters between Burke and William Jones—all of which belong especially

to us. The epistles of the Orientalist are few; but all who admire the character of one of the best and ablest men, who have ever inhaled the hot and dusty air of Bengal, will read them with no common interest. They display much of the personal feelings —the hopes and fears—of the great linguist, who regarded a seat on the Indian bench, as little more than a step towards an advancement in Oriental scholarship. There are two letters, written at a time when he despaired of obtaining the prize for which he was contending, and attributed his want of success to the enmity of the chancellor, Thurlow. Thurlow was rough but honest; not made for popularity, but formed in the right mould of true manhood. Jones calls him a *beast;* but characteristically veils the coarseness of the expression by clothing it in a classic garb. "As there has been a vacancy for five years" he writes, in a letter to Burke, dated early in 1782, "on the bench of Calcutta, "it might be supplied without any further legislative provisions, "but the same *θηριον* (excuse a word formerly applied to Æs- "chines at Rome) who has obstructed all attempts to supply it, "since he has been in power, will, I clearly see, continue to ob- "struct not that measure only, but all other measures of Govern- "ment."....."I therefore despair," he says a little further on, "at least of the Supreme Court, and as to the *Sedr* "*Adálet,* though with your kind assistance, I might possibly "obtain it from the Company, yet having already smarted "so severely, I have not courage enough, I confess, to enter "upon a new career of solicitation." We, therefore, find him turning his thoughts from the East towards the West, and contemplating, partly in a friendly and partly in a professional character, a voyage to Virginia. But this Western expedition was soon abandoned, and the disappointed Orientalist again bethought himself, not without a pang of disappointment, of a return to his old professional pursuits in the courts of law. The "rugged" Thurlow was still in office. "I heard last night," says Jones in a letter to Burke, written in February 1783, "that the *θηριον* was to continue in office. "Now, I can assure you from my own personal knowledge, that "although he hates our species in general, yet his particular "hatred is directed against none more virulently than against "Lord North and the friends of the late excellent Marquis."* But in spite of the beast on the woolsack—the "Caliban in power," as Jones elsewhere calls the chancellor, the despairing barrister—thanks to the powerful interest of Lord Ashburton—

* Rockingham.

was soon on his way to Calcutta with a patent of knighthood, an appointment as a judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, and better than all an amiable wife. The next letter bearing his signature, in the collection before us, is dated from Garden Reach. It is of so interesting a character that we need make no excuse for republishing it in its integrity:—

To the Right Honourable Edmund Burke.

Gardens, near Calcutta, April 13, 1784.

My Dear Friend,

No good opportunity of writing to you has been neglected by me; though my letters have been short, as I propose to send you my observations at large on the present state of judicature in this country, and on the most practicable means of improving it; but I shall not have leisure to enlarge on those subjects till the long vacation, which I design to spend on the Ganges, visiting every remarkable place and considerable town on its banks, as high up as my time will allow me to proceed. Of politics you will hear nothing from me, because, as I have often told you, I have nothing to do with them in my judicial character; and as to literature, though I have much to write, yet I have much also to read, and many points to investigate, before I can send you a detail of my remarks and discoveries. I should not, therefore, have written now, merely to say that it is hot in April, or that mango-fish are in season; but a passage in a letter from the Bishop of St. Asaph,* which I have just received, makes me desirous of expostulating a little with you; and I request you to consider my expostulation as friendly, yet serious. You have declared, I find, that "if you *hear* of my *siding* with Hastings, you will do every thing in your power to get me recalled." What! if you *hear it* only!—without examination,—without evidence! Ought you not rather as a friend, who, whilst you reproved me for my ardour of temper, have often praised me for integrity and disinterestedness, to reject any such information with disdain, as improbable and defamatory? Ought you not to know, from your long experience of my principles, that whilst I am a judge I would rather perish than *side* with any man? The charter of justice, indeed (and I am sorry for it), makes me *multilateral*: it gives me an *equity* side, a *law* side, an *ecclesiastical* side, a *crown* side, an *admiralty* side, and—the worst of all—in the case of ordinances and regulations, a *legislative* side; but I neither have, nor will have, nor should any power or allurement on earth give me, a *political* side. As to Hastings, I am pleased with his conversation as a man of taste and a friend to letters. But whether his public conduct be wise or foolish, I shall not, in my present station, examine; and if I should live to mention it after examination in the House of Commons, I shall speak of it as it deserves without extenuation if it be reprehensible, and without fear of any man if I think it laudable. In regard to him and the council in their *collective* capacity, it is my fixed opinion that the court ought in no case to obstruct the operations of Government; and let those at home (if there be such), who would wholly disunite the judicial and executive powers here, be responsible to Britain for the consequences; but such a disunion shall no more take place, if any exertions of mine can prevent it, than an union for any political purpose with the *individual* members of the Government. You see, my dear Burke, that I am not deprecating

* Dr. Jonathan Shipley, whose daughter Sir William Jones married.

your resentment, or intreating you to moderate your thunder against me; for with the shield of justice and truth, I should not fear the most impetuous attack even of an *enemy*, but should use in my defence those weapons which God has given me; and though I had six sides, like a cube, yet, while I had no more, I should always fall, like that firm and regular solid, even and unchanged. It is impossible, therefore, that I can entertain apprehension of a *friend;* and I persuade myself that, if I should be assailed by others (no just provocation, I promise you, shall be given by me), your strongest tide of eloquence will be poured, like Ασσυριον ποταμοιο μελας ῥοος, to defend the fortunes of,

My dear Sir,
Your faithful and affectionate,
W. JONES.

To this letter the editors have appended a foot-note in the following words:—"Doubtless, Mr. Burke never uttered the sentiments here imputed to him." We wish that we could participate in the confidence thus expressed in the erroneous character of the story told by the worthy Bishop of St. Asaph—a story which to us at least has the stamp of probability on the face of it. In a former article* we have shown that Burke exerted himself to obtain the rescision of Sir John Shore's appointment to the governor-generalship, on no other grounds than that the latter was supposed to be a friend of Hastings; and we cannot, therefore, consider it altogether incredible that something of a similar threat escaped the lips of the partisan, with reference to the Bengal judgeship. We believe the asserted fact. There is nothing in the character of Burke, when viewed through an impartial medium, to cause our judgment to reject it. Of the honest manliness of Jones' commentary it is impossible to speak too highly. It becomes the character of the Christian judge. There had been judges before, and there have been judges since this letter was written, who have practically evinced a widely different sense of the nature of judicial obligations.

Though no more than slightly connected with the subject of the present article, we have been unable to resist this brief notice of the letters of Sir William Jones. The correspondence in the volumes before us, between Burke and Francis, is less scanty and more interesting. Whilst making our selections from it, we shall endeavour to give some connected account of the latter. It is worthy of remark that whilst English writers rarely or never speak of this statesman save in terms of respect, in India his name is seldom mentioned without being coupled with some opprobrious epithet. Francis appears to have enjoyed, up to the time of his death, the character of a public

* Calcutta Review, vol. i. Art. "Lord Teignmouth."

man of unimpeachable integrity; and it has since been affirmed —we shall presently show with what degree of truth—that his virtue towered above the mists of cotemporary malice, and that none ventured to aim the darts of calumny at one in all respects so unassailable. It is certain that writers and speakers of the highest repute have borne testimony to his deserts; and it is no pleasant duty to assail the character of the man whom Fox and Burke delighted to honour, and over whom Brougham has pronounced an *éloge*. But the truth must be spoken. Francis would be little known to the present generation, but for his fierce antagonism to Warren Hastings. To India and to Hastings he owes his reputation; for the suspicion of his authorship of a series of clever and scurrilous epistles in a public journal, now often spoken of but rarely perused, would not have rendered him a noticeable man. He owes the place he occupies in the page of history mainly to an accident of the same description, as that which has rendered Sir Hudson Lowe an interesting historical character. Warren Hastings was his Napoleon. There are few of our Indian readers, who have not seen one of the rapacious crows, which in this country are so ubiquitous, carried along on the back of a buffalo, whose hide it is greedily pecking. Cormorant Francis found a thick-hided buffalo to carry him down the stream of time, and render him an object of interest to posterity.

Philip Francis was the son of Dr. Francis, who translated Horace and Demosthenes, wrote a couple of tragedies, which were not very successful, and enjoyed the honour of being concerned in the education of Charles James Fox. His grandfather and great grandfather were Irish deans; and he was descended, on the mother's side, from that Sir Thomas Roe, who came out to India in 1614 as ambassador to the Emperor Jehangire. He was born in Dublin on the 22d of October 1740, and was educated in that city up to his thirteenth year, when he was removed to St. Paul's school, then under the superintendence of Mr. Thicknesse. When only sixteen he obtained, through the interest of Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, a small place in the Secretary of State's office; and two years afterwards (1558) Mr. Pitt (Lord Chatham), on the recommendation of Mr. Robert Wood, obtained for him the appointment of secretary to General Bligh, in which capacity he was present at the capture and destruction of Cherburgh; and, on the occasion of the attack on the rear-guard of the British army at St. Cas, tasted the perils of war without an opportunity of sharing in its honours.* In 1760 he was appointed secre-

* "From mere curiosity, and without arms," it is said, "he was found standing in the ranks when the French approached very near and the firing began."

tary to the Earl of Kurnoul, ambassador to Lisbon — the third situation which he was called upon to fill whilst yet in his minority. In 1763, he obtained a more permanent post, as a clerk in the War Office; and in this department he continued for some nine years, during which he contrived to lay the foundation of his after notoriety. In 1772, he resigned his situation, or perhaps we ought to say he was dismissed from it, in consequence of a disagreement with Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War. With the precise history of this affair we are not acquainted. Lord Barrington appointed Mr. Chamier to the Deputy-Secretaryship. Francis was irritated, disgusted. In all probability, his vanity was wounded, and he conceived that he had been wronged by the promotion of a man whose claims were inferior to his own; but whether he threw up his appointment in disgust, or whether his personal bearing towards his official superior was such as to provoke dismissal, we cannot confidently declare; but the most probable conjecture is that he resigned to escape expulsion. JUNIUS, writing under the signature of VETERAN, on the 23d of March, 1772, says, "I desire you will inform the public that the worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyly out of the War Office, has at last contrived to expel Mr. Francis." Be this as it may, the clerk quitted the War Office, to appear shortly before the world in a more exalted position.

It was during the time of his connexion with the War Office, that Francis wrote the famous letters from which we have here made an extract. We state the fact as one, which in these days few, who have any real acquaintance with the subject, ever venture to doubt. The attempts to disprove Francis's authorship have been signal failures, whilst the evidence heaped up, on the other side, by Brougham, Macaulay and others, is full, satisfactory and conclusive. The main argument brought forward by parties, who are anxious to reject the claims of the War Office clerk, in favour of some more distinguished individual, consists in the fact that JUNIUS assailed Lord Chatham, and the assertion that Francis was deeply indebted to that nobleman and was one of his most enthusiastic admirers.* We wish for the sake of humanity that it were impossible for a man to assail the character of his benefactor—we wish, for the sake of Mr. Francis, that it were impossible that his nature could have permitted such an act. But we believe that men very often assail their benefactors and that of

* Which, however, he was not—Sir P. Francis spoke of him as "a great illustrious *faulty* human being," thus leaving plenty of room to reconcile his censure with his praise.

all men Mr. Francis was the least likely to shrink from the assault. We believe too that JUNIUS, setting aside altogether the question of identity, was capable of any amount of baseness. The writer, who delighted in making age and infirmity his butts; who was never so rampant in his malignity as when the visitations of Providence were the subjects of his discourse; who assailed the reputations of women, with as much rancour as the characters of men—was fully equal to the task of blackening the name of his benefactor, even if the benefactor were his own father. The fact is, however, that Francis was under no very great obligation to Lord Chatham. He had obtained an appointment from the minister; but it was through the instrumentality of another gentleman, and appointments thus bestowed are generally debited by the recipient to the party, on whose account the favour is granted. That Francis publicly eulogised Lord Chatham is true. On that nobleman's death he pronounced that his place could not be filled—and it is said that the younger Pitt never forgave the speech.

But this is no sort of evidence against the identity of Francis with JUNIUS. It is neither impossible nor improbable that a man should write anonymously one thing in 1768, and utter in his own person, another in 1784. We have many modern instances of statesmen changing their opinions of measures, as well as of men, in a much shorter space of time. The only fact with which we are acquainted in any way subversive of Francis' claims is that Woodfall offered the author half the profits of a new and complete edition of the letters and that the offer was declined. But perhaps Francis had not learned thrift at so early a period of life. Men are often generous when they have nothing—and penurious when they have much.

We do not purpose to recapitulate the long list of facts, which have been adduced, to substantiate Mr. Francis's claims to consideration as the author of these remarkable letters. One chapter of the thick volume of evidence would suffice to establish the fact in every reasonable mind. It is inconceivable that any body else should have taken so deep an interest in the minor concerns of the War Office—should have felt so deeply aggrieved by the advancement of Mr. Chamier,* and entertained such strong personal resentment against Lord Barrington. The private letters to Wood-

* Lord Brougham says that Mr. Chamier's "very name had now perished but for this controversy."—But Mr. Chamier was known and esteemed by Burke, Johnson, and others. He was one of the original nine members of Johnson's Club, at the Turk's Head. Sir John Hawkins speaks, in high terms, of his character and acquirements.

fall show the amount of individual interest and animosity, which the appointment of Mr. Chamier had awakened in the writer's breast; and there was no other man living, capable of writing the letters of JUNIUS, who could have been moved to so much anger by measures of such little public importance. The letters, whether public or private, relating to Lord Barrington and Mr. Chamier are obviously not pure emanations of offended political virtue. Nor is it conceivable that any but Francis himself should have entertained so high an opinion of Francis. It is remarkable that in the Preliminary Essay attached to Woodfall's 2d edition (1814,) of the letters, though the claims of several very improbable, and other very insignificant parties are canvassed, no sort of notice, from first to last, is taken of the claims of Sir Philip Francis.* It is not even mentioned that to him, among others, the letters had been attributed by the world.

Upon his removal from the War Office, in 1772, Francis, accompanied by Mr. David Godfrey, betook himself to foreign travel, and visited France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. At the close of the year he returned to England. The times were auspicious. The affairs of the East India Company were then engaging the earnest attention of Government and the country. A reform, and an important one in the Indian administration was contemplated. Parliament had been for some time engaged in the discussion of Eastern affairs, and various measures had been debated in the House. At length in 1773, the Bill well known under the name of the Regulating Act, was passed under the auspices of Lord North's ministry; and three English gentlemen, under this Act, were appointed to take their seats in the Supreme Council, with the view of contracting the power and controlling the excesses of the Indian governors.

A committee of supervision, consisting of Messrs. Vansittart, Scrafton, and Ford had been some time before appointed; but the *Aurora*, wherein these unfortunate gentlemen sailed for India, was never heard of after leaving England. To replace this committee, which had proceeded to Bengal, with full power to regulate and control the Company's affairs, it was designed to appoint another, and the first place was offered to Mr. Burke. Burke declined the honour. "I set it in every light I could "possibly place it," he wrote in a letter dated October 1772, "and after the best deliberation in my power, I came to a resolu- "tion not to accept the offer which was made to me. My family "and friends whom I met in town, had employed their thoughts

* We have little doubt that both the Woodfalls strongly suspected the authorship. The father was a school-fellow of Francis.

"on the same subject, and on talking the matter pretty largely, "concurred in the same opinion. I shall therefore call on Sir "George Colebrooke to-morrow and give him my final answer." Subsequently six gentlemen were nominated at the India House as supervisors—General Monckton, Messrs. Cuming, Devaynes, Lascelles, Wier, and Wheeler; but His Majesty's government refused to confirm the appointment, and a bill was passed restraining the Court from nominating supervisors. Burke opposed this measure. He also opposed the Regulating Act, which early in the following year Lord North carried through the House. Under this Act, the Governor of Bengal was appointed Governor-General of India, with the wholesome restraint of a council of four members, three of whom were to be sent from England; Mr. Barwell, a civil servant of the Company, being appointed the fourth.

Finally, the selection fell on General Clavering, an honest man, with a powerful parliamentary connexion; on Colonel Monson; and, lastly, on Mr. Philip Francis. Francis was then in his thirty-third year—but his judgment was conceived to be more mature than his age; and he was looked upon as the man of business, on whom was to devolve the most active part of the work of the commission—and in respect of the councillor's activity his friends had no cause of complaint. With the secret history, if any, of Francis' appointment to the Supreme Council, we are but imperfectly acquainted. It is known that Lord Barrington, who had been scandalously maligned by JUNIUS, recommended the man, whom he had dismissed from his own department, to Lord North, who was then at the head of the government—but whether Francis owed his nomination to any peculiar fitness for public affairs, which he had evinced at his desk in the War Office; whether the terror inspired by the *Nominis Umbra* of JUNIUS suggested the advantages of his transportation to a distant colony, or whether Burke, to whom a somewhat similar appointment had been offered, exerted himself to obtain the situation for his friend, is no more than matter of conjecture. The appointment was a brilliant one for a young man recently removed from a clerkship, in a public office—but it has been alleged that there was a condition attached to it, which somewhat diminished its value. Francis consented to carry a *rider*. The expression, in these days, may require some explanation. To carry a rider was to submit to the subtraction from the salary attached to an appointment, of a certain part, which went to furnish a pleasant sinecure to some friend of the Minister, who thus contrived at the same time to serve two parties. The sinecurist, drawing a certain part of another man's

official salary, was the *rider*;* and Francis was thus ridden; but of the rider's name and the weight of the incumbrance we do not find any record.

Whether the three members, during their voyage out, met in daily council in the cuddy or on the quarter-deck of the India-man, the safe arrival of which Lord Thurlow, some time afterwards, publicly deplored—whether they varied the tedium of the long passage round the Cape by preparing for action against the Governor-General, whom they pretended to regard as nothing better than a pirate—it is impossible to declare. But it is certain that they entered the Hooghly in a frame of mind well disposed both to give and to take offence. As they neared the batteries of Fort William they were greeted with a salute of seventeen guns. Having calculated, upon what reasonable grounds it is impossible to conjecture, that they would have been received with a royal salute, the new members were highly incensed by this subtraction from their imagined honours. Francis, who had left England in a position to which no one would have touched a hat, was especially incensed. He appears at once to have drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. From that moment he became the bitter unrelenting enemy of Warren Hastings, and strained every muscle, exerted every wile, to drag the great man down from his eminence.

That Francis hated the Governor-General, with a rancour and opposed him with an energy worthy of the active malignity of JUNIUS, is a fact, which in spite of all his protestations, the world is by no means inclined to question. That he hated Hastings because he was Governor-General, we believe to be an equally unquestionable fact. The clerk in the War Office was as envious as he was malignant; and his estimate of his own worth was in proportion to his hatred and contempt of his neighbours. The violent letters, written by JUNIUS, under different signatures, laden with abuse of Lord Barrington, Chamier, and others, were drawn forth by a slight put upon him by the Secretary-at-War. Francis believed that he and he alone was entitled to the Deputyship. Lord Barrington promoted another man. Thus all the most prominent ingredients of his character were called into intense action—envy, malice, resentment, and all the evil spawn of mortified vanity. He hated the man thus promoted; he hated Lord Barrington because his lordship was his official supe-

* Such arrangements are well understood among official men in this country—but the name appears to be obsolete.

rior; and subsequently he hated Warren Hastings because he was Governor-General of India, whilst Philip Francis was but a Member of Council.

With characteristic arrogance and self-reliance, Francis—for he was the moving principle, which regulated the proceedings of Clavering and Monson—lost no time in throwing the gauntlet of defiance at the feet of the Governor-General. Had he spent his whole life in India, intently studying the history, the manners, the laws of the people; the system of British Government in India, the fiscal and judicial regulations of the Company; the nature of all its political relations, and the individual character of all its servants; this hot-brained clerk from the War Office could not have shaped all his measures, with a greater confidence in the extent of his knowledge and the infallibility of his decisions. If Clive was a heaven-born general, Francis was—in his own estimation at least—a heaven-born politician. No sooner had he set his foot on the shores of India, than he leapt at once to the conviction that he was infinitely superior, in respect of all important qualifications, to Hastings and Barwell who had lived, thought, and acted in India, ever since the period of their boyhood. He came out to discover abuses and he found them plenty as blackberries. His own imagination supplied them in every measure which had emanated from the Governor-General. All Hastings' measures were corrupt; all whom he employed, creatures of corruption. The first thing the triad entered upon was the recall of Mr. Middleton, the agent at Lucknow, which so dismayed the Nabob that he burst into tears and trembled with apprehension: and, finding how bitter were the feelings of the council against him and how hopeless his case, fell soon afterwards into a state of disease from which he never recovered. The Rohilla war had furnished Francis with a fine point of attack. No one can deny that it was a vulnerable one. But the triumviri, when they seized the reins of government, by entering into negociations of as questionable morality, showed how little they were really guided by any regard for honesty and justice.

But if there be nothing to be said in favour of Francis' morality, we cannot withhold the tribute due to his activity. His malignity never rested. When not full-armed to meet Hastings in the Council Chamber, irritating with senseless opposition and confounding with presumptuous ignorance the President, who, if ever modern statesman had earned the title of *πολυμητις*, is fairly entitled to the epithet, he was searching for evidence, which in Bengal was, and we fear it must be added *is*,

but another name for perjury; encouraging the revengeful appetites of all whose schemes the Governor-General had baffled; and inciting others with hopes of reward to bring forward their charges against the man whom they thus hated and feared. Under such fostering tuition these crawling things crept from their hiding-places, and secure, as they thought, in the protection of the majority of the Council, put on a bold front, erected their crests and prepared to spit forth their venom. At the head of this brood was Nuncomar.

Of the interesting history of the downfall of this unhappy man, crushed by the weight of his own baseness, we purpose, though the subject be an attractive one, not to write in detail.* Not Hastings and Impey, but Francis and Clavering, were the murderers of the wily native. They worked him up to the pitch of malicious daring, which ended in his destruction; but having done this they could not save him. The writers who tax Francis and Clavering with having abandoned the unfortunate man, who in their behalf had perilled his life, do the councillors a manifest injustice. The Council were powerless to remit the sentence or to reprieve the convict. Probably they had no desire to do either: but had their eagerness to save Nuncomar risen to fever heat, they must still have been contented to see him perish. It has been said that the worst possible use to which we can put a man, is to hang him. It may be questioned whether Philip Francis was of this opinion. At all events, Nuncomar hanged was likely to be of more use to him than Nuncomar living. Serviceable as forged documents and unlimited false swearing may have been, the gibbet on which Nuncomar expiated his crimes was a still more formidable weapon of attack. Francis must have chuckled over the execution of so exalted a victim, delighted to see his enemy commit himself in a manner of all others the best calculated to arouse the indignation of the people of England. Out of the rotting corpse of the perjured Brahmin, as the bees from the carcass of the lion which Samson slew in Timnath, came forth a swarm of witnesses against Hastings, laden with sweetness to the soul of Francis. The living Nuncomar, with all his baseness and subtlety, could not have served his confederates in any way so surely, so effectually, as by dying for them.

* It would be superfluous to refer our readers to Macaulay's masterly Essay on the Life of Warren Hastings, so universally is it known and admired, for a graphic sketch of the career of Nuncomar; but we may take occasion to observe, and it affords us much pleasure to do so, that in Macfarlane's History of "Our Indian Empire," there is more interesting, and in many parts *novel* information, relative to the administration of Hastings, the opposition of the council, and the great trials to which they are afterwards led, than in any work with which we are acquainted.

It is not our intent to follow in detail the history of the great struggle between Hastings and his Council; to show how, week after week, every measure of the Governor-General was opposed by the triad of which Francis was the moving principle; how the affairs of the government were by this malignant opposition thrown into confusion; and how at last Clavering was incited by Francis to make an effort to seize the reins of Government. These things belong, in the first instance, to the history of Warren Hastings, and to record them would be only to repeat what has already been so graphically written in connexion with the life of that statesman. That every unworthy means to gain the ascendancy were resorted to by Francis; that his tools were often of the meanest and most degraded, we believe—but it is true at the same time that he exerted the guile, with which his character was so plentifully imbued, to obtain the assistance of more worthy agents. Among these was Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, who lived to acknowledge that he had conceived a most mistaken estimate of his former friend. In all matters connected with questions of revenue, Francis availed himself of Shore's extensive knowledge and experience, and even employed the well-skilled pen of the civilian to draw up his revenue minutes. Captain Price, in one of his bitter pamphlets, tells an amusing story connected with Francis' reliance on his friend, which our readers may accept or not, just as their inclination leads them. "It happened," says this amusing, but intemperate writer, "that at one time Messrs. Anderson and Ducarrell were out of "Calcutta, and Mr. Hastings knowing that Mr. Shore was the "only man that Mr. Francis had left to assist him in drawing up "minutes, contrived, as it was reported, to order Mr. Shore on an "embassy to the Rajah of Kisnaghur, with whom he had once "resided as collecting chief. Mr. Francis, not having one of his "assistants at hand, fell sick, and could not attend at the Coun-"cil Table, but desired that he might have all minutes sent to "him, and he would consider them and give his opinion at a "future meeting. After Mr. Hastings had laughed at him for "his schoolboy truancy for ten days or a fortnight, he wrote pri-"vately to Mr. Shore to return to Calcutta: This Mr. Shore let "Francis know, and he instantly grew better. This recovery "Mr. Wheler announced at the Council Board. Mr. Hastings "said that he had known as much two days before, adding that "Mr. Shore was coming down. Whether Mr. Wheler compre-"hended the jest or no, I know not: but Mr. Francis after having "taken a few doses of salts, to save appearances by making pale "his visage, returned to his duty."

The history of the events which led to the attempted seizure of the government is well known. Clavering and Francis overreached themselves. The bold spirit of defiance which they threw into all their proceedings roused Hastings to strenuous antagonism; and finally he gained the victory. He was not one to be bullied; and the promptitude and energy with which he acted on this occasion were eminently characteristic of the man. It has been asserted by one who had some opportunities of access to the bureau of the Governor-General, that had Clavering been less insolent and presumptuous, Hastings would have abdicated in his favour. M. Grand, in the "Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long resident in India," gives the following account of the transaction, which, as coming from a cotemporary who was behind the scenes, is of greater interest than the more elaborate narratives of graver historians:—

"Had Sir John Clavering conducted himself with common decency in the triumph which he thought he had obtained, not one friend of Mr. Hastings, nor one member of his family, but was fully persuaded he would readily have abdicated. Instead of sending a conciliatory message to Mr. Hastings, desiring to ascertain his convenience, and, from that moment, trusting all their differences might be buried in oblivion, and testifying his wish and inclination to protect those whom Mr. Hastings respected, scarcely had the General finished the perusal of his despatches, than he peremptorily and bluntly summoned Mr. Hastings to meet him at ten in the morning in Council, and there to deliver over to him the keys of the Treasury and of Fort William. I was then living at a garden house, a short distance from town, with my recent acquired consort, and being in the habit of calling at Mr. Hastings' before I repaired to my office, I met, as I was going up the back stairs, my friend Major William Palmer, then the Governor's Military and Private Secretary. He seemed agitated, and in haste only whispered to me, that he was going into the Fort to secure the obedience of the garrison. I continued ascending the steps, and, entering the room, found Mr. Hastings busily writing with Mr. Bogle, Mr. Sumner, and Captain Roberts, Sir John Clavering's aide-de-camp, who was the bearer of the summons. Palmer soon returned, with the assurance of Colonel James Morgan, then commanding in the Fort, that he neither acknowledged nor should acknowledge, until Mr. Hastings gave him proper notification, any other authority as Governor than Mr. Hastings. The same injunctions had been immediately transmitted to the late Colonel Granger Mure, who commanded at Barrackpore five battalions of Native Sepoys, and from whom the same success of implicit submission was equally expected. This was realized, and Mr. Hastings, confiding in the justice of his cause, and military support, and indignant at Sir John's harsh proceedings, determined to resist the attempt to oust him from the chair, and accordingly directed his revenue secretary, Mr. Sumner, to summon the General and Mr. Francis to meet the Governor and Mr. Barwell, at an ordinary Revenue Council day. With this answer Captain Roberts retired, and at twelve o'clock the divided Government were assembled, the latter in Mr. Sumner's office, and the former two gentlemen in Mr. Auriol's, who was then the chief secretary of Government. Parties began to gather. The Governor's body guard was doubled, and some apprehension arose of a civil commotion.

In this temper, and after some messages and conferences from the two Boards, it was at length agreed to call in the assistance and interposition of his Majesty's judges, and to submit to their reference and decision the act of resignation, the subsequent nominations, and the proceedings which had occurred in consequence; the respective parties, viz., the Governor and Mr. Barwell, and, *vice versâ*, Sir John Clavering and Mr. Francis, pledging themselves authentically and solemnly, in the presence of the judges, to abide by the issue.

"The judges were convened to meet in the evening at the Chief Justice's house, Sir Elijah Impey's, and gentlemen were requested to attend on the part of each member of Government; Sir John D'Oyly and Major Palmer were present for Mr. Hastings; Mr. Addison for Sir John Clavering; Mr. Cator for Mr. Barwell; and the present Sir George Shee for Mr. Francis.—During the time the judges were closeted, intent on conferring, resolving, and having their opinions transcribed, we partook of a gay pleasant supper with Lady Impey, who retired not from table till two in the morning. We had two hours to await; at length the clock struck four, and, at that moment, the doors opened, and two packets were given to the respective attendants. I accompanied my friends down stairs; and having had it whispered in my ear that the judges had pronounced unanimously in Mr. Hastings' favour, I went home and resigned myself comfortably to that rest, which the state of previous anxiety I had endured so necessarily required."

The very discreditable history of the seduction of Madame Grand, to which the above extract naturally introduces us, it is impossible to pass over in silence. It is not merely a domestic episode in the life of Francis, for the consequences must greatly have sharpened the edge of his bitter resentment against Impey. Madame Grand was a very young and a very charming French woman. Her picture, painted by Zoffani, now adorns the walls of Mr. Marshman's residence at Serampore. There is more of feminine softness than of strength of character in her fair countenance; the sensual prevails everywhere over the intellectual. She was a Miss Werleé, "daughter of Monsieur Werleé, Capitaine du Port and Chevelier de Saint Louis;" and her union with M. Grand is alleged to have been "pure and disinterested, and blessed with the sincerest attachment." But they had not been married a year before Francis marked her as his victim, and soon M. Grand discovered that he was the most miserable of men. We shall allow the afflicted husband to tell the story of his humiliation in his own words:—

"Here I must pause a little, to call my reader's attention to contemplate the instability of human happiness! On the 8th of December 1778, I went out of my house, about nine o'clock, the happiest, as I thought myself, of men, and between eleven and twelve o'clock returned the same night to it as miserable as any being could well feel. I left it, prepossessed with a sense that I was blessed with the most beautiful as well as the most virtuous of wives, ourselves honoured and respected, moving in the first circles, and having every prospect of speedy advancement. Scarcely had I sat down to supper at my benefactor, Mr. Barwell's society, who required of his friends to join

him every fortnight at this convivial meeting, than I was suddenly struck with the deepest anguish and pain. A servant, who was in the habit of attending Mrs. Grand, came and whispered to me that Mr. Francis was caught in my house, and secured by my Jemmadar (an upper servant exercising a certain authority over other servants). I rose up from table, ran to the terrace, where grief, by a flood of tears, relieved itself for a moment—I then sent for a friend out, who I requested to accompany me, but the rank of the party, and the known attachment which, I was well aware, he held to him, however he execrated his guilty action, pleaded his excuse with me. I collected myself, so much as circumstances would admit, and despatched the servant to acquaint the Jemmadar I was coming. In my way, I thought proper to call on my friend Major Palmer, and request the use of his sword, and to attend me as a friend; the purpose which I had in view being to have released Mr. Francis, and seeing him out of my premises, compelled him to have measured himself with me, until one of us fell. Palmer approved of my determination, and we repaired to the spot. The porter, hearing my voice, opened the gate, and in my lower apartments my friend and I beheld with astonishment the present Sir George Shee, bound to a chair, and endeavouring to obtain from my servants his release, with Mr. Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, and the late Mr. Archdekin, companions to him, joining in the same prayer and entreaty. He complained of having been cruelly treated by them. My Jemmadar, on the contrary, told a plain tale. It was, that he had secured Mr. Francis, to meet the vengeance of his master, until Mr. Shee, assisted by the other gentlemen, upon a loud whistle, sounded by Mr. Francis, had scaled the walls of my compound, rushed furiously on him, and, in the scuffle, occasioned Mr. Francis to escape. I asked Mr. Shee and his comrades, in the presence of Mr. Palmer, if they had seen Mr. Francis and contributed to his rescue; but finding I could only draw from them evasive answers, with a declaration that, what had actuated their coming was Mr. Shee's running over to Mr. Ducarel's house, which was opposite, in which they lodged, loudly calling for their aid, to prevent their friend Mr. Francis being murdered, they had, between a state of sleeping and waking, ran forward, without considering what they were doing. I ordered, in consequence, their release, and, leaving my house to the care of my faithful Jemmadar and servants, I retired to Major Palmer's.

"Seated on a chair, borne down with the deepest grief, I anxiously awaited the morning, to require, from the undoer of my happiness, the satisfaction which the laws of honour prescribe, as a poor relief to the injury committed I wrote to Mr. Francis, that, void of every spark of principle and honour as I deemed him, still, I trusted he would not deny me the meeting, which I summoned him to immediately, with any friend whom he might choose to bring. His reply was laconic and easy. It was couched in these terms: 'That, conscious of having done me no injury, and that I laboured under a complete mistake, he begged leave to decline the proposed invitation, and that he had the honour to remain my most obedient, &c. &c.'

"I now returned home, sent for Mrs. Grand's sister and brother-in-law from Chandernagore, occupied the lower apartments of my house, whilst Mrs. Grand remained in the upper, and on the Sunday following everything was arranged for Mrs. Grand's returning with them, to live under their mansion and protection, myself contributing what was requisite for her support, independent of the monthly allowance which I chose to allot to her own disposal. An interview was entreated, and could not be denied. It lasted three hours, interrupted with the most poignant lamentations. I heard an

unvarnished relation of the baseness of the arts employed for the seduction of a stranger, and attained only to her sixteenth year. I pitied her from my heart. I sincerely forgave her and with a sorrow approaching to distraction, we parted.

"After the addition of insult to injury, which I had suffered by Mr. Francis' reply, a course of law alone remained open to identify the person and punish the crime. This I had recourse to, not without experiencing great difficulty, most of the complaisant Advocates of the Supreme Court having either been retained by him or intimidated from acting. At length I succeeded with one who brought the process to a successful issue. By the testimony of Mr. Shee, Mr. Archdekin, and others, the trespass was fully proved, and the trespasser was condemned by the bench of judges in damages of fifty thousand sicca rupees, with costs of suit.

"Mr. Shee, the principal witness, on whose evidence every hope of crimination rested, had been induced to abscond, in the reliance which was placed that he would thereby evade the jurisdiction, and save his *noble* patron from the disgraceful exposure and consequences which naturally followed; and not until the bench had pronounced such contumely conduct liable to corporal punishment did he return, when the subpœna was regularly served on him, and most unwillingly was he compelled to appear before their tribunal. In the course of his examination, it was extorted from him and others that he had lent his apartments for Mr. Francis to dress in black clothes to visit Mrs. Grand, at ten o'clock at night, accompanied with a ladder, ingeniously constructed under Mr. Shee's superintendence, cut and framed out of a large split bamboo, which they applied to the walls of the compound for Mr. Francis' convenience to ascend; and as some dread was entertained he might be interrupted in his villanous design, it was preconcerted that Mr. Shee, and others of his adherents and supporters in iniquity, should patrole around the house, in order to be within call of lending their assistance, in the event of their hearing the sound of the whistle, with which their patron had provided himself. To facilitate this means of aid, it was settled between them that the ladder should remain, and from this resolution, unfortunate on their part, issued the discovery. My Hukahburder coming to the chest which stood in a passage through which Mr. Francis had been obliged to pass, observed the ladder resting on the wall, and frightened, he withdrew, and communicated his apprehensions to the Jemmadar, and other servants in the back court-yard, of thieves having got in to rob the house. In this conference they resolved, as the best means of detecting the offenders, and prevent their carrying away the spoil, to pull the ladder in, and arm and post themselves by the door, ready to seize the first person attempting to come out. In this manner did my Jemmadar grasp Mr. Francis, who in vain offered for his ladder and release plenty of *gold mohurs*, which, it was established in evidence during the trial, he had furnished himself and carried loose in his pocket for the insidious purpose of bribing a gentleman's servant, if the emergency existed. Equally was it adduced, that he had been lavish in his promises of promoting my Jemmadar, proclaiming the high rank which he was vested with, and his certainty of succeeding to be Governor-General.

"But all his efforts of gold tendered, and promised favour, could not shake or corrupt the fidelity of the honest Rajapoot (a sect next to the Brahmins, and as remarkable for bravery as for attachment to those they serve), who, persisting to detain him until his master came home, reduced Mr. Francis to the shift of effecting his enlargement, by having recourse to the scene which I have above described."

There are features of uncommon ugliness in this case. At a time when morality in England was lax, and in India still laxer; when gallantry in the chamber was looked upon as a characteristic of a gentleman almost as ennobling as gallantry in the field—even a statesman might swerve from the path of moral duty without consigning himself to infamy. But here we see a man of mature years deliberately addressing himself to the seduction of a young wife of sixteen; then coolly denying his guilt, and refusing to the injured husband the "satisfaction" which worldly men think it honourable to grant, and which, when it suited his purpose, Francis himself knew how to demand. But without human intervention, Retribution ever dogs the heels of crime, and often assumes the guise most terrible to the offender. Grand brought an action against Francis in the Supreme Court, and the defendant was cast in damages to the amount of 50,000 rupees. The judges were Impey, Hyde, and Chambers. It is said that Hyde was desirous to fix the damages at a lakh of rupees. Chambers* thought that no damages should be given; but finding himself in the minority named 30,000 rupees. Impey took a middle course and fixed 50,000 rupees, which was the verdict of the Court. Hyde, determined that the damages should be as high as possible, interrupted Impey, as he was declaring the verdict, by crying out, "*Siccas*, brother Impey—siccas." Accordingly the verdict was fixed at 50,000 sicca rupees.

* Chambers' opinion runs as follows: we take it from *Hickey's Gazette* for February 1781, shortly after Francis left Bengal. The damages are here stated at 60,000 rupees; but M. Grand, in his "Narrative," says 50,000 rupees, and his testimony must be deemed conclusive:—

Sir Robert Chambers' Opinion, or Protest, in the cause of Grand versus Francis, for crim. con., and for which the gentleman was fined the moderate sum of sixty thousand rupees.

I am fully of opinion that the charge in the plaint is not proved—

1st. Because it appears to me that there is no proof, either positive or circumstantial, that Mrs. Grand knew of, or previously consented to his, Mr. Francis, coming for any purpose, much less for the purpose of *adultery*.

2nd. Because there is no *proof*, either *direct* or founded on violent *presumption*, that they were actually together; much less was there any proof that they committed any crime together.

3rd. Because the evidence appears to me to fall *short* of what is ordinarily considered as proof of *any fact*, and especially of any *crime*.

4th. Because it falls exceedingly short of what our common law considers as *proof of adultery*.

And, lastly, Because *I have never read or heard* of any action for *crim. con.* in which a verdict has been given for the *plaintiff* on such *presumptions* of guilt.

N. B.—Sir Robert Chambers held the distinguished post of Vinerian Professor at Oxford, when he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court; and Sir Elijah Impey was council on the side of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland and Lady Grosvenor in that memorable crim. con. affair.—*Hickey*.

Mr. McFarlane, in his History of "Our Indian Empire," has published what follows in the form of a note—

"If the stories told by the Parisians of Madame Talleyrand, Princess of Benevento—whom by the way they call Madame Grant, and not Madame le Grand—be true, the lady's accomplishments were not of a literary kind. Madame le Grand was a native of Pondicherry; Monsieur, her husband, was a Swiss. He lost his fortune, including Francis's sicca rupees; and, at the peace of Amiens, went over to Paris to seek a new one, or to solicit a place under Napoleon's government, through the patronage of his ex-wife and M. de Talleyrand! What followed was a *tour d'adresse* worthy of the great master Talleyrand. He was sent out as governor to Batavia, but *without proper credentials*, and was disclaimed at the seat of government! He resented this treatment by writing a libel on Madame la Princesse, who bought up and destroyed the few copies that were printed. The end of M. le Grand we know not; but for the humanity of Talleyrand it might be very well fancied he ended his days in Finistrelle, or some other fortress, as a state prisoner. It appears that, during his stay in India, Francis lost his own wife by death; and Lord Byron somewhere mentions a letter written by the unloving husband, while her dead body was yet in the house, that struck him with horror."

It would be difficult to find a passage of equal length, in any history, more full of errors than this.—M. Grand visited Paris in 1802, but saw, during his visit, neither M. Talleyrand nor the "Princesse." He obtained an appointment, it is true—not, however, to Batavia, but to the Cape of Good Hope. His appointment was that of "Privy Councillor to the Government of the Cape of Good Hope." He was not appointed by Talleyrand, but by an "Assembly of the States." He was not "disclaimed at the seat of Government," but acted in the situation to which he had been appointed until the colony became a British one and the occupation of the States was gone. There having been no ill-treatment to resent, the libel on Madame la Princesse was not written; but in 1814, M. Grand, who had by this time taken another and better wife, in whose society he enjoyed many years of happiness, published at the Cape of Good Hope a work, which Mr. McFarlane has obviously not seen, entitled "A Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long resident in India"—the work, which we have above quoted—wherein the frailty of Francis' victim is alluded to with much delicacy and forbearance. As regards the last story, we have only to observe that Mrs. Francis did not die, and we can find no record of her having lived in India. The date of her death we have not ascertained; but that she was living in 1787 we have the best possible evidence. Francis did, however, outlive her, and in extreme old age married a young woman.

In the month of August 1777, General Clavering died.* Col.

* Captain Price says:—"Disappointment had soured his mind, and torn to pieces his constitution. He broke out in boils all over his body; and in the

Monson had some time earlier fallen a victim to the climate. Mr. Wheler, who had been appointed to succeed Clavering on the expected accession of that officer to the Governor-Generalship, when the conditional resignation of Hastings had been sent in to the India House, had now arrived at Calcutta and arrayed himself on the side of Francis.* But the Governor-General was now in reality Governor-General. His casting vote rendered him supreme; and when soon afterwards Sir Eyre Coote, who had been appointed to succeed General Clavering as Commander-in-Chief, with a seat in Council, joined the Government, the power of the Governor-General was but little affected, for Coote, though he was not a partisan of either party, was rarely to be found in opposition to Hastings. Taking advantage of the lull in the storm of faction, Barwell, who had amassed a princely fortune, and who had long been anxious to return to England, resigned his seat and embarked. To render this movement less inconvenient than otherwise it might have been, Hastings and Francis entered into an arrangement, by which it was thought possible that all subsequent collisions might be avoided. Indeed, but for this arrangement, Barwell would have foregone his cherished wish to return to Europe, and continued, at any sacrifice of private feeling, to support the Governor-General. The treaty, hollow as it proved to be, removed the only obstacle, and Barwell turned his back upon the scene of strife.

The compact between the two antagonists was this—Francis had long complained that the Governor-General grasped at the whole of the immense patronage of the country. In these days, a Member of Council does not conceive that he has any title to share in the distribution of the loaves and fishes at the disposal of Government. Francis, however, thought otherwise. He complained bitterly that he had no power to serve his friends—nay more, that his countenance was injurious to those whom he most desired to assist. We do not believe the complaint to have been founded in justice;† but Francis, who always entertained an

searching and trying month of August fell a sacrifice to violence, obstinacy, and misinformation, leaving, in legacy to his friend Mr. Francis, his enmity to Governor-General Hastings, whom he could not forgive, because he had been most cruelly injured."

* Macaulay says, somewhat loosely, that Wheler "came out expecting to be Governor-General;" the truth is he came out to succeed Clavering in council, but before he sailed, intelligence of Monson's death was received, and he succeeded to that vacancy. Captain Price says, he hastened back from Portsmouth to get the business settled somewhat more securely, as he thought the other vacancy might not arise.

† Hastings, it is certain, made on his side a similar complaint:—"Your colleagues (in the court)," he writes to Sullivan, "have been so much habituated to

immoderate sense of his own claims and who never knew what it was to be contented, often on these grounds expressed his dissatisfaction. In a more advanced stage of our article, we shall notice this point with greater fulness. Be the matter as it may, in its general bearings, Hastings, on the occasion to which we now refer, consented so far to do a violence to his own feelings as to restore to the situations which they had formerly held Messrs. Fowke* and Bristow, whom he had previously removed. Against these gentlemen all his personal feelings were strongly arrayed. So resolute was he, indeed, in his animosity, or so firm was his conviction of the justice of his measures, that he had disregarded the recommendations of the Court of Directors in behalf of the removed officials. In either case, the sacrifice of personal feeling must have been great. But more than this, Hastings agreed to rescind the measures taken against Mahomed Reza Khan, and to carry out the wishes of the Court, in his case, as in that of the European gentlemen. Accordingly, Messrs. Fowke and Bristow† were restored to their old appointments, and Mahomed Reza Khan again exalted to his old eminence at the Court of the Oude Nabob. These concessions must have cost Hastings many a pang. It was a sacrifice, and not the first, which he had made at the altar of expediency; but the blood was poured out in vain. Hastings was engaged in a great and important work; the times were critical, and the factious opposition of Francis at such a juncture

pass their sentence on my actions, and to discountenance those to whom I have shown any degree of confidence, &c. &c. Such is the treatment which I have experienced with respect to Elliot, Bogle, Belli, R. Sumner, and Sir J. D'Oyly,—men of eminent merit, and universally respected, but unfortunately known to have attached themselves to me." It is curious to observe how these and many other names have been perpetuated in the Indian services.

* We do not precisely know the nature of the connexion between Francis and the Fowkes, but the intimacy appears to have been close. It would be interesting to trace the link of alliance, and to ascertain at the same time what relationship, if any, existed between the two Fowkes in the Indian service, and General Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, and was, it is alleged, sacrificed by Lord Barrington when Secretary-at-war. Fowke followed instructions from the War-office which nearly induced a serious disaster, and was persuaded, by certain promises of protection from the secretary, to father the error committed. There are several allusions to this matter in letters written by Francis, couched in such a strain as to lead us to believe that the writer had something more than a public interest in the transaction. The connexion of the name of Fowke, both with Junius and Francis, seems to furnish a link in the great chain of evidence which establishes the identity of the two.

† Hastings cordially hated and despised Bristow. In one of his letters he writes:—"The wretch Bristowe is gone to Lucknow. If he attempts to do mischief there I will recall him. For God's sake! help to rid me of so unworthy an antagonist." In the same letter, written in 1780, he says:—"I hope to effect the removal of Fowke from Benares with his own acquiescence."

might have precipitated an alarming failure. He deemed it, therefore, a prudent step to purchase the quiescence of his enemy. Francis stipulated, that, on his part, he would cease from opposing the measures which the Governor-General had designed for the prosecution of the war with the Mahrattas. But the truce was the hollowest of the hollow. Hastings relied upon the good faith of his enemy, and was cruelly disappointed. Francis did not remain neutral—it was not in his nature to do so; the opposition to the war was renewed; and Hastings, exasperated by the perfidy of his opponent, publicly taxed him with dishonesty. "I do not," he wrote in a reply to Francis's minute on the 14th of July 1780, "trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is "incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, "which I have found to be void of truth and honour." The minute containing this remark, which it is impossible to justify, for in a public document all allusion to private conduct was unwarrantable and indecent, Hastings enclosed in a note to his opponent. On the following day, after council, Francis requested the Governor-General to withdraw with him into a private room, where he took from his pocket a challenge and read it aloud to Hastings. The challenge was accepted. The time and place of meeting were duly settled; and soon after daybreak on the morning of the 17th, in one of the wooded fields of umbrageous Allipore, Hastings and Francis met to bring to an issue, with weapons of death, the fierce contest, which for many years had raged between them with unmitigated rancour. Hastings was attended by the Commandant of Artillery; Francis by the Chief Engineer. At the first fire, the contents of Hastings's pistol passed through the body of his antagonist. A minute account of this famous duel, drawn up by Colonel Pearse, is on record, and we cannot do better than embody it in this paper:—

To Lawrence Sullivan, Esq.

Sir, *Fort William, 4th October*, 1780.

On the present occasion I shall less apologize for troubling you than I should on any other, because it seems to me necessary that you should be informed of the particulars of a transaction that has passed here, and which will make some noise at home. I mean a duel between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis, on which occasion I was one of the seconds, and therefore am fully acquainted with the particulars which I shall relate as concisely as the nature of the subject will allow me.

Late in the evening of the 15th August, I received a note from Mr. Hastings, desiring me to be with him next morning at breakfast; in consequence of which I waited upon him. He introduced the subject of business by desiring me to give him my word of honour not to mention it till he should

give me permission. Of course I gave it, and he then informed me that in consequence of a minute he had given in, Mr. Francis had challenged him on the preceding day; that they had then agreed to meet on Thursday morning about half-past five near Belvidere, and he asked me to be his second.

The next morning, Thursday the 17th August, I waited on Mr. Hastings in my chariot to carry him to the place of appointment. When we arrived there we found Mr. Francis and Col. Watson walking together, and therefore soon after we alighted, I looked at my watch and mentioned aloud that it was half-past five, and Mr. Francis looked at his and said it was near six; this induced me to tell him that my watch was set by my astronomical clock to solar time.

The place they were at was very improper for the business; it was the road leading to Allipore, at the crossing of it through a double row of trees that formerly had been a walk of Belvidere garden, on the western side of the house. Whilst Col. Watson went by the desire of Mr. Francis to fetch his pistols, that gentleman proposed to go aside from the road into the walk; but Mr. Hastings disapproved of the place because it was full of weeds and dark: the road itself was next mentioned, but was thought by every body too public, as it was near riding time and people might want to pass that way; it was therefore agreed to walk towards Mr. Barwell's house on an old road that separated his ground from Belvidere, and before he had gone far, a retired dry spot was chosen as a proper place.

As soon as this was settled I proceeded to load Mr. Hastings's pistols; those of Mr. Francis were already loaded; when I had delivered one to Mr. Hastings, and Col. Watson had done the same to Mr. Francis, finding the gentlemen were both unacquainted with the modes usually observed on those occasions, I took the liberty to tell them that if they would fix their distance it was the business of the seconds to measure it. Lieut.-Col. Watson immediately mentioned that Fox and Adam had taken fourteen paces, and he recommended that distance. Mr. Hastings observed it was a great distance for pistols; but as no actual objection was made to it Watson measured and I counted. When the gentlemen had got to their ground, Mr. Hastings asked Mr. Francis if he stood before the line or behind it, and being told behind the mark, he said he would do the same, and immediately took his stand. I then told them it was a rule that neither of them were to quit their ground until they had discharged their pistols, and Col. Watson proposed that both should fire together without taking any advantage. Mr. Hastings asked, if he meant they ought to fire by word of command, and was told he only meant they should fire together, as nearly as could be. These preliminaries were all agreed to, and both parties presented; but Mr. Francis raised his hand and again came down to his present; he did so a second time; when he came to his present, which was the third time of doing so, he drew his trigger; but his powder being damp, the pistol did not fire. Mr. Hastings came down from his present to give Mr. Francis time to rectify his priming, and this was done out of a cartridge with which I supplied him upon finding they had no spare powder.

Again the gentlemen took their stands, both presented together, and Mr. Francis fired; Mr. Hastings did the same at the distance of time equal to the counting of one, two, three distinctly, but not greater. His shot took place; Mr. Francis staggered; and in attempting to sit down he fell, and said he was a dead man. Mr. Hastings hearing this cried out, 'Good God! I hope not,' and immediately went up to him, as did Col. Watson; but I ran to call the servants, and to order a sheet to be brought to bind up the wound; I was absent about two minutes; on my return I found Mr. Hastings standing

by Mr. Francis, but Col. Watson was gone to fetch a cot or palanquin from Belvidere to carry him to town.

When the sheet was brought, Mr. Hastings and myself bound it round his body; and we had the satisfaction to find it was not in a vital part, and Mr. Francis agreed with me in opinion as soon as it was mentioned. I offered to attend him to town in my carriage, and Mr. Hastings urged him to go, as my carriage was remarkably easy. Mr. Francis agreed to go, and therefore, when the cot came, we proceeded towards the chariot, but were stopped by a deep broad ditch over which we could not carry the cot; for this reason Mr. Francis was conveyed to Belvidere, attended by Col. Watson, and we went to town to send assistance to meet him; but he had been prevailed on to accept a room at Belvidere, and there the surgeons, Dr. Campbell, the principal, and Dr. Francis the governor's own surgeon, found him. When Dr. Francis returned, he informed the governor that the wound was not mortal, that the ball had struck just behind the bend of the right ribs and passed between the flesh and the bone to the opposite side from whence it had been extracted.

Whilst Mr. Francis was lying on the ground, he told Mr. Hastings, in consequence of something which he said, that he best knew how it affected his affairs, and that he had better take care of himself, to which Mr. Hastings answered, that he hoped and believed the wound was not mortal, but that if any unfortunate accident should happen, it was his intention immediately to surrender himself to the sheriff.

Concerning the subject of the quarrel, not a word passed. Had the seconds been ignorant of the cause of the duel before they went into the field, they must have remained so. No other conversation passed between the principals or the seconds besides what I have related, unless the usual compliments of good-morrow at meeting, or Mr. Francis admiring the beauty of Mr. Hastings's pistols when I took them out, deserve to be noticed. When the pistols were delivered by the seconds, Mr. Francis said he was quite unacquainted with these matters, and had never fired a pistol in his life, and Mr. Hastings told him he believed he had no advantage in that respect, as he could not recollect that he had ever fired a pistol above once or twice; this it was that induced me to say what I have before mentioned about the rules to be observed.

Though what I have written may appear rather prolix, yet I had rather bear the imputation of dwelling too long upon the less important parts of the narrative than leave the world room to put in a word that did not pass. If, therefore, any reports different from what I have related should circulate, and you should think them worth contradiction, I hope you will not scruple to use this letter for that purpose.

Both parties behaved as became gentlemen of their high rank and station. Mr. Hastings seemed to be in a state of such perfect tranquillity that a spectator would not have supposed that he was about an action out of the common course of things; and Mr. Francis's deportment was such as did honour to his firmness and resolution.

As I could not take the liberty of writing so fully on this subject, without acquainting Mr. Hastings of my intention so to do, he knows of my letter; but the letter itself he has not seen, nor any copy of it.

Wishing you every health and prosperity,

I remain, &c. &c. &c.

We have stated, we believe, with fairness the causes of this memorable conflict. That Hastings believed himself duped is certain; that, on the strength of what he believed to be concessions made by Francis, he had consented to arrangements extremely painful to himself is equally certain. It is certain that Barwell regarded the character of the compact in the same light as that in which it was viewed by Hastings, for he left the country fully assured that Francis had been drawn off from his prey; and but for such assurance would have remained in India. These are admitted facts. In our own opinion, it is equally certain that Francis could not have so misunderstood the character of the compact, which Hastings desired and intended to enter into, as to believe that the Governor-General had made a painful sacrifice without purposing to ensure any corresponding advantages from the covenant. Hastings, whatever other qualities he may have wanted, did not lack consummate policy; he was gifted with an Ulyssean sagacity and fertility of resource—and no one knew this better than Francis. The Governor-General was not a man to stake much with the prospect of gaining little. He was not one to make unprofitable bargains—to purchase a thing at a price a hundredfold greater than its worth. Francis must have known this. Hastings positively declared that Francis had consented "not to oppose any measures which the Governor-General shall recommend for the prosecution of the war, in which we are supposed to be engaged with the Mahrattas, or the general support of the present political system of his Government." He had bid high for the quiescence of his enemy; but, unfortunately, he had omitted to obtain the signature of Francis to the agreement. The covenant was in effect a verbal one; and Francis denied that he had ever consented to the terms, which the Governor-General charged him with violating. He said that he had only pledged himself not to oppose certain specific phases of the Mahratta war; but it is impossible to give him credit for the belief that such a man as Hastings would have paid so dearly for what was scarcely worth the possession. The Governor-General would not have fanged the tiger and omitted to extract his claws. Nay, the folly, with which, if we are to believe Francis, Hastings was chargeable, was worse than that of extracting the claws from one foot of the tiger, leaving them untouched on the other three, and all his cruel fangs still firmly fixed in his jaws. In the absence of proof, we can but betake ourselves to presumption; and what reasonable man will doubt that the presumption against Francis is strong almost to conviction?

That Hastings, on discovering the perfidy of his opponent, adopted a course, which however natural in the man was wholly unjustifiable in the Governor, his greatest admirers must be forced to concede. Such a charge as he flung in the face of Francis—such a charge of private baseness contained in a public document—can meet with no defenders among right-minded and reasonable men. The consequences of so glaring an impropriety were what might have been anticipated. One departure from rectitude seldom fails to induce another. Looking at the matter, with mere conventional eyes, it is plain that Hastings having sunk the Governor in the man, by grossly insulting a Member of his Council, in his private capacity, was bound, when called upon to offer reparation, to sink the Governor a second time, and to meet his opponent as a man.* The duel was but a necessary sequence of the insult. By insulting Francis, the Governor-General had placed himself in such a position that he could not refuse to give his opponent the satisfaction which the conventional code of honour demanded; for to have sheltered himself behind his official rank would have been to have claimed the dastardly privilege of insulting his enemies with impunity—of descending from his eminence to outrage and to wound, and to ascend it again to escape from retaliation. Hastings felt that he had placed himself on a level with his antagonist, and that he was bound, therefore, to admit the equality, until he had earned the right of re-assuming the dignity of the Governor.

The wound which Francis received was not mortal; nor does it appear to have permanently affected his health; but a few months after the duel—in December 1780, he withdrew from the scene of strife to meet his enemy ere long upon another arena. With what delight Hastings contemplated the departure of his antagonist, it would be easy to conjecture, if he had not himself recorded his feelings—"Mr. Francis," he wrote in November, 1780, "has announced his intention to leave us, and had engaged "his passage in a Dutch ship, which I since hear he has left for "one in the *Fox*. His departure may be considered as the "close of one complete period of my political life, and the

* We must be distinctly understood to have put the matter, designedly, merely in its conventional light,—treating the one act of misconduct with reference to its connexion with the other, and judging it by the same standard whereby it was judged by those whom it affected, irrespective of the general question (if question there can be) of the absurd and abominable practice of duelling. If our readers would desire to see a strong contrast betweeu the character and conduct of two men, placed in similar circumstances, we would recommend them to look for it in the Lives of Lord Macartney and Lord Teignmouth.

" beginning of a new one. After a conflict of six years I may " enjoy the triumph of a decided victory!"—And again, " . . . . Yet " though I have not the fairest prospect before me, Mr. Francis's " retreat will certainly remove the worst appearances of it; I shall " have no competitor to oppose my designs: to encourage disobe- " dience to my authority; to write circular letters, with copies " of instruments from the Court of Directors, proclaiming their " distrust of me, and denouncing my removal; to excite and " foment popular odium against me; to urge me to acts of " severity, and then abandon and oppose me; to keep alive the " expectation of impending changes; to teach foreign states to " counteract me, and deter them from forming connexions with " me. I have neither his emissaries in office to thwart me from " system, nor my own dependents to presume on the rights of " attachment. In a word, I have power" . . . . And in a postscript to this letter, dated the 2d of December, Hastings adds, " Mr. " Francis departs to-morrow. He has replied to my minute of " 3d of July: I have answered him. He has written a third, " and I have rejoined to that. He has made a surrejoinder, as " I am told, which I suppose he will present at parting, and I " suppose that will be the last, for he can say nothing new." The last it was on that stage; but *cælum non animum mutat.* The malignity of Francis was as bitter, and his energy as untiring in the fogs of London, as beneath the bright sun of Bengal.

The vessel in which Francis sailed having been detained for some time at St. Helena, he did not reach England before November 1781. He was received by the King and the Queen with " that gracious condescension natural to them both," and Francis mistaking their habitual kindness and condescension for a mark of peculiar favour towards himself, drew from this gracious reception at Court a pleasing picture of the prospects before him. It was not long before he appeared before the Court of Directors, eager to make his report of the condition in which he left affairs in the East. His reception here was not all that he desired, but he was permitted to deliver in a memorial, in which, as may readily be conceived, he drew a terrible picture of disorder and misrule. By society in general he was received with marked discourtesy. It has been said of him that on returning to England, the only personages who did not turn their backs upon him, were the King and Mr. Burke.

But the resolution of Francis was unshaken. He renewed his work with unimpaired energy. Rejecting no weapons of attack, discarding no sort of co-adjuvancy, he allied himself with men of all classes—with the highest intellects of the age, or with base

grovelling creatures, the scum of the earth—no one too low for the countenance, if not the friendship of the ex-councillor, so long as he was prepared to cast a stone, or to spit his venom at the Governor-General. Among these creeping things was one Mackintosh, son of a Scotch planter by a French Creole,* who is said to have been a friend and fellow-labourer of the notorious Colonel Macleane. Francis appears to have patronised this man in India, and to have helped him to write a book entitled "Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, &c.," which abounds in the most virulent abuse of Hastings, the most preposterous commendation of Francis, and the most ingenious perversion of facts. This book made its appearance in London about the time of Francis's return to England; and was, no doubt, concocted in Calcutta before his departure. The book was evidently a gross imposition; and its true character was exposed, shortly after its publication, by Captain Price, who did not hesitate to accuse Francis of having written a considerable part of it. Nor was this the only literary emanation from the same impure source. Works of less bulk and importance, and frequent letters in the public journals, under the signatures of *Junius Asiaticus*, *Philo-Junius-Asiaticus*, &c., bore witness to the zeal and activity of the tools of the ex-councillor. Mackintosh appears to have been a miniature Francis—quite as reckless, quite as malignant, and almost as self-sufficient. Francis had not been a week in India before he thought and acted as though he knew more about the affairs of India than any man in the country. Mackintosh seems to have been of the same opinion, though, perhaps, he made a reservation in favour of his patron. Price tells us that he brought the fellow round from Madras, and that when they were coming up the river, he "*would be meddling with and directing the pilot.*" This was thoroughly *Franciscan*. Francis, too, began to meddle with and direct the pilot before he had well got his foot on board.†

* Mr. Macfarlane, in his history of "Our Indian Empire," expresses a belief that no such person as Mackintosh ever existed. "The name of Mackintosh," he says, "which does not appear on the title-page, is clearly a *nom-de-guerre*. No such Mackintosh was ever heard of after the publication of the work." This is a mistake. Captain Price, whose pamphlets attained to a second edition, in a tract, entitled, "Some Observations and Remarks on a late Publication entitled 'Travels in Europe, Asia, and America,' in which the real author of that new and curious Atalantis, his character and abilities are fully made known to the public," gives a full and particular account of Mackintosh. He describes him as "a swarthy and ill-looking man as is to be seen on the Portuguese walk on the Royal Exchange."

† Price tells us an amusing anecdote illustrative of Mackintosh's character, which on other accounts is worth quoting:—"I remember that on my going in "the Christmas-week, in the year 1779, to the house of Mr. Shore, to read and

But Francis would have achieved little if he had formed no other alliances than those into which he entered with such base creatures as Mackintosh. If among his collaborateurs were the lowest of the low, it must be conceded that he was fortunate enough to be united with some of the most eminent men of the age. Among his fellow-workmen were to be found the very antitheses of human society—a Mackintosh on one side; a Burke on the other. That Burke, who had been acquainted with Francis before the departure of the latter for India, had no very clear insight into his character, and that he allowed himself somewhat too readily to be deceived by the specious representations of his friends, are facts, which the admirers of that great man have no inclination to dispute. But that, like his associate, he was influenced by personal animosity, in his vigorous proceedings against Hastings, few, if any of his enemies are, at this time, willing to believe. It was Burke's misfortune to be associated with a man whose evil motives were written on the face of his every action, and to share, in some degree, the odium which necessarily attaches to the conduct of a public character who makes his private hatred an engine of political persecution. Moreover, the indiscretion of some of Burke's nearest relatives and friends lent some weight to the supposition that the great statesman had a personal slight to revenge. It was alleged that Hastings had slighted Mr. William Burke. This gentleman, it appears, left England in 1777, to see what he could pick up on the Pactolian shores of India. He carried with him some despatches or letters for Lord Pigot; and with these he hoped to make his fortune. But before Mr. Burke reached Madras, the unfortunate Governor had been worried to death; and the despatch-bearer found himself at the Presidency with no employment, and very few letters of recommendation. Among these few, however, were two for Mr. Philip Francis, and the luckless *Omedwar* sent them on to Bengal, enclosed in an epistle not written in the most cheerful strain. "Whether your opportunities," he says, "answer what I had almost

"sign the Calcutta Petition to Government against the Judges, that gentleman "said: 'Captain Price, why you have imported the wandering Jew; the man "knows everybody and everything.' 'I believe, Mr. Shore,' said I, 'that Mr. "Mackintosh may have swallowed the universal history, and that he can spue up "any part of it when and how he pleases.' 'But I do assure you, Price,' replied "Mr. Shore, 'that he is a man of great consequence. I have seen letters from him "to Lord North, and almost every one of the ministry.' 'That may be, Mr. "Shore, but have you seen any letters from them to him?' 'No, I have not, but "I see, Captain Price, that you do not like the man.' 'I own the fact, Mr. Shore; "I have found him ungrateful, and I believe him to be an impostor.' And so the "conversation ended."

"assumed to be your kind intention towards me, I can in "no sort pretend to say, but the immediate occasion of Mr. "Elliott's departure for Bengal was too favourable for me "to omit the opportunity of letting you know that I am at "Madras. It looks almost ridiculous, in the serious state of "my affairs, to tell you simply where I am, and yet it is all that "I can do." Francis's answer was characteristic. "You need not tell me," he replies, "that your situation is a serious one,"—and adds, that he can do nothing for the young man. The entire letter is curious; and worthy of quotation.

Dear Sir,—Your letter dated the 1st of September, was sent to me on Monday night by Mr. Elliott. I cannot express my surprise at hearing that you were at Madras. The reports of the express from England, which reached us ten days ago, by the land post, mentioned the arrival of Richard Burke with an appointment on this establishment, but I had no idea of the possibility of *your* venturing into this country without one. You need not tell me that your situation is serious. The fact proves it too sensibly, and on *my* mind, at least, makes every impression you could wish.

I do not like stating the difficulties or disabilities of my own situation, in answer to so just a call of honour and friendship as that which you bring with you from two men whom in this world I most love and esteem. Yet it cannot be unknown to you, therefore I mention it with the less scruple, that since Colonel Monson's death I have not only had no share or interest in any thing but the tails of this government, but that my friendship, in effect, has been a loss or disadvantage to every man who was supposed to possess it. Slight and injustice, if not direct persecution, have been the lot of many whose attachment to me has been their only demerit. In short, I have the character of a factious opponent to an immaculate administration. Your own experience will have told you, that this is not the road to preferment. I have nothing to oppose to a decided majority, but a minority equally decided, and likely enough to continue so.

I should deceive you grossly, if I suggested the most distant idea of my being able to do you any essential service; but I should be no less unjust to myself, if I suffered you to entertain a moment's doubt, that whatever *is* in my power is at your command. It is possible that Mr. Rumbold may be disposed to oblige me. Shall I try how far that idea may be well founded? A time *may* come, and perhaps he may think so, when I may have an opportunity of acknowledging his kindness to you. Yet it is really difficult to know what to ask for any person not in the Company's service. Mr. Whitehill, if he does nothing else, may at least give you good advice; that is, he may point out to you what you ought to ask for, and then I would fairly try my utmost strength with Rumbold. If all fails, and you find at last, for I would not easily give it up, that nothing will answer on the coast, I can offer you, in this house, a quiet, if not a happy retreat from any circumstance, or situation there, which you cannot, or ought not, to submit to. Your reception will be a hearty one at least, if it promises nothing more. I do not say that the prospect will not be a gloomy one in this country; but I flatter myself there may still be some scattered rays of hope to enliven it. This is all I can venture to say at present. Whenever I can say more, with any tolerable confidence of being able to make it good, I shall do it without reserve.

Mr. Edmund Burke's letter cannot be answered these two months; from the sentiments I have endeavoured to express in this letter, you may judge whether I am capable of slighting a request of his.

I do not wish you to meddle with our damned politics. Indeed, I wish my enemy no worse than to experience what I have done within the last three years. If every relation between guilt and punishment be not absolutely dissolved, a time I think will come when they who now triumph over me will tremble, if they do not repent. Appearances are yet in their favour, but I still hope that I shall rise with lustre out of this fire.

The motions of the Court of Directors are more than commonly mysterious with respect to our affairs. I have some suspicion, however, from the contents of their letter to Sir John Clavering, of which I enclose you a copy, that vigorous measures may yet be taken to support me.

Be so good as to communicate this paper, with my compliments, to Mr. Whitehill, and to any body else you think proper.

I am, &c.
P. FRANCIS.

To William Burke, Esq.
Calcutta, October 1, 1777.

The reader will smile at Francis's assumption of the character of an injured innocent; and they who know the nature of the man will be still more amused at his effort to appear in the guise of an hospitable friend. Francis's warmest admirers do not seek to conceal the fact that he was utterly without generosity. His avarice and meanness were proverbial. It has been alleged, indeed, that he invited men to take up their residence in his house, and then sent them in a bill for their board and lodging. Whether it was his design to entertain Mr. William Burke in this liberal manner, had the adventurer made up his mind to visit Bengal, we do not undertake to determine; but it is very certain that his letter was admirably calculated to keep Mr. Burke at Madras.*

To the assertion that Francis's patronage was injurious to those who enjoyed it; that "slight and injustice, if not direct persecution have been the lot of many whose attachment to me has been their only demerit," we hesitate to yield implicit credence. Hastings was not a spiteful man. Whatever may have been his demerits, meanness and malignity were not among them. Captain Price gives a very different account of the fate of Francis's favourites. The captain's testimony must

* The result was, that somehow or other the gentleman picked up a job, and returned to England as agent of the Rajah of Tanjore. Mr. William Burke returned to India in 1779, and obtained the situation of deputy-paymaster to the Queen's troops, and continued in the country up to 1793. The editors of the volumes under review naïvely observe: "From his agreeable manners, and general information, his company was much sought after; and having rather a turn for expense, he neglected those opportunities of making a fortune which his *long employment in India* afforded."

be received with caution; but writing, as he did, at a time when his assertions, if untrue, were susceptible of immediate refutation, and, appending his own name to these detailed statements of facts, the probability is that they did not contain any very striking deviations from truth. His account, as published in 1782, seems to belie the complaint of Francis:—

"The great and constant complaint brought home against Governor Hastings, is, that he neglects his friends in his public capacity. How many of Mr. Francis's particular friends are now in office at Bengal? Need I mention the Fowkes, Messrs. Moore, Livius, Collins, with fifty of the Company's other servants, besides some who accompanied him to Europe, that have made fortunes in offices, from which the governor could have removed them without the least injustice, had he been splenetic? Yet their growlings rumble in the wind, and join in the cry against Mr. Hastings, with no better grace than Mr. Mackintosh himself; the only difference is, they whisper the idle tales which he gleans up, and publishes to the world.

"In the course of thirty years' residence in India, Mr. Hastings must have formed friendships for men in and out of the Company's service, who had grown old with him. His private purse was always open to them, and in some instances to a degree almost blameable, but his public situation never of use: careless to a proverb in money matters himself, it was a subject on which he never talked. I would maintain the man in food and raiment, separate from the governor, for the pay and batta of a major in the Company's service, in any part of the world. And as for the fortunes of those he called his private friends, I will mention a few of such as died insolvent, or became bankrupts, whilst Mr. Francis was at Bengal; Mr. Charles Playdell, Dr. Hancock, Mr. John Robinson, Mr. Evans, Mr. Glover, Mr. Belli, Mr. Thomas Motte, Mr. Montaigut, and Mr. Joseph Price—most of them residents in India for as long a time, and some of them longer, than the governor himself, and the rest absolutely of his domestic friends, and of his household; and their names occur to my mind at once, without lifting the pen from the paper in order to recollect, or I could double the list. I should really be obliged to Mr. Francis, to favour me with a list half so long, of men of any fortune at all, obtained by Mr. Hastings's favour—I even dare him to it—pledging myself at the same time, to give him a much longer list of names of men now in England, who made their fortunes under the government of him and his friends—this is fair play—I call him to the contest in civil, though plain English—there goes my glove—say you, war-office statesman! will you or your swarthy Solon take it up?"

Captain Price, who always spoke out plainly, and we believe honestly, though his prejudices and passions often got the better of him, openly attributed the hostile bearing of Edmund Burke towards Hastings to the refusal of the latter to take any notice of the adventurer. In another pamphlet, the Captain observes,—

"The same kind of inattention lost him the good opinion of a right honourable orator. When Mr. William Burke first found his way into the Carnatic (though I can consider him in no other point of view than a mushroom Nabob adventurer, such as his great cousin first appeared in this country, when picked up by the Marquis of Rockingham), had Governor Hastings sent for him to Bengal, and addressed him in manner following (as he most

certainly would have done, had he been educated at St. Stephens),—"Welcome to Bengal, sir.—Very glad to see you, sir.—Your name, sir, Burke, if I mistake not.—Cousin to the great statesman, as I have heard—Great man! O very great man!—Sublime and beautiful!—Wonderful performance! Prodigious work!—Your cousin was well I hope, sir, when you heard from him last.—Busy, no doubt; earnest to save the state. Great man!—I have read his conciliatory plan. Heavenly thought! what a pity not attended to! But when will Britain's friends have sway!—I have all his speeches, all his political tracts, regularly sent me; have drawn much information from them in my government of Asia.—Prodigious genius!—But that great man stooping to write pamphlets, is, methinks, like Raphael painting apothecaries' pots!—Come to make any stay with us, sir? I hope you are.—You may command me, sir. You correspond with your cousin, no doubt.—Can I be instrumeutal in forwarding your despatches?—Command me, sir, in that, or any other thing.—Shall be made quite happy, in having an opportunity to commence a correspondence with that wonderful statesman, by covering your remarks on this country to him.—Will a contract suit you, sir? We have a commissaryship now vacant.—Command me, sir.—A cover at my table, sir, always at your service.—Always expect to see you, sir.—Great man, your cousin; very great man!—&c. &c."—But the honest mind of Mr. Hastings is above all such dirty work. He took no more notice of the adventurer, William Burke, than of Major Hoggs or William Mackintosh; for which neglect, the orator has abused him as much as either of the others, and with as little effect."

We have made the above extract, not because we attach any importance to the imputation it contains, but because it is the only attempt with which we are acquainted, to attribute Burke's conduct, in the impeachment of Hastings, to mean, personal motives. Whether Mr. William Burke brought out letters to Hastings, we have no means of ascertaining. If he did, he was sagacious enough not to allude to the circumstance in his letter to Francis. In that communication he says, "The opportunity "of coming with the despatches to Lord Pigot was so sudden "that I could avail myself of few recommendations, but I do "hope to receive very earnest ones from very near friends of "General Clavering, as well as others, to you." But of Hastings there is no mention, and probably would have been none, if Mr. Burke had possessed fifty letters to the Governor-General. Whether the adventurer had any positive neglect on the part of Hastings of which to complain—or whether gratitude towards Francis, partaking probably of the "lively hope of future favours," which is said to be its principal ingredient, more than hatred of the Governor-General, was the moving principle—no sooner did Mr. William Burke reach England, than he began to scatter abroad the seeds of calumny, hoping that at the proper time they would come up a goodly crop. "As far as my tether goes," he writes in a subsequent letter to Francis, "I have not failed to do "all in my power to have a sense felt of your situation! there is, "however, a certain *vis inertiæ* which favours possession; but I

"have sometimes flattered myself that things I have dropped "accidentally have not been totally lost; and if I or mine can "contribute our mite or our much, depend upon it we shall not "omit to serve you if we can." The "mite" or the "much" from "I or mine" was the impeachment of Warren Hastings—and it is not improbable that the indiscretion of Mr. William Burke, who said more on the subject than he was justified in saying, gave a colouring of truth to the aspersions cast upon the character of his great kinsman.

But this is now an exploded calumny. The soul of Burke revolted at oppression. His vivid imagination exaggerated the acts of injustice and cruelty committed in India—acts which loomed large in the distance, and which his romantic temperament invested with attributes of greater terror than were discernible by the fleshly eye. Excited and indignant against the oppressor, glowing with sympathy for the oppressed, his imagination kindled by the vivid orientalism of the subject before him, and burning to deliver itself in eloquent expositions of the wrongs inflicted upon the princes and people of the shining East, Burke was in a fit frame of mind to listen to the Satanic promptings of the malignant Francis. He mistook the character of the prompter. He believed that Francis was as sincere as himself; that his associate was equally swayed by an abstract hatred of oppression. The returned councillor gained the ear of the great statesman, and into it, day after day, he poured "the leperous distilment" of his malice. The result is well known. In this article, to which we have purposely given more of a personal than an historical character, it will be idle to repeat what has been already so ably recorded by others.

On the dissolution of Parliament in 1784, Francis was elected member for the borough of Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight. He had not long taken his seat, when by a piece of gaucherie, or by an ebullition of temper, he brought upon himself the undying resentment of Pitt. After alluding to Chatham, in terms of the highest admiration, he added, "But he is dead and left nothing in the world that resembles him. He is dead and the sense and honour and character and understanding of the nation have died with him." It is said that the Minister never forgave Francis. It is certain that he treated him, from this time, with very little respect. It was not until after Pitt's death that the author of Junius succeeded in obtaining any honours from the Crown.

In 1785, Hastings returned to Europe. He was received with marked distinction at Court, and at the India House with all honour. This must have given a new impetus to the malice of his

enemy, which, however, needed no spur. Everything had been arranged for carrying out the great work which Burke looked upon as a heaven-delegated task, and Francis, rendered doubly confident by the co-operation of his new associates, regarded as a safe road to ultimate and perfect triumph. The public mind had been prepared, by the dissemination, through the medium of the press, of many half-truths and many scandalous falsehoods, for the charges which were brought against the Governor-General; and nothing that human ability and human energy could accomplish to ensure success was omitted, by that brilliant but incongruous phalanx of gifted men, who swayed by various motives and bringing to the work various powers, arrayed themselves in disciplined force, to achieve the overthrow of the greatest of Indian statesmen.

Hastings, with all his fertility of resource, was no match for this serried band. He was on a new arena; the ground was strange to him; the tactics of the enemy unfamiliar. He was as a gladiator suddenly called upon to contend with weapons of a new and unintelligible fashion. It was no longer a war of minutes. The battle-ground was not now the floor of an Indian Council-chamber. Everything was new and strange to him; he stood alone and unpractised, to contend against a number of expert assailants. When he called in an ally, he made the grand mistake of his life. What he required as an associate was a skilful tactician, of eloquent address, of rapid execution—one admirably "cunning of fence," versed in all the ways of parliamentary warfare, and enjoying the reputation of a gifted and high-minded man. Instead of this he called in a lumbering blockhead, whose only weight was the weight of his own stolidity; who blundered and prosed, wrote long letters in the papers, and made dull speeches in the House; who was sometimes abusive without point and energetic without impressiveness; who occasionally stumbled upon a happy thought by chance, but did not know what to do with it; who wearied the House without serving his master, and did all that human dulness could do, to show how deplorably Hastings had committed himself by selecting so very obtuse a personage for the performance of so delicate a duty. Against the eloquence of Burke, the legal acuteness of Laurence, and the untiring energy of Philip Francis, Hastings set up the profound stupidity of Major Scott.

Everything was in train for the impeachment before Hastings arrived in England. He had not been long on the shores of his native land before certain charges against him, supplied by Francis, were formally exhibited. Session after session, the House was occupied with these charges; and in 1787, the pre-

liminary proceedings having been brought to a close, a motion was made for the appointment of a Committee of Management to conduct the impeachment of Hastings in the House of Lords.

Francis had busied himself in this congenial work with a perseverance and energy, which in any other cause would have been truly admirable. Not content with being the main-spring of the machine—with silently regulating its every movement—he endeavoured, with as little judgment and delicacy, to put himself forward as one of its indices. Nothing short of an appointment to a seat in the committee would satisfy his malignant ambition. But the good sense and the good feeling of the House revolted against such a mockery of justice, and his nomination was rejected by a large majority. The vote was passed on the third of April, 1787. On the 19th of the same month, Francis, when opening the charge against Hastings, relative to the revenues of Bengal, took occasion to vindicate his character against what he called "certain malicious insinuations industriously circulated both within and without the House." He emphatically denied that he had been actuated by any feelings of personal hatred and hostility. He solemnly declared that he did not go out to India with any preconceived sentiments of animosity against Hastings—an assertion which may have been true, but which assuredly was unimportant; and added, as something still more irrelevant, that General Clavering, previous to the sailing of the vessel, which bore the new councillors to India, "had obtained a private audience of his Majesty for the purpose of humbly soliciting him to send out some mark of honour to Mr. Hastings, in order to induce him to continue in the government." He then declared, that the triumviri landed in Calcutta with the highest possible opinion of Mr. Hastings—but that "they soon found their error." He might have said that they found it by a miracle, long before they had time to inquire into any of the Governor-General's acts, or knew anything more about his Government, than that it did not recognise the title of Members of Council to a royal salute. Much more was uttered, in a similar strain; but, judging by after results, to very little purpose. Burke, however, was delighted with the display; thought it conclusive; had little doubt that it would lead to a rescision of the vote of the 3d of April, and in the plenitude of his delight sat down next morning with an aching head, having got drunk on the preceding night in honour of Francis, and wrote the following letter to that gentleman's wife:—

My dear Madam,—I cannot, with an honest appetite or clear conscience, sit down to my breakfast, unless I first give you an account, which will make

your family breakfast as pleasant to you as I wish all your family meetings to be. Then I have the satisfaction of telling you, that, not in my judgment only, but in that of all who heard him, no man ever acquitted himself on a day of great expectation, to the full of the demand upon him, so well as Mr. Francis did yesterday. He was clear, precise, forcible, and eloquent, in a high degree. No intricate business was ever better unravelled; and no iniquity ever placed so effectually to produce its natural horror and disgust. It is very little for the credit of those who are Mr. Francis's enemies, but it is infinitely to his, that they forced him to give a history of his whole public life. He did it in a most masterly manner, and with an address which the display of such a life ought very little to want, but which the prejudices of those whose lives are of a very different character made necessary. He did justice to the feelings of others too; and I assure you, madam, that the modesty of his defence was not the smallest part of its merit.

All who heard him were delighted, except those whose mortification ought to give pleasure to every good mind. He was two hours and a half, or rather more, on his legs; and he never lost attention for a moment. Indeed, I believe, very few could have crowded so much matter into so small a space. Permit me most sincerely to congratulate you, and the ladies, and Mr. Philip of Cambridge, if he is yet among you; he has a great example before him, in a father exerting some of the first talents that ever were given to a man in the cause of mankind.

Again and again I give you joy, and am, with most unaffected respect and affection,

My dear Madam,

Your most faithful and obedient humble Servant,

Edm. Burke.

P. S. I don't know whether I write very intelligibly; I made a sad debauch last night in some good company, where we drank the man we were so much obliged to in a bumper. Mr. F. ought to lose no time in taking the matter of his charge to be drawn up formally.—(*Correspondence*, vol. iii.)

To Mrs. Francis,
Gerard-street, April 20, 1787.

But Francis and his backers were not very easily to be cast down; and a second attempt was made early in December to secure the nomination of the former. The second failure was more signal than the first. In April, Francis had been rejected by a majority of 96 to 44. In December, 97 voted against, and only 23 for him.

Burke acutely felt the disappointment, for he had flattered himself with the belief that the decision of the House would have been reversed; and he saw in the removal of Francis from the ranks of the committee a misfortune as great as it was unanticipated. Francis was looked upon as the winning card of the pack.

"He has perfectly prepared himself," wrote Burke in a letter to Dundas, "and so prepared himself that I run no risk in asserting that if he is suffered to come forward there is hardly a lord, who will sit in judgment, that can resist the conviction he will carry to their minds; and that what he has

prepared would beat down the most determined prejudices, if prejudice could be supposed to exist in the minds of any who form that tribunal. I am not prepared to take up his part * * * I have no bodily strength, or force of mind and memory, to go through these parts, together with the immense mass of matter which, independently of this unexpected burthen, is thrown upon me.—(*Correspondence*, vol. iii.)

And again, in the same letter—

"You will be pleased to recollect that we have lost three old and experienced members of our committee—Mr. Ellis, Mr. Montagu, and Sir Grey Cooper..... In this situation Mr. Francis is forced from us. All the local knowledge of India is in the hands of the person prosecuted by the House of Commons. Those who are sent to support its charge, require and can have but one man so qualified; and that one is now taken from us."—(*Correspondence*, vol. iii. *Letter*, *December* 7, 1787.)

The answer of Dundas was candid and sensible. He alleged that there was no personal prejudice against Mr. Francis, who might still assist the impeachment though not one of the committee, and urged that Burke had greatly over-valued the extent of his friend's services. To this Burke replied, that he "had the misfortune of not being able to concur in opinion as to the facility of supplying" Francis's place, adding somewhat testily,—

"What he will do I know not; at present I have not courage enough to ask him. I am not partial to Mr. Francis. I have no ground for partiality towards him. As Mr. Hastings never did me any injury, or refused me any request, so I have never asked any favour whatever from Mr. Francis, nor ever received any from him, except what I received in my share of the credit which this country acquired in his honourable, able, and upright administration."—(*Letter*, *December* 9, 1787.)

A few days afterwards, Fox made a last dying effort to induce the House to reconsider their vote. The abstraction from the committee of the representative of all the "local knowledge of India" was too serious a matter not to warrant a final struggle. He stood forward boldly in behalf of his friend, determined not to lose anything by the tameness of his panegyrics. The entire speech is sufficiently amusing to justify a quotation from it;—

"Whatever objection might be urged to Mr. Francis as the judge of Mr. Hastings, there could be no possible objection to his appearing as his accuser. To the character of an accuser, innocence and integrity were indispensably necessary. It was requisite that he who preferred an accusation against another should himself be blameless, and his reputation unsuspected. That his honourable friend possessed this reputation was well known to all who heard him. All knew that he had been sent out to India, as one of the supreme council, on account of this reputation, and returned with the approbation and the confidence of his employers. But in such a case the testimony of his friends would be incomplete, unless corroborated and confirmed by the testimony of his enemies. This testimony his honourable friend had also obtained. By a steady and consistent hostility to the malversations and corruptions of others, he had provoked the most rigid scrutiny into his own conduct while in India, and since his return he had

courted, not shunned, inquiry. *Had any discoveries of misconduct on his part been to be made*, they would long since have been before the public, since they must have come within the knowledge of those who were well disposed to bring them to light. It was, therefore, fair to conclude that his character was unimpeachable, since it had not been impeached, and that he *possessed that innocence and integrity of life and conduct which qualified him to come forward as the accuser of another*. It was fit also that an accuser should possess talents. What the natural abilities of the honourable gentleman were, it was needless to state where they were so well known. What his acquired abilities on the subject of the prosecution were, must be equally evident from the opportunities he had enjoyed. It was much to have been in India; it was much to have been acquainted with the evasions and tergiversations under which Mr. Hastings had been accustomed to screen his conduct. When Cicero came forward as the accuser of Verres, what were the arguments he advanced why the prosecution should be committed to him? 'Because,' said he, 'I am acquainted with the evasions and sophistry of his advocate Hortensius. I am accustomed to combat and to overthrow them.' Nor was it less requisite that an accuser should entertain no partiality in favour of the accused; and not only that he should entertain no partiality, but that he should not be indifferent as to the event of the prosecution; but that he should be animated with an honest indignation against the crimes and the criminal whom he attempted to bring to justice."—(*Annual Register*, 1787.)

Wyndham followed Fox in much the same strain, discoursing on the "conspicuous integrity" of Francis, and alleging that there was no "personal animosity towards Mr. Hastings." "For unless," he said, "the necessary consequence of a duel was perpetual enmity, it was impossible to take it for granted that it existed in this case."

The real fact is, that the duel was both the effect and the cause of Francis's animosity. Francis never forgave Hastings for being Governor-General; and he was not precisely the sort of man to love his enemy any the better for shooting him through the body. When he rose to speak, he again declared that there never had been any personal feeling against Mr. Hastings, and repeated the account of the duel, which he had given to the House in the preceding April. He said—

"I deny that I am, or ever was, the enemy of Mr. Hastings, in that personal sense in which it is imputed to me. He then gave the house a short account of the public disputes that had subsisted between him and Mr. Hastings, and of the provocation that brought on the duel. He added, it is but justice in him to say, that he behaved himself perfectly well in the field. It was my lot to be dangerously wounded. As I conceived immediate death inevitable, I thought of nothing but to die in peace with all men, particularly with Mr. Hastings. I called him to me, gave him my hand, and desired him to consider in what situation my death would leave him. By that action, and by those words, undoubtedly I meant to declare that I freely forgave him the insult he had offered to me, and the fatal consequence which had attended it. I meant that we should stand in the same relation to each other as if the duel and the cause of it had never

happened But did I tell him, that if I survived I would renounce the whole plan and principle of my public life; that I would cease to oppose his measures; that I would desert the charges, which I had already brought against him, or not prosecute him by public impeachment if I could? On my return to England, I found that a parliamentary inquiry into the late transactions in India was already begun, and I was almost immediately ordered to attend one of the committees employed upon that inquiry."—(*Annual Register*, 1787.)

Francis, in claiming credit to himself for his forgiving spirit, at a time when he was supposed to be in *articulo mortis*, reminds us of the couplet describing a certain personage who, when he was sick, a "saint would be;" for shortly afterwards, having been pronounced to be out of danger, his resentment burnt as fiercely as ever, and he resolutely refused to see the Governor-General, who desired to visit his wounded adversary in the sick chamber. The hypocrisy of the final sentence of the above passage is conspicuous. "On my return to England I found that a parliamentary inquiry was already begun."—The discovery must have astonished him greatly!

But all those efforts were vain. Francis was again rejected by a majority of 122 to 60. This was final; and the repository of all the local knowledge was compelled to remain behind the scenes.

A week afterwards, Burke, in conjunction with his brother managers, plucked up courage sufficient to ask Francis "What he would do." They paid him a high compliment in the shape of a letter signed by the entire committee, soliciting him to continue, though not one of their number, to extend to them his invaluable assistance.—"Permit us," they wrote, "to call for this further service, *in the name of the people of India, for whom your parental care has been so long distinguished*, and in support of whose cause you have encountered so many difficulties, vexations, and dangers." The favour thus solicited was granted, and the impeachment proceeded, dragging its slow length along from year's end to year's end, and at last, after exhausting the patience of the country and the fortune of Mr. Hastings, resulting in a notable failure. It is no part of our design to follow its windings, which are familiar to all who care to know them. There is little in the work before us which throws any new light upon the history of the great trial—but there is one curious passage in a letter, addressed by Burke to Francis, in 1789, which will be perused with no little interest:—

"Now for one word on our own affairs. The acquittal of Stockdale is likely to make a bad impression on them; coupling it with the verdict in favour of the prosecution, for the libel about Impey; it has the air of a determination of the public voice against us. Remember what I said to you, when you were here, about doing something that may give it a turn, APPARENTLY AT

LEAST *in favour of truth and justice; without this we can never go on.* I confess that at last I totally despair and think of nothing but an honourable retreat from this business; which I wish our friends would consider to be essential to our common character, as I am convinced it is."—(*Correspondence*, vol. iii.)

"Truth and justice!" the words were Francis's stock-in-trade, as they have been, and will be, for centuries to come, of many a political mountebank. So many traffic upon these words who are utterly regardless of the attributes which they express, that we have learned to look with some degree of suspicion upon all who make an uncommon parade of them. We cannot but smile at Burke's eagerness, that a turn should be given to the affair of the impeachment, "*apparently at least*, in favour of truth and justice," though it is possible that to many the words convey a meaning, which will arouse stronger feelings than those which are expressed by a smile. We do not receive the passage as an indication that Burke felt the cause in reality to be unsustained by truth and justice; nor that he believed a "retreat from the business" was essential to the preservation of his character. The truth is, that Burke, like all eager and impulsive men, was subject to occasional fits of despondency, and that, whilst suffering under these, he not only magnified the amount of the dangers and difficulties which lay before him, but mistrusted the goodness of his cause and the sincerity of his own motives. It would be unjust, therefore, to the memory of this great man to fasten upon these transient misgivings, and to interpret them as the guilty confessions of a mind, smitten with a painful sense of the unholiness of the work in which he was engaged. Besides, Burke, though a brilliant speaker, was a careless letter-writer; his epistolary style is often sufficiently loose to raise a doubt as to the exact nature of the sentiments which his words are intended to convey.

There is an amusing episode in the work before us, which shows Francis in the character of a critic—and, as may be supposed, an extremely self-sufficient one. During the passage through the press of Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution, some of the sheets were submitted to Francis. The author of JUNIUS attacked the essay with a degree of asperity, which was not very pleasing to the writer. Burke replied, and his son Richard Burke forwarded the letter, with one from himself, in which there is a very manifest determination to give the critic, what in expressive colloquial language is called a "set-down." After entreating him not to "interrupt" his father's "many and great labours with further written communications of this kind," he goes on to say:—

There is one thing of which I must inform you, and which I know from an intimate experience of many years. It is that my father's opinions are

never hastily adopted, and that even those ideas which have often appeared to me only the effect of momentary heat or casual impression, I have often found beyond the possibility of doubt to be the result of systematic meditation perhaps of years..... ..Are you so little conversant with my father, or so enslaved by the cant of those who call themselves his friends, only to ensure themselves through him, as to feel no deference for his judgment, or to mistake the warmth of his manner for the heat of his mind? Do I not know my father at this time of day? I tell you his folly is wiser than the wisdom of the common herd of able men. Reflect upon all this.—*Letter, Feb.* 20, 1790.

The letter from Burke contained in this filial epistle is characteristic of the man. Its effect would be impaired by partial quotation, and we cannot afford space to extract it in all its integrity. In one passage, the writer, using but a few words, hits off the character of his correspondent to a nicety—"My dear sir, you think of nothing but controversies." Francis did think of nothing but controversy. He lived in an atmosphere of controversy. Controversy was the very aliment of his existence. When he had not the character of an enemy to attack, he attacked the style of a friend. When weary of exposing the political enormities of Hastings, he exposed the literary offences of Burke. He had attempted, after a day's experience, to teach the former how to govern India, and now we find him aspiring to teach the latter to write English. "Once for all" he wrote, in reply to his friend's letter, "I wish you would let me teach you to write English." We believe that if Francis had found himself in the kitchen, he would have taught the cook how to baste the meat and handle the rolling-pin.

The long-protracted trial of Warren Hastings afforded for many years occupation to his active mind and his malicious spirit. But in Parliament and out of Parliament, other subjects of a controversial character engaged his time and attention. He was not one who could, even in his old age, settle down into inactivity. When he could not make a speech, he could write a pamphlet. His pen, indeed, was seldom idle, and though his avowed productions are inferior, in respect of force of language, to those which appeared under a *nom-de-guerre*, he enjoyed the reputation, and not without a just claim to it, of being the ablest pamphleteer of the day. As a speaker, he was not equally successful. He was correct, but he was laborious. His speeches wanted the semblance of spontaneity. The sentences of which they were composed, though models of propriety, came forth slowly, and with an effort. Though he might have delighted a reporter, he failed to entrance the House. But though not an effective speaker, it must be conceded that, as a senator, he was

something still better. When not carried away by his own strong personal prejudices, Francis brought a sound judgment and a correct moral sense to bear upon public affairs. He was generally to be found arrayed on the side of justice and humanity. He was eminently a liberal politician. A strenuous advocate for Parliamentary reform, a systematic opponent of all unjust and unnecessary wars, and a vigorous declaimer against the odious traffic in human flesh, which has long ceased to be a national reproach to us, he stood forward, on many great occasions, as the champion of the rights of his fellow-men. By the side of Wilberforce, he contended, with manly energy, and it has been said at some sacrifice of self, for the abolition of the accursed slave-trade; and he lifted his voice against the proposition, which was put forth in 1804, for a vote of thanks to the Marquis of Wellesley and to "the officers and soldiers concerned in the achievement of our late successes in India," protesting against the vote, in language similar to that which has recently been used by one of the most respectable statesmen of the present age, on the grounds that such a vote involved an expression of approbation not only of the manner in which the war was carried out, but of the measures in which it originated. Of such questions as these he was capable of taking enlarged views, and of vindicating his claim to the possession of that public spirit which was attributed to his conduct in other matters, wherein he evinced not a single spark.

It may, perhaps, be doubted by some, whether in opposing the vote of thanks to the Marquis of Wellesley, Francis was moved by public spirit alone. It is known and admitted that for many years he had cherished a hope of returning to India in the character of Governor-General. His enemies alleged, indeed, that he set this great prize steadily before him from the very hour in which he was appointed a Member of Council; and that, in all his struggles with Hastings, this one object was uppermost in his every thought. We pretend not thus to fathom human motives; but it is certain that at a later period he felt confident that the time was not far distant when he would occupy the chief seat at the council-table; and on the death of that great and good man, Lord Cornwallis, it was believed, not only by Francis, but by the public (for Mr. Fox was then in office) that the Governor-Generalship was at his feet. But he was ever doomed to disappointment. His hopes were baffled; his ambition checked; and, long smarting under the mortification of failure, it must be acknowledged that he was at no time in a fit state of mind to regard, with an unbiassed judgment, the conduct of a Governor-General of India.

That, on all Indian questions, Francis was regarded as an authority of the highest note is a fact, which some will attribute to his knowledge, and others to his friends' ignorance of Indian affairs. There was in all probability a good deal of both; but it is certain that his greatest admirers were either totally unacquainted with his character, or, in true spirit of mendacious partisanship, eager to conceal the truth. That Fox, Burke, and Elliott were sensible of the expediency not only of magnifying the knowledge and experience of their ally, but of exalting his character as a man, is a fact not to be doubted, whatever may be thought of their sincerity or insincerity in following a course which, though a politic, might have been an honest one. We do not assume that because it was expedient, it was nothing better; but the panegyrics pronounced upon Francis were so grossly exaggerated—his virtues were set forth in so preposterous a strain, that it is difficult to believe that the friendly orators, even in the plenitude of their partisan zeal, could have felt that they were uttering the truth. Sir Gilbert Elliott, after pronouncing an extravagant eulogium on the virtues of the ex-councillor, exclaimed,—"If I am asked for proof, I say, the *book of his life is open before you;* it has been read, it has been examined, in every line by the diligent inquisition—the searching eye of malice and envy. *Has a single blot been found? Is there one page that has not been traced by virtue and by wisdom?*" Preposterous as are such passages as these, they are to be more than matched by the speeches of still greater men. Francis' purity and disinterestedness, when in India, was a common topic of discourse at home. It was boldly alleged that he had returned to England in a state of comparative poverty; that the fortune which he brought home with him was scanty, when regarded with reference to his opportunities of amassing honourable wealth. That he took home a larger sum of money than the entire amount of his official earnings is a notorious fact. Major Scott challenged him in Parliament to account for the extent of his wealth; and he was silent. Captain Price charged him, in print, with possessing more money than he could have honestly acquired, and explained the nature of some of his pecuniary transactions, in a manner not very flattering to the retired councillor.* It has been

* Captain Price says—"In the same Act of Parliament, the servants of the East India Company abroad were confined to drawing on the Company at home, for three hundred thousand pounds annually, *and no more.* And of that sum I believe the portion of the Bengal Presidency was limited by the Court of Directors to one hundred thousand pounds. What is it that our unspotted triumvirate of rigid

fortunate for the reputation of Francis, that whilst those whose bold and often unscrupulous assertions declared his character to be in all respects beyond suspicion, were great men whose words posterity will not willingly let die, his opponents, who knew him far better—who were rich in proofs of all that they ventured to assert—were insignificant individuals, whose words, spoken or written, the world have allowed to slide into oblivion. Scott and Price knew Philip Francis much better than did Fox and Burke. Whilst the former put forth a specific array of facts, and made awkward disclosures, so circumstantial in their details as to invite refutation, if they could be refuted, the latter contented themselves with bold, sweeping, general assertions, which posterity have invested with an importance to which they have no claim. The eloquence of Fox and Burke have preserved, as in amber, the praises of Francis; and few pause to consider that these eulogia, after all, were but flights of the oratory of partisanship.

For a quarter of a century after his return from India, these party praises were the only honours showered upon Philip Francis —but, on the recommendation of Lord Grenville, His Majesty at length consented to recognise his services, and in October 1806, he was gazetted as a Knight of the Bath. He was then an old man—fast verging upon the allotted period of three score and ten; his work was done, his associates removed from the scene of action, and his ambition now quieted by despair. The "good old-gentlemanly vice" of avarice was strong within him, and, in society his conduct was marked by an excess of impatience and irritability—the skeletons of the eager impetuosity and fiery energy which had been among the characteristics of his youth. Seen now in repose, these qualities, though less dangerous, were not less repulsive. The selfishness, which had before exhibited itself in intense action, now, in its passive phases, assumed the form of that impatient egotism which cannot bear to listen, but breaks out in querulousness and discourtesy when another commands the attention of the moment. He became captious and petulant. From the dissection of vast public measures

inquisitors do, but agree amongst themselves that the very money they had decreed should be paid to them out of the Treasury, at two shillings the current rupee, should also be received back into the Treasury for bills on the Company, at the enhanced value of two shillings and one penny.

"A man who takes from his Majesty's Exchequer a guinea, and puts down twenty shillings, robs him of five per cent. The fraud in which you was concerned, Mr. Francis, amounted to tenpence in the pound on a hundred thousand pounds, or four thousand one hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence (£41661 13s. 4d.) Now for the application."

and the arraignment of great statesmen, he turned to the anatomy of colloquial sentences and the rebuke of insignificant twaddlers. Still, even in extreme old age, he retained much of the vigour of former years. His mind, it is said, burnt brightly to the last; but the fuel of past years was wanting; it had no longer great objects to employ itself upon—the career of JUNIUS was at an end.

On the 22d of December, 1818, Sir Philip Francis expired at his house in St. James's Square. He had been for some time greatly reduced by a painful disease, against which his advanced age denied him further power to struggle. He left behind him a young wife—the daughter of a clergyman named Watkins, to whom he had been united but a few years—two married daughters and a son; and was buried, at his own request, with extreme privacy, in Mortlake Church.

The character of Francis has already been shadowed forth in these pages. Gifted with abilities of a high—if not of the highest order; with resolution and constancy which, rightly directed, might have achieved for himself an honourable fame and bestowed vast benefits on his fellows, he has earned a niche in history only as a man of a restless nature and factious temperament, who lived in an atmosphere of strife, and whilst diligent in assailing the reputation of another did nothing to establish his own. Ambition was the source of all his errors. In him the pure stream was polluted and obstructed by the vile offal of hateful envy. He hated all who were above him—all who passed him in the race; and, forgetful of the more honourable aims with which he started, he turned aside, in bitterness of spirit, to pour upon the heads of more successful competitors the vials of malignant envy and wrath. The energy of his character vented itself in fierce invectives, and rancorous opposition to greater men than himself; and soon this active malignity, which had been but the effect of the predominant characteristic of his mind, became itself the predominant characteristic. The lesser attribute became the greater. Once he had been envious and malignant because he was ambitious. In time, his chief ambition was to bring his envy and malice to bear most successfully upon their objects. Intense self-appreciation was ever at work within him; the exaltation of other men he regarded in the light of a personal injury. Success it was ever painful to him to contemplate; vanity and envy incited him to bitter hatred; and the desire of his heart was to drag down others from their eminence—to rise if possible on the ruins of the fallen; if not, still to glory in the fall. His confidence in his own abilities was unbounded; his arrogance

and self-reliance inexhaustible. He had no kindliness of heart; no generosity of soul. He was as heedless of inflicting pain as he was undesirous of imparting pleasure. Of the kindlier sympathies of humanity his nature was ignorant. It seemed as though strife was as essential to his existence as the very air he breathed. His evil passions required constant occupation; they never slumbered, but from year to year, still he was to be found eager, energetic, driven forward by the unfailing impetus of strong personal resentment; never halting in his career; never flagging or desponding; but still the same able, active, black-hearted, *bad* man.

Francis might have been a great man if he had been blessed with a better heart; but he had not the strength to keep down the evil excesses of his personal character, and, therefore, his public actions, whenever private feelings were in any way associated with them, bore the base stamp of his own individuality. When self was not immediately concerned—when there was nothing to call into action the envy, hatred, and uncharitableness of his nature, he often took correct views of public questions, and manifested in their exposition a happy union of great ability and sound principle. But these were but brief episodes—episodes painful but not unprofitable to contemplate, as they show by forcible contrast how a great man was marred by a bad heart; how with all the advantages of a vigorous understanding, extraordinary energy of character, and opportunities presented to few, Philip Francis was baffled and disappointed throughout life, and at his death left behind him not an honourable fame but an unenviable notoriety—and that because, from the very outset of his career he cast aside the Christian charities as idle prejudices or useless lumber.

MISCELLANEOUS CRITICAL NOTICES.

The length to which the present issue of our Journal has extended, and the necessity of preparing it in time for despatch by the steamer, precludes us from giving the usual brief notices of new works under this head. Our local press has not been idle during the interval which has elapsed since the issue of our last Number, but we are compelled, for the reasons above stated, to defer to our next issue our notice of several interesting works.

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